HISTORICAL COMMENTARY ON HERODOTUS BOOK 6

MNEMOSYNE

BIBLIOTHECA CLASSICA BATAVA

COLLEGERUNT

H. PINKSTER • H.S. VERSNEL

I.J.F. DE JONG • P.H. SCHRIJVERS

BIBLIOTHECAE FASCICULOS EDENDOS CURAVIT

H. PINKSTER, KLASSIEK SEMINARIUM, SPUISTRAAT 134, AMSTERDAM

SUPPLEMENTUM DUCENTESIMUM SEXAGESIMUM OCTAVUM

LIONEL SCOTT

HISTORICAL COMMENTARY ON HERODOTUS BOOK 6

HISTORICAL COMMENTARY ON HERODOTUS BOOK 6

BY

LIONEL SCOTT

BRILL
LEIDEN · BOSTON
2005

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Scott, Lionel.
Historical commentary on Herodotus, Book 6 / by L. Scott.
p. cm.
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 90-04-14506-0 (alk. paper)
1. Herodotus. History. Book 6. 2. Greece—History—Persian Wars, 500-449 B.C.—Historiography. 3. Greece—History—Ionian Revolt, 499-494 B.C.—Historiography. I. Title.

DF225.2.S26 2005
938'.03—dc22

2005050086

ISSN 0169-8958
ISBN 90 04 14506 0

© Copyright 2005 by Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands
Koninklijke Brill NV incorporates the imprints Brill Academic Publishers, Martinus Nijhoff Publishers and VSP.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the publisher.

Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal use is granted by Brill provided that the appropriate fees are paid directly to The Copyright Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive, Suite 910 Danvers, MA 01923, USA.
Fees are subject to change.

PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

CONTENTS

Preface vii
Acknowledgements xi
Transliterations & Abbreviations xiii

Introductions
Reading Herodotus for the History 1
The Ionian Revolt 37
A Note on the Text 73
Other Accounts of the Events in Book 6 75

Commentary 79

Appendices
Appendix 1 Chronology of Book 6 457
Appendix 2 Naval Matters 466
Appendix 3 The Persian Navy and Army 479
Appendix 4 Travel Times 488
Appendix 5 Darius' Family 491
Appendix 6 The Oracle(s) of §§19 and 77 495
Appendix 7 The Locations of Κοῖλα and Πολίχνη (§26) 502
Appendix 8 The Oracles to the Dolonci and Miltiades, §§34–5 507
Appendix 9 The Implications of Keeping Racehorses 513
Appendix 10 The Problems of §40 522
Appendix 11 The Political Changes in Ionia after the Revolt 533
Appendix 12 Chronology for Athens and Aegina and Related Events 546
Appendix 13 Feeding the King and the Spartan Quart 553
Appendix 14 Cleomenes in Arcadia (and after): Sane or Mad? 558
Appendix 15 Problems in the Argos Narrative, §§76–84 571
Appendix 16 Pheidon(s) of Argos, §127.3 589
Appendix 17 Marathon 597
Appendix 18 Miltiades' Expedition to Paros 630

Appendix 19 Stemma for the Pisistratids 648
Appendix 20 Stemma for the Philaids/Cimonids 649
Appendix 21 Stemma for the Alcmaeonids 650
Appendix 22 Stemmata for the Spartan Royal Houses 651
Appendix 23 The Inachos Stemma: the Mythology of §§47, 53, 78, 80 652

Maps 653
Map 1 Ionia 655
Map 2 Miletus area 656
Map 3 Magna Graeca 657
Map 4 Chios 658
Map 5 Chersonese 659
Map 6 Thrace 660
Map 7 Central Greece and Peloponnese 661
Map 8 Aegean Islands 662
Map 9 Attica and Euboea 663
Map 10 Marathon 664

Bibliography 665

Index 1: Herodotean words and phrases 685
Index 2: Citations 687
Index 3: General Index 703

PREFACE

This book has a twofold dedication. Firstly, it is dedicated to the late John and Trudie Smart. John was for many years lecturer in Greek History at the University of Leeds; he and his wife Trudie became good friends. A commentary on at least part of book 6 was one of his unfulfilled projects; when I subsequently retired from legal practice and was able to resume classical studies, I adopted it as my PhD thesis. This book is quarried from that thesis. I suspect that its shape is rather different to what he had in mind; I can only hope that he would have approved of my efforts. Secondly, it is dedicated to my teachers, who jointly and severally inspired an interest in the classics, which I was able to keep alive, albeit at a low level, during my working years, and enabled me to return to it in due course: at school, E.F. Watling ("Theban Plays", etc) and Eric Tappé, later professor in the School of Slavonic and East European Studies; at Balliol, Kenneth Dover, Russell Meiggs, William Watt. They were my ἀφορμαί (p. 12 n. 38), and I am more than happy to acknowledge it.

A commentary on Herodotus which concentrates on the historical and factual, certainly on any of the first six books, is a challenge. Even for book 6, which broadly covers the years 498 to 489, there is no question of the text being more or less contemporaneous with the events, as with most of Thucydides. Herodotus' sources, removed from the events by a good many years, were subject to all the tensions and changes to which oral tradition is subject. Some think that such a commentary should not be done: it involves too much guesswork and subjective decisions: which parts of a text are Herodotus and which his sources; and even if we can decide that, what the actual events were that were expressed as they were so many years later. Detail is often lacking; deciding how to fill the gaps, and between alternative possibilities, involves another layer of subjective assessment. Yet for most of the events Herodotus is all we have, and the attempt is justified if only for that reason.[1]

[1] Choosing between the Scylla of subjective judgment and the Charibdis of ignorance is well illustrated by F. G. Maier, dealing with Cypriot history, at *JHS* 105

But there are limits to what can be achieved. In some cases I have felt able to propose a particular view; in others, I have had to leave the matter open. The general reader, or scholars whose main interests lie in related fields, would no doubt like answers to every passage. Historians with a particular interest in the early fifth century might prefer the points each way to be summarised and left to decide between them for themselves. All may disagree with my views, and many may wish to refine them; I can only request that they do so for logical reasons, based on sensible evidence, and not as a matter of emotional reaction that things could not have happened as I suggest.

As partial justification for my approach, I plead my past experience. As a practising barrister, I had considerable experience in detailing with evidential problems: assessing why, even soon after an event, witnesses differed between themselves, or expressed themselves as they did; drawing inferences, circumstantial evidence if you like, from primary information (not quite the same as Aristotle's point about what reasonably and probably happens); identifying omissions or errors in a statement; recovering the probable sequence of events from conflicting evidence. I have sought to apply that experience in the present work, though it is not really a parallel situation; not only because Herodotus' witnesses are speaking so much longer after the events, but also because we cannot go back and ask Herodotus, much less his sources, to clarify matters. It is, perhaps, ironic that even if we had the full texts of authors who survive for us only in fragments, it is likely that for much of book 6 we should not be much the wiser: see pp. 75–7.

A difficulty of a different order is many passages are part of the evidence on a wider topic, and ideally merit a longer discussion. For instance, §§56–7 on the rights and duties of the Spartan kings should really be analysed in a paper on the constitutional and political history of Sparta and how power came to be shared between the

(1985) 39: ". . . many lacunae which cannot be filled but by sheer imagination. A. L. Rowse once observed that 'history is a good deal closer to poetry than is generally realized . . .' (The Uses of History, London (1946) 15). . . . one difference remains: the historian has to control his imagination." As one example, consider Badian's suggested reconstruction of the reality behind the story at 5.17–21, referred to in the note to §§42–49.1 para 6. Others think that a historical commentary on Herodotus is feasible; Armayor (2004) 334 proposes one for book 7.

Spartiates as a whole, the ephors, the gerousia, and the kings. The reference at §109.2 to the polemarch's election by lot is important for the changes of the incipient democracy at Athens; that at §100.1 to the cleruchs at Chalcis, for the expansion of Athens beyond Attica. But to keep the commentary within reasonable bounds, some restraint must be exercised. The final problem, in any commentary on Herodotus, is that it is virtually impossible to say anything about him and his methodology where a contradictory opinion cannot be found in some reputable book or article; a problem compounded by the unmanageable bibliography on him (cf p. 1 n. 1). On that, there is no practical solution, at least that I can think of.

For convenience, I use "aristocrat" and "élite" to designate the better off citizens of a Greek polis; and "oligarchy" in the sense of 3.81.1, to mean rule by them. No pejorative implication should be read into these or related words, unless the context shows otherwise. Where events are given an Olympiad date in our sources, such as Hysiai, Pheidon at Olympia, and the tyranny of Sicyon, I have noted the discussions in Shaw (2003), but not attempted to assess them. I suspect that her views will take some little time to be fully evaluated. I take this opportunity to correct some spelling mistakes in Scott (2000). "Prytanis" should read "prytaneion" wherever it occurs. "Acarnia" in n. 3 should read "Aetolia", and "Anatolian" in sec 3.2 should read "Aetolian".

My substantial indebtedness to others is noted in the Acknowledgements.

Leeds
February 2005

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My preparation of the book was greatly facilitated by being given honorary research status in the School of Classics, University of Leeds; I thank them for their help and suppport. I also gratefully acknowledge the unstinting help of many people. I hope that I did not acquire the reputation for picking brains, often on a single point; those I asked were always more than generous in finding the time to answer my queries. Some were willing to go beyond the bounds of duty in reading earlier drafts of sections of the book: Malcolm Heath, John Hind, Noreen Humble, Elizabeth Irwin, John Lazenby, David Levene, Ian Moxon, Peter Rhodes, Philip de Souza. In warmly thanking them here, it must not be thought that they necessarily agree with all the views which I have expressed. But they saved me from many errors, and often suggested points or references I might otherwise have overlooked. I also thank those who helped with individiual topics: they include O. Kimball Armayor, Geoffrey Arnott, David Carter, Carolyn Dewald, Robert Fowler, Robert Maltby, Verity Platt, Emma Stafford, Allaire Stallsmith, Stephen Todd; and also Roger Brock, who had been my PhD supervisor. One or two others are separately acknowledged in footnotes. I apologise to any whom I have omitted from this list. I thank Leto Karamanlis-Seizani of Athens for visiting Marathon after the 2004 Olympics ended; my visit had been in 1998. For medical input I thank Mr Nicholas Myerson, consultant gynaecologist, on gestation periods for the birth of Demaratos; Dr Neil Sylvester, consultant psychiatrist, on the visions of Pheidippides and Epizelos; and Mr Geoffrey Hillman, consultant ophthalmologist, on Epizelos' loss of sight. Other medical and specialist input is acknowledged in Appx 14 n. 12, Appx 15 n. 27, and Appx 18 n. 27. My son Jonathan provided invaluable computer back-up; most importantly my wife, Dr June Scott, over and above her normal obligations, instructed me about the pine tree of §37, showed me the plants at Marathon which evidence the marshes, and enabled me to say what I do at p. 35 n. 115 and about 5.114 at p. 373; as well as greatly helping with proof reading, the indices, and the maps. In relation to the latter, I am much obliged to the Cambridge University Press for permission to base my maps 1, 5, 6 and 7 on

those in the *Cambridge Ancient History*, 2nd edn (vol III-3 p. 114; IV p. 462; V p. 98); and to the Oxford University Press for permission to base my map 4 on that in G. Shipley, *A History of Samos* (1987) p. 244. The other maps were drawn by my wife and then worked on by both of us. Finally, I would like to note the great help of Miss Poelmans at Brill, for her considerable input in helping to eliminate typographical and other errors from the text; those that remain are my fault, not hers.

TRANSLITERATIONS AND ABBREVIATIONS

In common with others, I regard it as impractical to achieve consistency in transliterating Greek names. I have retained common forms, e.g. Corinth, Athens, and the latinised form for familiar ones, such as Herodotus himself. Otherwise I have tried to keep closer to the Greek, as with Demaratos and Pisistratos.

Ancient authors are cited broadly in accordance with the abbreviations in LSJ[3], Lewis and Short, and *OCD*[3]. With few exceptions I do not distinguish between, e.g. Dem and [Ps-] Dem, but I keep Ps-Scylax and Ps-Scymnus. Some orators are cited by the name of the speech, others by their number: Is *Ciron* 35, but Lys 14.26. I cite the *Athenaion Politeia* as *Ath Pol* without [Arist]. Unless the context otherwise requires, an unattributed citation in the form 1.5.3 is to the *Histories*; § denotes a chapter in book 6. A reference in the form "see on §98.2" is to the *first* lemma from that chapter. References to subsequent lemmata include the first one or two words, e.g. "see on ἐς ἄλλο, §119.3". All dates are BC unless otherwise indicated.

INTRODUCTIONS

Reading Herodotus for the History

It is common to find statements such as "Herodotus says that X did Z" which go on to treat that as historical fact.[1] That "X did Z" is evidence that this is how his sources spoke about X and Z many years later; or, if it is Herodotus speaking, what he believed about X and Z, which amounts to much the same thing, but also includes what he learnt as a child and teenager. We may accept that the Athenians beat the Persians at Marathon, whether or not we accept all the details in his narrative of the battle; but when he says that Histiaeus sent a secret message to Aristagoras on a slave's head in order to be sent by Darius to Ionia (pp. 64–5), he is merely reporting a story; we have to decide how far it is just that and how far there is historicity behind the story. Thus this commentary is not just on the text of book 6. It aims to try to identify on the one hand Herodotus the man and editor (if that word is not anachronistic), on the other what the sources were saying at least 30 years later, often longer; and then see how far we can suggest what lies behind them. What follows are overviews, not exhaustive discussions of the reliability of oral sources, or every aspect of Herodotus' intentions and methods. See, e.g., Harrison (2000) 1–11 for some of the myriad views about him.[2] Considerations of space apart, there is little point in reinventing the several wheels on these topics. It will be readily apparent that there are no fixed rules; all one can do is offer signposts or waymarkers which may assist. It is easier with book 6 than

---

[1] E.g. Shaw (2003) 93, cited on §127.3; cf on νεώτερα, §74.1.

[2] In any case, the bibliography is "unmanageable": Shimron (1989), preface. The one in this book is long enough. Also, discussions about him and his methodology typically draw on passages from the earlier books of the *Histories*. There are excellent general discussions in the introductions to translations: Burn and more recently Marincola to de Sélincourt; Dewald to Waterfield. Specialised studies include Waters (1985), Gould (1989), and Romm (1998). Discussions of Herodotus as a historian include Starr (1968) 132–46, Fornara (1971a), and Drews (1973) chap 3. Numerous individual facets are exhaustively discussed in Derow and Parker (2003); Bakker *et al* (2002); Luraghi (2001); Lateiner (1989); Hart (1982).

with most of the earlier books: it is largely factual; while the events it covers were more recent in relation to when he was collecting his material. But it is desirable first to say a little about the intellectual background to the *Histories*, its contents, and how book 6 fits into it.

Herodotus' life, education, and influences

Most scholars accept a birth-date for Herodotus of 485–480, already in ancient writers.[3] The basic evidence is the many references in the *Histories* to things still extant, or practices still done, "in my time" or "now": they show that he was an adult during the pentecontaetia. In particular, 4.148.4 refers to Elis destroying several cities in Triphylia, which is dated to the mid fifth century,[4] a similar date probably applies to the tribute of §42.2: see on κατὰ χώρην. For the earthquake at §98.2 see on μετὰ τοῦτον.[5] He was born in Halicarnassus (Bodrum), a city whose Greek origins were Dorian, but with a substantial Carian population, and whose dialect seems to have been Ionian, to judge not only from Herodotus but also epigraphy. His family, part Carian, were politically active. They are said to have opposed the ruler of Halicarnassus, Lygdamis, son or grandson of Artemisia, the queen who captained a squadron in Xerxes' armada (7.99, 8.87–8); as a result, his cousin or uncle Panyassis was executed and Herodotus himself went into exile, probably as a teenager, to Samos.[6]

---

[3] Dion Hal *Thuc* 5.5 knew a tradition that Herodotus was born a little before Xerxes' invasion. Aul Gell *NA* 15.23 = Hellanic *FGrH* 4 T3, Apollodorus *FGrH* 244 F7b, citing Pamphila, first century AD, offers 484; there is general acceptance of Diels (1876) 54 that her source was the second century chronographer Apollodorus. See Regenbogen, *RE* sv Pamphila 18.315; Jacoby, commentary on 244 F7b. 484 is probably a calculation, based on a *floruit* of 40 or 41 when he went to Thurii, assuming that he did so in the year of its foundation, 443. But the same passage would give Hellanicus a birth year of 496, and Thucydides 471; both dates are too high by modern assessments. That for Hellanicus is controversial but cannot be earlier than the c480 in *OCD*[3] sv; cf Joyce (1999) n. 14; for Thucydides c460–55 is proposed (e.g. *APF* 7268 IV(C); *OCD*[3] sv).

[4] *HCT* on Thuc 5.31.2, placing it after 471; *CAH* V[2] 104 (Lewis), citing Strabo 8.3.10: "well before 431".

[5] In book 6 there is also §119.4. For a full list of both "in my time" and "now" (or similar) references, see Schmid and Stählin 590 n. 9; for his use of the expression, see Dewald (2002a) 283.

[6] Suda, svv Ἡρόδοτος, Πανύασις. His father had a Carian name (Lyxos). Panyassis

He was alive in 430; he recorded events from 431–0, and knew that the Archidamian war had begun;[7] but there is no consensus as to when he died. Two passages in book 6 are relevant. At §111 he stresses the special honours paid by Athens to the Plataeans for their assistance at Marathon, and at 7.233.2 mentions the Theban attack on her in 431 (n. 7). But he gives no hint of her capture and destruction by Sparta in 427 (Thuc 2.2–6, 3.52–68). At §91 he refers to the Athenian expulsion of Aeginetans in 431, but does not mention their further expulsion from Thyrea and execution in 424 (Thuc 2.27, 4.57). Both are perfect examples of a change in human fortune (p. 9), and we might have expected him to mention them. If he was not dead, it suggests that he too old, or ill, to bother altering what he had written, unless news of neither reached him at Thurii.[8]

It is, however, argued that he was alive in c420 or even later, based partly on his text and partly on apparent references by others. Four points are taken on the first. It is said that the anecdote in §118 about Datis and a statue from Delion is there because Delion became news when it played a significant role in fighting between Athens and Thebes in 424; Demaratos' advice to Xerxes to occupy Cythera, 7.235–7, is said to be there because the Athenians did it in 424 (Thuc 4.89–101; 53–7). It is argued that §98.2, referring to three generations of Persian kings from Darius to Artaxerxes, was written after the latter was dead, i.e. after 424–3; indeed, that the wars there mentioned include the Archidamian War, which ended

was a poet (Bernabé 171–87). The sources on which the Suda drew suggest that Herodotus returned to Halicarnassus from Samos for a short time as a young adult. Problematically, they made Lygdamis the grandson of Artemisia, which is difficult to reconcile with 7.99.1, that in 480 her son (or perhaps eldest son) was young but of military age (νεηνίης). The problem is not solved if we down-dated Herodotus' birth even by 10 years. For Herodotus' Samian sources, see Mitchell (1975); cf Tozzi (1963) 321.

[7] 431: expulsion of Aeginetans, §91.1; Theban attack on Plataea, 7.233.2; 430: the execution of Spartan ambassadors at Athens (Thuc 2.67.1), 7.137.3. The whole of 7.133–7 may be a late insertion into book 7. Archidamian war: 9.73.3; it is also argued that it is included in §98.2 (infra).

[8] Fornara (1981) 155 would meet the argument *ab silentio* by the argument that Herodotus is often silent on post 479 events that we might have expected him to mention. None of the 431–0 events just mentioned prove his travelling back to Athens in c431–429: news of the events could have reached him at Thurii. Not mentioning the fate of Plataea is very strong evidence that he did not go back there after 427.

in 421. Finally, it is said that the reference in 9.73.3 to the annual incursions into Attica during the Archidamian War means that it was over. Since Herodotus must have collected the information for the first two long before 424, the argument requires him either still to be writing these parts of books 6–7 in the late 420s, or to inserting §118 and 7.235–7 into existing texts because of the contemporary events. The arguments on the other two are misplaced: for the former see on §98.2; the second depends on giving γενόμενον a particular meaning.[9]

References by others, arguably reflecting passages in the *Histories*, are mostly in drama. Some may mean no more than that Sophocles was a friend of Herodotus, but others suggest that the topics would be familiar to a fair proportion of the audience: that raises the question as to the source of their familiarity. We do not know if the work was published in parts or as a whole, orally or in writing, either in his lifetime or after his death; the relationship between an author's papyrus roll, an oral publication, and copies of the original, has been considered generally by Thomas (2003), especially at 170–3. Few Athenians either could or would want to buy the probably 28 papyrus rolls of the whole work (p. 74); oral publication was the norm. But there are several stories that he gave public readings in various places in the mid fifth century. The stories as they are recorded may be untrue or exaggerated,[10] but it would be natural for him to do it (or give lectures, per Johnson (1994)), of drafts as

---

[9] The four points are taken by Fornara (1971b) and (1981) 155–6; but see Lloyd 1.63–5. Xerxes is made to say that Demaratos' advice was good, though he accepts his brother's advice against it (7.236–7). If we knew more about Herodotus' sources for this, and the many other exchanges between Xerxes and his generals, it would be easier to assess if the way the three speeches are framed was or was not influenced by contemporary events. H&W *ad loc* see no reason to ascribe a late date. The argument about 9.73.3, which refers to the annual incursions into Attica during the Archidamian War, requires the participle γενόμενον to mean, not just that the war had happened, but that it was over.

[10] The evidence is collected in Powell (1939) 32–6; see also Brown (1973) 32–5. Most scholars doubt the truth of the stories as they stand, e.g. Powell; Flory (1980) is sceptical; Fornara (1971a) 46 n. 17 doubts at least part of them. But majority opinion favours the fact of readings, e.g. Brown; Thomas (2000) 257; she shows that Herodotus' language is designed for oral presentation (213, 225 nn. 24–25, 227–8, 249–269); *id* (2003); so Brock (2003) 12–14; Slings (2002). Hornblower II 24–8, with Annex A, 122–37, from a different angle, accepts readings and goes on to argue that many passages in Thucydides assume a knowledge on the part of his readership (or audience) of Herodotus.

they then stood; whether or not he later perfected or added to those drafts at Thurii.[11] Thus if we assume that the drama references and Aristophanic parodies in n. 12 presuppose prior knowledge of Herodotus by the Athenian audiences, it only indicates readings of the relevant parts of the work at some time; if we infer from the Aristophanes passages that this included recent readings, or publication, it does not help on whether Herodotus was then alive or dead.[12]

Given his background, he would have been well educated, including as a teenager on Samos. Ionia had seen an astonishing outburst of intellectual activity over the previous 100-odd years, from Thales (fl 585) onwards,[13] though it is counter-productive to try to identify him as a student of any particular school of thought, even if some ideas in the *Histories* seem to echo a particular philosopher.[14] But he was clearly influenced by the intellectual thinking of his time; he was to investigate human activity (hence ἱστορίη, enquiry, in the Proem,

---

[11] The question also bears on the polemarch reference in §109.2. If there were readings of a version of Marathon in Athens around 450, it could be argued that, although a generation later, some of the audience might still recall whether the polemarch was then elected by lot, and would not accept an inaccuracy. Also, was the comment about the constitution debate, §43.3, put in because it was already known from a sophistic source (p. 8), or because it had been included in earlier readings?

[12] Here too the basic discussions are Fornara (1971b), (1981). The similarity of both substance and language of the plea of Intaphrenes' wife for her brother, 3.119, to Soph *Ant* 904–20 (442–1) is noteworthy. For whether Eur *Telephus* (438) rather than Ar *Ach* 523–9 (425) echoed 1.1–5 see Sansone (1985) 3 with Heath (1987) 273. Echoes of passages in Herodotus are arguably found in Soph *OC* 337–45 (late fifth century) ≅ 2.35; Ar *Ach* 68–93 (425) ≅ 5.54, 1.133, 2.69.2, 1.114.2; *Av* 1124–38 (414) ≅ 1.179; Eur *El* 1280–3 (417–13), anticipating the plot of *Hel* (412) ≅ 2.112–20; that of *IT* (414–14) ≅ 4.103. The references to earlier writers at Thuc 1.97.2, where only Hellanicus is named, probably includes Herodotus but is too unspecific for present purposes. Herodotus was a senior contemporary of Thucydides: see Thuc 1.20.3 with *HCT* and Hornblower *ad loc.* Hornblower on Thuc 4.1, ὧν ἀκοῇ ἴσμεν, noting the echo of Herodotus, says that "[Thucydides'] debt to Herodotus is large".

[13] It perhaps stimulated Herodotus' own interest in topics such as linguistics (see on §29.2) and technical processes (see on ἐς ἄλλο, §119.3). Anaximander was the first to make a map of the world; that which Aristagoras showed Cleomenes (p. 59) was probably Hecataeus' improved version: Strabo 1.1.11; Agathem *Geog Inform* 1.1; Schol Dion Perieg p. 428 Müller (= Hecat *FGrH* 1 T11b, 12a,b). For the immense strides which had been made in rationalising and elucidating the natural world by Herodotus' time see Guthrie (1962–71) vols 1 and 2; Lloyd (1982).

[14] Lateiner (1989) 245 n. 1: it is unrealistic to seek traces of specific philosophers. The two main areas of relevance to book 6, his attitude to the gods, and his presentation of τίσις, are more conveniently discussed separately (pp. 31–5). General influence is another matter.

p. 9) in the same spirit in which philosophers were probing the natural world to explain how and why things happened.[15] His idea of ἱστορίη may also have been influenced by the methods of the medical school on nearby Cos. Certainly he seems to have had knowledge of the medical schools there and at Cnidos: learning by observation, and methodically recording cases, is also a form of ἱστορίη; some of his passages reflect their teaching.[16] It is tempting to suggest that these influences would also encourage standards of intellectual honesty in his enquiries, and so one reason to reject Fehling's ideas of creative invention.[17] There are parts of the *Histories*, particularly in the Egyptian logos, where it is hard to accept him at face value. But honesty in making enquiries does not preclude credulity in accepting what he was told, including where his sources were biased or hostile, as with Cambyses.[18] For book 6 there is no reason not to believe that it basically represents the results of his enquiries.

[15] The stress is on "spirit": Herodotus' enquiries were practical; philosophers mostly developed their ideas by dialectic ("abstract theorizing", Thomas (2000) 21). Heraclitus scorned Pythagoras for his *historie* (22 B129 DK); but it was the title of a work by Democritus (68 A33 DK); cf Guthrie (1962) 1.43, 71; Brown (1973) 6. We can make the parallel closer by noting where they did conduct experiments, e.g. in acoustics, optics, pneumatics and hydrostatics: Lloyd (1964) 66–70; *id* (1982) 30–1, 115, 139–43; Guthrie 1.37, 66 n. 1, 125–6; (1965) 2.225–6.

[16] Thomas (2000) 6–27 shows how he was influenced by a wide range of ideas in Ionian philosophy (so Raaflaub (2002)), and the methods of the medical schools. That is not the same as he and Hippocrates knowing each other's written works, though there may have been early medical works lost to us or, more probably, subsumed into the earlier works of the Hippocratic corpus, which date from the later fifth century, but typically reflect long standing medical practice: Jouanna (1999) Appx 3. Hippocrates was born c460 (*OCD*[3] sv). The corpus uses ἱστορίη to mean knowledge gained from observations, e.g. *Prisc Med* 20; *Arte* 1. The parallels between Herodotus and Hippocratic medicine are discussed by Thomas 28–74. One case is his comments about Ionia (see on δρηπέτῃσι, §11.2, and τὸ τρίτον, §32) and those in Hipp *Airs Waters Places*. That suggests that each drew on a common source, not that Herodotus read *Airs* or could get hold of a copy. Also, he had probably written up the Ionian revolt by the time *Airs* was published: "second half fifth century", per Jouanna, *loc cit*; "very early" per Thomas 25–6, by which she means early in the period c430–c400. See also on §27.1.

[17] Fehling (1989); strongly rebutted, Pritchett (1993); so Dover (1998), and the discussion in Fowler (1996) 80–5. The real questions are whether his sources gave him accurate information, and whether he either wanted to or was able to check it, or was occasionally careless (cf p. 22).

[18] There has been controversy from hellenistic times to the present day as to how many of the things he says he saw in Egypt he did in fact see: Lloyd 1. 61–140, esp 72–5, 81–120, 127–39. For a balanced history of Cambyses, see Kuhrt (1995) II 662–4; *CAH* IV[2] 48–50 (Cuyler Young); 258–61 (Ray). The problems of his Scythian narrative are discussed in Appx 10 para 7.

We can infer that he travelled widely, within and outside the Greek world, to collect his material; this was probably facilitated by being able to stay with family *xenoi*. So far as we know, he had no settled home until going to Thurii: indeed, our earliest references call him "of Thurii",[19] where he is said to have been buried. It is clear that much of the material in book 6 must be derived from sources in Athens and Sparta: cf pp. 18–21.[20] He mentions visiting Thasos, §47, and he probably went to most of the other places mentioned in book 6.[21] He probably revisited Ionia, and as he visited some part of Scythia he would pass through the Hellespont.[22] As to Persia, it is not clear that he travelled further east than Sardis. The descriptions of the bitumen and oil near Susa (§119), or Babylon, 1.178–187, could derive from autopsy, but could equally well derive from informants. No doubt he learnt something about Persia from Persians in Halicarnassus (p. 26), and he probably spoke to Zopyros in Athens (Appx 5 Note 2), though how much Persian input he had

[19] For the foundation of Thurii in 443 see on §21.1. Arist *Rhet* 1409a29 quotes the opening of the *Histories* as by "Herodotus of Thurii"; hence Legrand amends the proem to that; so Duris *FGrH* 76 F64; Lindos Temple Chronicle, *FGrH* 532 F1 C29. Line 43 of a recently discovered second century inscription from Halicarnassus, Isager (1998), Lloyd-Jones (1999) shows that the city then had no hesitation in claiming Herodotus as her own. As he chose to settle in Thurii rather than Asia Minor, one must wonder whether there were private or family reasons for not settling there; though he seems to have returned to collect material (n. 22). As suggested on τὸ τρίτον, §32, he is not overly critical of Ionians.

[20] The length of time he spent in Athens has been queried by Podlecki (1977), who offers Olympia and Delphi as places where stories about Athens might circulate. See also Murray (2001a) 31–2 = (1987) 105–6 for Delphi as a source generally, though note the caveat on p. 15. 3.55 is specific for Sparta.

[21] In addition to Olympia and Delphi, and other panhellenic centres (he mentions Dodona, 2.52), we can believe that he visited Aegina (see on προδοσίην, §88); Argos, for parts of §§75–83, including the double oracle of §§19 and 77. The detail in 5.67–8 comes from Sicyon; he may have got a version of the wooing of Agariste, §§126–130, there. He visited Thessaly: 7.129, and likely that he visited Delos, Corinth, and perhaps Megara. Hellanic *FGrH* 4 T1 = Suda sv Ἑλλάνικος, says that Herodotus visited Macedonia in the time of Amyntas, but is wrong on Amyntas, who died at about the time Herodotus was born. But Hammond and Griffith (1979) 98–9, 104 cite some 15 passages to argue that he visited Macedonia in the time of Alexander I, and met him: cf note to §§42–45. The traditions about his giving readings, p. 4, would place him at Olympia, Thebes, and perhaps Corinth.

[22] We may infer a return to Ionia, e.g. to re-access the Histiaeus biography (p. 63), to check detail on the Ionian revolt, including about Lade (§14), perhaps for the chronology for 493–0, as to which see p. 16, and for details about Demaratos' estates, §70. Perhaps en route, he visited Paros (§§134–5). His visit to Thasos was apparently inspired by what he learnt in the Levant. For Scythia see Appx 10 n. 9. His visit to Egypt only touches on book 6 in §§53, 60.

for the whole work has recently been questioned (Wiesehöfer (2004) 210–11); and see note to §§42–5.

He had read or heard much poetry: certainly Homer, and probably other epic poems lost to us. The Homeric aspects of the *Histories* were noted even in antiquity;[23] modern discussions on both structure[24] and language[25] are legion; though there is no question of the gods directly intervening to change events. But there is much more than Homer. In the *Histories* as a whole he cites seven or eight poets by name,[26] and a general reference to them at §52.1; indeed it is argued that archaic poetry and Attic drama influenced him.[27] He mentions other writers as if he knew them, including at §55, where he probably meant Hecataeus, Pherecydes and Acusilaos.[28] He cites Hecataeus at §137.1, and drew other material from him (see n. 49). Knowledge of other writers, both as influences for content and possible borrowings, are more conveniently discussed infra, pp. 12–13, 15. One other influence should be noted. His adulthood coincided with the emergence of sophistic thinking; he may have met Gorgias, in Athens or Italy. Protagoras has been suggested as the source of the constitution debate (cf on μέγιστον θῶμα, §43.3), and the defence of the Alcmaeonids, §§121–4, is almost a text-book piece of later sophistic rhetoric, though we cannot know if it is how his Alcmaeonid sources put it, or his editorial presentation, or both.[29]

---

[23] Called τὸν πέζον . . . Ὅμηρον in the inscription cited in n. 19; ὁμηρικώτατος in Longin *Subl* 13.3.

[24] Homer is arguably a model for features such as changes of scene or digressions to hold the listener's attention, and dramatic speeches: see Boedeker (2002); Lang (1984) 37–51; Lateiner (1987) collects the many instances of non-verbal communication (e.g. rituals, body language) in Homer and Herodotus. But in book 6, the mourning of §58, and lavish arrangements for the wooing of Agariste, §§126–29, are part of the narrative, even if the latter in particular has a Homeric ring (cf on §126.3).

[25] For Homeric echoes in Herodotus' language in book 6 alone see §§11.2, 27.1, 53.2, 79.1, 84.3; cf n. 91. Generally, Pelling (2006), forthcoming.

[26] Archilochus, 1.12.2; Homer and Hesiod, 2.53.2; Aeschylus, 2.156.6; Pindar, 3.38.4; the *Cypria*, not by Homer, 2.116–17; the *Epigoni*, whose attribution to Homer he queries, 4.32; Simonides, 5.102.3 and 7.228.4; Solon (qua poet) 5.113.2. Phrynichus is noted in the narrative, §21.2; a full list, Lateiner (1989) 107.

[27] Dewald and Marincola (1987) 13–14, with bibliography; Saïd (2002).

[28] Those who have tried to explain the flooding of the Nile, 2.20.1, include Thales (see Lloyd and H&W *ad loc*); DS 1.37.3–4 = Cadmus of Miletus *FGrH* 489 F1 says that Hecataeus and Cadmus of Miletus are included. He mentions Aesop at 2.134.3, and Scylax, 4.44.1 (though not directly as a writer; and if Herodotus knew his *Periplus*, it is not the extant *Periplus* attributed to him, *GGM* 1.15–96, which is a fourth century work).

[29] Protagoras, c490–c420; Gorgias, c490–c385 (Guthrie (1971) 3.1.264, 269).

We may now turn to the purpose of the *Histories*, which he sets out in his preface:

> ʽΗροδότου ʽΑλικαρνασσέος ἱστορίης ἀπόδεξις ἥδε, ὡς μήτε τὰ γενόμενα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων τῷ χρόνῳ ἐξίτηλα γένηται, μήτε ἔργα μεγάλα τε καὶ θωμαστά, τὰ μὲν ῞Ελλησι, τὰ δὲ βαρβάροισι ἀποδεχθέντα, ἀκλεᾶ γένηται, τά τε ἄλλα καὶ δι᾽ ἣν αἰτίην ἐπολέμησαν ἀλλήλοισι. (book 1, proem)
>
> This sets out the enquiry of Herodotus of Halicarnassus, so that neither what men did should be forgotten over time, nor great and remarkable deeds performed by both Greeks and barbarians should go uncelebrated, in general and particularly for what reason they fought each other.

He starts with four old stories of conflict between Greeks and easterners (Io, Europa, Medea, and Helen), and at 1.5.3–4 goes on: ". . . [I shall deal] with cities small and large; for many of those which were formerly great have become small; those which were great in my time used to be small. I will deal with both, because I appreciate that prosperity (εὐδαιμονίη) never stays long in the same place." He puts this even more clearly when Croesus advises Cyrus, 1.207.2: there is a cycle in the affairs of men, and as it turns it never allows prosperity (εὐτυχέειν) to remain with the same people.[30]

The preface, and whether the *Histories* fulfils all its promises, has its own literature,[31] but the basic theme of the work, never lost, is

---

Herodotus' references to *nomos* (see n. 85) may well be influenced by sophistic thinking on the *nomos-physis* antithesis: Evans (1991) 23–8.

[30] The inclusion of Helen enables one to say that, in a literary sense, both Herodotus and Homer dealt with fighting between east and west. There is no obvious case in the *Histories* of a small city becoming great. The concept is clearest expressed in the story of Solon and Croesus, 1.30–33, but generates discussions such as Harrison (2000) 31–63. It is probably a labour of love to try and decide how he thought up the notion. 1.5.3–4 could be read simply as rhetorical expansion of a simple point, that Croesus crashed from prosperity to ruin. If one sought philosophical thinking behind it, Anaxagoras (c500–c428) looked at plant growth as part of a general exposition of how things come to be and fade away (Guthrie (1965) 2.271–2, 279–304); Heraclitus had possibly anticipated Empedocles' thinking about the cyclic renewal of the universe and the cosmic cycle (Guthrie (1962) 1.458; (1965) 2.167–185). Empedocles visited Thurii, and would possibly meet Herodotus; but anything more is speculative. Lateiner (1989) 216 interprets Xenophanes 21 B33–36 DK as indicating the concept of mutability in human affairs. See also Renehan (2001) 174–185; Strassburger (1962) 580–2.

[31] The precise meaning of virtually each word in the preface is discussed: e.g. Bakker (2002), Nagy (1987), Immerwahr (1956) 243–250; see also Fowler (1996) 80–7. An important topic is that ἀπόδεξις ("performance", "demonstration") arguably shows that Herodotus envisaged oral as much as written publication (cf n. 10). Another is how far αἰτίη in the preface carries a connotation of blame; for the

the sequence of events that led to Xerxes' invasion. Before Croesus, Greeks had been free; he was the first to make them tributaries. It began when Candaules, king of Lydia, spoke to his general Gyges of his wife's beauty. Because she knew that Gyges had seen her naked, she required him to kill her husband and marry her.[32] As a result, he and his descendants, the Mermnads, ruled Lydia for five generations, during which time they, especially Croesus, made the Asiatic Greeks their subjects. Meantime Cyrus had united the Median and Persian empires, and then conquered Asia. Because of Gyges' crime, Croesus was fated to lose his kingdom; in fact to Cyrus, who thus became the Greeks' master. Cyrus was succeeded by Cambyses and then Darius. All this is books 1–3. Darius unsuccessfully invaded Scythia (book 4); later, Aristagoras of Miletus got into difficulties with Darius' satrap and initiated the Ionian revolt. He caused the Athenians and Eretrians to become involved; Darius suppressed the revolt (book 5; book 6 relates the final stages). It caused Darius to take revenge on Athens and Eretria by sending first Mardonius and then Datis against them (rest of book 6). When Datis was defeated Darius determined to try again; on his death Xerxes took over the expedition, but was defeated (books 7–9).

For Herodotus, there was an adequate causal link between each of these events and the next. However much he digresses with a personal story, or the geography or ethnology of some distant land, he always returns to this basic narrative. We can question his ideas of causation, or argue that the link between one event and the next is tenuous; we can point out that he was not blind to Darius wanting to expand his empire westwards in any event (note to §§42–5 para 2). But to conceive presenting Xerxes' invasion as the end of

word in book 6, see p. 36 with n. 120. An additional layer of sophistication is added by those who argue that because Herodotus refers to the end of the Babylonian and Lydian empires, coupled with his cycle concept (previous n.), the *Histories* is not what the preface says it is, but is a coded warning to Athens that her empire, too, will fall, e.g. Moles (1996), (2002); in relation to §86, Johnson (2001) 20–4. That attributes considerable foresight to Herodotus, both that Sparta must inevitably beat Athens, or that Athens would lose the war in the way she eventually did. But it would be an argument in favour of a later date (infra), because in c460 it would not be as clear that Athens was "imperialistic" as it would be after she transferred the treasury to Athens.

[32] Herodotus says that she made Gyges kill either her husband or himself. Other versions of the story are Plato *Rep* 359c–360b, and (with changed names) Nic Dam *FGrH* 90 F44; cf F47. We date the event c685 (p. 45 n. 156).

a sequence that began with Candaules' conversation with Gyges was a remarkable achievement. It was probably obvious to most Greeks of Herodotus' generation that Xerxes had invaded Greece to avenge Datis, and many would see Datis' expedition as revenge for the help which Athens and Eretria had given at the beginning of the Ionian revolt. But Herodotus' genius was to see how he could explain it by starting the sequence 6 or 7 generations earlier, from c685 to 479 in our terms, while including much other material. So far as we know, no earlier work offered such a broad sweep of either time or space.[33] How, and when, did he come to think it out?

There are two basic answers. One is that he thought it out as a teenager or young man, and wrote the work very much in the order in which we have it.[34] The other is that he started by writing his Egyptian travelogue, our book 2, and his account of Xerxes' invasion, our books 7–9; and only with maturity did he come to see how the latter could be presented as the end of a chain that began long before.[35] A possible intermediate view is that he had the idea early on, but wrote and published books 2 and 7–9 first, probably orally or by reading selections (cf p. 4); he then embarked on the longer work when he saw that his writings were popular. In terms of this commentary, the relevance is that it affects when we may think of him accessing his sources. On the first view, on a birth date of c485–480, we may have him starting in c465–0; on the second, it might not earlier than c455–0. Either way, we can only guess over how many years his enquiries lasted, in what order he visited his various destinations (and whether some were visited more than once), how long he spent in each place, and what he wrote during these

[33] Fowler (1996) 68–9 briefly discusses whether Charon's *Hellenika* was "Herodotus before Herodotus".

[34] Powell's analysis (1939) 39–44 is that the "Persian History", books 1 to 4, were written, whether or not also published, by 442 (his conclusion, 36); and that books 5 to 9 were written afterwards. That of Sansone (1985) is less exact; he accepts the substance of Fornara (1971b) and (1981), cited nn. 9, 12, and proposes publication of books 1–4 and the beginning of 5 by the mid 420s and Herodotus continuing to write to c420.

[35] Book 2 reads like a stand-alone work that has been later slotted into the larger one. Lloyd 1.61–8 shows that Herodotus was in Egypt after 460. The immense detail in books 7–9 suggests access to oral sources at a time when memories were comparatively fresh (whether or not he also used Persian archives). They cover two years of events but are one third of the whole work. Book 6 covers about 10 years (c498–489). For this approach see e.g. Macan (1908) I.1.xliv–lxi and Waters (1985) 23.

years. It is attractive, but pure speculation, to think that when he finally settled in Thurii in c443, he had ended his enquiries and concentrated on his writing.

But there were other factors. One is the influence of earlier works. Although the recording of any information in prose had only started in the mid sixth century,[36] we know of sufficient names to think that by the end of the century, Greeks had a growing interest in hearing about their past, often their mythical past, but also more recent events. Fowler (1996), esp 62–76, reviews predecessors or possible predecessors, to which we might add those noted by Kahn (2003) 148–9. Some were history in a broad sense, though we would classify others as genealogy or mythical history;[37] they included geography and travelogues, e.g. Scylax (n. 28). Hecataeus wrote a work variously called *Periegesis* and *Periodos Gēs*; his influence on Herodotus has recently been championed by Armayor (2004) 327–32, and cf p. 8. Charon and Xanthus had shown that unusual, even spicy, anecdotes might be slotted into a narrative,[38] though Herodotus may have had an intuitive sense of what would entertain his audiences. Discussions

[36] The earliest works were those of Pherecydes of Syros and Anaximander; Xenophanes and others used verse. There are questions about what, if anything, Thales, Heraclitus or even Pythagoras reduced to writing (Guthrie (1962) 1.54, 155, 406–7). *Non constat* that works such as Hesiod's *Ehoiai* circulated in writing as opposed to orally; nor that Herodotus could access a copy of the written version of a specific earlier writer.

[37] Cf n. 39. On the spread of written prose see the contributions to Yunis (2003), especially Kahn at 139–61; Rösler (2002) 79. For works which are more specifically "historical", see Luraghi (2001), especially Bowie, Bertelli, and Fowler; the latter should be read with Fowler (1996) *loc cit.* Very little is known about some, e.g. Cadmus (n. 28) or Euagon (n. 47).

[38] Ephoros *FGrH* 70 F180 = Athen 12.515d says that Xanthus gave Herodotus "τὰς ἀφορμάς": Pearson (1939) 109–111, 132–5, Fowler (1996) 64, who translates τὰς ἀφορμάς as "starting point" or "source material"; perhaps "inspiration" is better. Xanthus probably ended his *Lydiaca* with the fall of Sardis (Mehl (2004) 339), but may have helped show Herodotus how a narrative of past events, "history", could be presented. Xanthus had entertaining anecdotes: *FGrH* 765 F4, 17, 18; cf Pearson (1939) 117; as did Charon *FGrH* 262 F1, 7a (referred to on §37.1). Xanthus probably included something on Persian religion: Pearson 117. Fowler (1996) 62–9 notes the stories F18 and also F31, that the Magi commit incest, which "it is hard to believe Herodotus would have omitted" if he had known them. They are in two different works; but if we assume that Herodotus accessed a copy of either work, and did get ideas about presentation, it does not follow that he wanted to repeat anecdotes from them in his own work. Taking geographical details from Hecataeus was one thing; he got enough anecdotes from his own enquiries without also being seen to steal those recorded by others.

are often clouded by questions as to whether a given predecessor wrote "history" (however we define that). In any modern sense it was a concept which came later (e.g. ἱστορικός, Arist *Poet* 1415b1). Xanthus, say, or Hecataeus, was, like Herodotus himself, a λογοποιός or συγγραφεύς.[39] Such works were becoming commoner from about the time of Herodotus' birth, a picture not affected by Fowler's controversial high dating of some, particularly local historians, Ὧροι (65–8).[40] There is little indication that Herodotus took material from them (p. 16); but there must have been some influence: Murray (2001b) 519.

A second factor is that the Persian Wars seem to have sparked a market (to use a modern term) for works which told its story, probably with some ethnology about Persia included, *Persica*. Those by Dionysius of Miletus[41] and Charon of Lampsacus probably pre-dated Herodotus, and he had almost certainly heard of them, whether or not he had read them (or heard readings). The dates for Hellanicus, including when he wrote his works, are controversial (n. 3).[42] A third, important, factor, is the influence of his formative years. As a boy and teenager, he would certainly learn about local events, including the Ionian revolt, and perhaps also those in Thrace, §§31–3 and 42–5. They were fairly recent: even when he was a teenager, the start of the revolt would still only be about 25–30 years earlier.[43]

[39] The literal translation of λογοποιός, "maker of stories", has the wrong connotation for us; perhaps "narrator". Herodotus uses it of Aesop, 2.134.3 and Hecataeus, 2.143.1, 5.36.2, 125. Dion Hal *Thuc* 5 uses συγγραφεῦς, perhaps "prose writer"; he includes Acusilaos and Pherecydes, whom we would call mythographers. For the word generally at this period, see Kahn (2003) 148–9.

[40] At least, if local chronicles existed in the mid fifth century, Herodotus did not use them, given his chronological lacunae (pp. 17–18, 23): Fornara (1983) 16–20, following Jacoby. His year by year chronology for 493–490 could have come from one, but other sources are just as likely (p. 16).

[41] Armayor (2004) 321, like Drews (1973) 20–2 and Fornara (1971a) 25–6, accepts the existence of the *Persica* of Dionysius of Miletus. Lehmann (1902) proposed him as an actual source, including for the Ionian revolt (337–9); he was followed by Drews 27–30, 83, who identified various passages in book 1; Fowler (1996) 85 suggests 1.1–4. Against the doubt others have expressed for the very existence of Dionysius (Pearson (1939) 110, 114) see Drews 154 n. 7.

[42] Hellanicus was probably a contemporary of Herodotus, but we should not go further than to say that Herodotus may have heard that Hellanicus was also writing a *Persica*.

[43] He would also learn about events in mainland Greece, but that would be second or third hand hearsay from traders or other travellers. His account of them depends on his adult enquiries.

They may also have helped him formulate the very idea of the *Histories*. The impact of Croesus and then the Persians were problems locally, not for mainland Greece. That these had got progressively worse within the previous two generations, and had been a factor in the revolt, were arguably common perceptions in Ionia: cf pp. 47–8, 52. A shrewd teacher might have developed this idea, and shown, or helped Herodotus to see, how this could be traced back to Croesus' ancestors, and linked to the end of the story, that Xerxes' expedition was to avenge Datis. But however we assess the influence of earlier literature or his teachers, nothing should detract from his originality in covering a wide geographical area, a long period of time, a sequence of events leading to Xerxes' invasion; while saying little about the distant, mythical past.

Herodotus' Sources

Herodotus lived in a world in which information passed orally, and it is perhaps two sides of the same coin to say that he preferred oral sources, and written archives were few in his time.[44] There were one or two lists of officials; if, which is doubtful, a written list of archons at Athens existed prior to c425, it would merely record names, not events happening during the archonship.[45] If it did exist, Herodotus

[44] "We hardly appreciate the great difference between his time and ours in the reporting of events . . . [they had no archives] . . . We scarcely realise how much they depended on oral reports and how ready they were to believe what they were told": Griffiths (1989) 53, citing Fontenrose (1978) 128; even if Alcinous knows that some travellers tell tall tales (though he believes Odysseus: Hom *Od* 11.363–6).

[45] The reference to μνῆμαι and γράφαι in Dion Hal *Thuc* 5 is a false friend: Dionysius assumed they had existed and been used: Pritchett *ad loc*; Fowler (1996) 63 n. 2; Jacoby (1949) 215; generally, Bertelli (2001) 71–2. The fourth century list of high priests for the cult of Apollo at Miletus, *IMilet* I 3.122, noted on τύραννον, §5.1 goes back to 525; as with the Athenian archon list, we do not know if it replaced an earlier stone, or was based entirely on oral tradition. Hellanicus wrote a *Priestesses* [sc of Hera] *of Argos*, probably in the 420s, in which he is said to have associated their periods of office with various external events (Dion Hal *AR* 1.72 = *FGrH* 4 F84), though the fragments, *FGrH* 4 F74–84, all refer to mythological history. If Herodotus could access a written list of priestesses at Argos, it would only contain their names: see Möller (2001) 254–60. Sickinger (1999) 35–61, 62–92, discusses the extent to which Athens recorded laws and decrees in writing in sixth and fifth centuries; but there was nothing like a chronicle: "Athens was a predominantly oral society well into the fifth and fourth centuries" (60); so Jacoby (1949) 3–4, 51–4, 79–80, 177–96; Lateiner (1989) 114, 116 with n. 8. Thomas (1989) 34–93, (1992) 65–72, 88–100, 132–57 discusses the limited use made of

ignored it in writing about the Alcmaeonids (§123.1: see on μισοτύραν-νοι). If Delphi kept archives of consultations, there is no hint that he checked them against his oral input to confirm that a consultation occurred, much less to extract the text of a response his sources could not provide (as at §§76.1 and 135). He did note inscriptions, such as on the monument in Samos to the captains who fought at Lade (§14), or that erected by Darius en route to Scythia (4.87); he actually quotes those at Thermopylae, 7.228. But in his Marathon narrative, he makes no reference to any of the dedications set up after the battle; he gives the number of Athenian dead, but not that their names were listed (see on ἑκατόν, §117.1).[46] He refers to the painting of Darius' Bosporos bridge in the Heraion on Samos (4.88), but not to the painting of Marathon in the Stoa Poikile which had been put up c460, which it is hard to think he did not know (cf p. 34; Appx 17 A2).

Lateiner (1989) 104–7 lists many passages where Herodotus reflects what others say; but if we exclude popular or general expressions (for which see also Luraghi (2001) 144–51, 155–60), and the mythical past, and Hecataeus, he finds only 9 places in the whole *Histories* where Herodotus might have drawn material from other writers, at least for Greek history (106). For book 6 Lateiner suggests Charon for the Lampsacus incident in §37.[47] If Herodotus used him rather than local or Athenian sources there, he did not do so at 5.99.1 or 5.102.2.[48] He cites Hecataeus at §137.1; the description of the Styx at §74 may possibly be from him. Although in antiquity he was said to have stolen from others, this appears to relate to material in his Egyptian logos copied from Hecataeus.[49] A written source is possible

archives even where they existed; (1989) 38 would date the first Athenian city archive to the very end of the fifth century. For Persian records see n. 50.

[46] S West (1985) 304 argues that in the *Histories* as a whole Herodotus was reluctant to cite inscriptions, regarding them merely as an aid to oral input.

[47] For the other 8 passages he suggests Xanthus, for 1.94.2 and 1.107, Euagon, *FGrH* 535, and (the real) Scylax, *FGrH* 709. See also *CAH* IV^2 466–70 (Murray).

[48] As reported, Charon *FGrH* 262 F10 = Plut *Mal Her* 861c-d says that the Athenians sent triremes to Ionia; after the débacle at Sardis. the Greek forces withdrew to Miletus. 5.99.1 distinguishes the Athenians' ships (νηυσί) from the Eretrians' triremes; but see Appx 2 n. 1. 5.102 says the forces retreated to Ephesus. Both may be factually right, if some Athenians returned home from Miletus, or from Ephesus via Miletus.

[49] Lateiner (1989) 104 some 12 11 passages, apart from §137.1, which draw on Hecataeus, mostly from book 2; Hammond and Griffith (1979) 1.188–9 would add

for the yearly time markers for Ionian events between 493 and 490 (§§31.1, 43.1, 46.1, 95.1), all the more noteworthy because of the chronological haze elsewhere (pp. 17 with n. 56; 23). Rhodes (2003) 60 suggested that he used a Persian diary for these and other events before 480, perhaps indirectly via an Ionian Greek source.[50] But he might have found them in a *Persica* (less likely a local chronicle); they could equally be what he learnt as a youngster (cf p. 13), or from an Ionian informant with a good recollection from his adolescent years. It is unlikely that it was from a Greek diary: Greeks did not keep diaries or write memoirs in the early fifth century; if they did, other parts of his narrative might have been more detailed, including chronologically.[51]

Thus his main sources were oral. As we have seen, he would learn about the Ionian revolt when the events were comparatively recent; for the rest of book 6, he was probably collecting his material from perhaps c465 at least until 443. A few passages are "old history", e.g. the origin stories of §§52–3 and §§137–9, and the Alcmaeonid curse behind §§121–4. But the main events took place during 493–489 (Appx 1; note to §§132–140), and in understanding his narrative we must allow for the tensions and loss of detail to which oral tradition is subject over a period of at least 30 and possibly up to 60 years. Fortunately, for this period they were not affected by the "floating gap" discussed by Thomas (2001), the lack of recall for events between origin stories from the distant past and those of the last three generations or so.[52]

7.123. Nenci on §74 suggests the Styx detail. Other references to Hecataeus: his family stemma, 2.143 (cf on Αἰακοῦ, §35.1), and his part in the Ionian revolt, pp. 53, 54, 56, 62, are more likely from oral sources. Euseb *Praep Ev* 10.3 is a long citation from Porphyry on Greek authors copying others' material: at 10.3.16 it says that Herodotus took book 2 material from Hecataeus (= *FGrH* 1 T22, F324a); *id* 23 adds that Pollio wrote a work called Περὶ τῆς Ἡροδότου κλοπῆς; cf Pearson (1939) 23–4. His inaccuracies in book 2 are discussed in Lloyd 1.73–5, and his sources at 75–140; specifically for Greek literary sources, including Hecataeus, 126–39.

50 On this see Appx 1 n. 1. Persia inherited a tradition of written records: Lateiner (1989) 124 with n. 55 assumes the existence of such records at least for 480–479. But it is doubtful that Herodotus used them for the events of the 490s as a whole. He cannot name the generals at Miletus, §§6–9, nor give tribal or even numerical details for any the Persian forces, other than the "600" ships of §§9.1, 95.2 (but not Mardonius, §§43–5), such as he does for 480.

51 Alexander's diaries (ephemerides, *FGrH* 117) were an innovation among Greeks. Boys being taught to read and write is not to be confused with private writings: cf on παισί, §27.2.

52 But it does mean that where history was first recorded a good time after the

Our best evidence for how traditions changed in the Greek world comes from Athens, though the essential study of Thomas (1989) relies mostly on late fifth century authors and fourth century oratory, and we are concerned with the position over a rather shorter period.[53] But there is no reason to think that, for most of the Greek world, Athens was special. Provided we do not think of sources as watertight categories, because one could influence another, we may identify family traditions, accounts which a prominent family put about to emphasise the achievements of its members, or to denigrate those of a rival family; various popular or *polis* traditions, as expressed by the man in the street (or agora);[54] and eye-witnesses. Their accuracy is another matter. An account of an event such as Marathon, or the expedition to Paros, might originate in what eye-witnesses reported (which itself may not have been wholly accurate);[55] but could also derive from assumptions or camp rumour which became accepted as fact. There is always selectivity in oral traditions as to what is recalled. Greeks were not interested in systematically recalling their past; one indication, as noted on p. 14, is that even where they had a list of priests or magistrates, they did not attach events to the terms of office. Another is that the interests of the group maintaining the tradition influences what is recalled; only specific incidents tend to stay in memory, in turn affecting what Herodotus could record (Osborne (2002) 513–14). Where they thought an event worth recalling, they did not have our obsession for burdening it with chronological detail.[56] But even if originally accurate, any account, including

events, as with the *Lakonica* and *Argolika* noted in Appx 15, nn. 1, 13, we should be cautious about accepting the accuracy of the account.

[53] The problem is succinctly put by Davies (1994) 200, there discussing the fourth century accounts of the First Sacred War: "[An account of an event] was vulnerable twice over, both by being subject to continuous change during oral transmission according to the political cultural or social needs of each successive generation, and by being open to rationalisation or codification when being committed to written form"; see also next note.

[54] Thomas (1989) 197–213 at 197 notes the possible varieties of polis traditions. Murray (2001a) 25–7 = (1987) 100–1 calls it "group" tradition, and suggests that it is both more accurate, because the group has an interest in preserving the story, and more likely to be biased, because of the group's interests. For book 6, he only refers briefly to the Hippocleides story, §§126–30. See also Forsdyke (2002) 521–2; and, on group tradition generally, Luraghi (2001) 144–51, 156–60 cited supra.

[55] Whatley (1964) 121 shows how eye-witness accounts can be wrong from the start.

[56] See, generally, Shaw (2003) 19–46, esp 24, 25–9; and 239–41, on their very different mind-set. "The mania for accurate measurement [sc of time] is a modern

that of the eye-witness, is liable to change over time. Details get forgotten, or are wrongly recalled; the order of events gets confused or changed, even without the changes as the story passes from mouth to mouth. This is well illustrated by the limited information available to Thucydides in the later fifth century when writing up the pentecontaetia, as any study of it shows (e.g. Badian (1993); Karamoutsou-Teza (1994)). Any account is liable to change in response to political tensions and political bias: in democratic Athens, it paid to show that your family had opposed the Pisistratids.[57] Popular traditions may recall a particular story with an overlay of folklore; it then shows an uncanny parallel to the "urban legend".[58]

Much of book 6, apart from the Ionian sections, comes from sources in Athens and Sparta. A full study of them would involve the whole *Histories*. As to Athens, her early history in 1.53–64 is a topic in its own right, briefly noted on §137.1. The Solon and Croesus story, 1.30–33, appears to derive from popular tradition. The narratives of 5.55–89 and §§115, 121–31 are a mixture of popular and Alcmaeonid accounts; §§34–41, 102–16 a mixture of popular and Philaid accounts. In each case, we can see that the family traditions have been adapted to the politics of the time, showing an anti-tyrant bias, e.g. with Pisistratos and his sons written out or denigrated. See

development" (Mitchel (1956) 58, 63); see also Figueira (1988) 50–1. The notion of dating past events by Olympiads effectively dates from the third century: see Shaw 47–99. The first historian to do so seems to have been Timaeus (*FGrH* 566 F19b, 26b); for the Xanthus fragment *FGrH* 765 F30 see Fowler (1996) 64. Herodotus once dates an event by the Athenian archon: Xerxes' invasion, 8.51.1; this is entirely consistent with the name being part of the oral tradition, which did not add that the invasion was 10 years after Marathon: that is our calculation.

[57] As examples only, men might claim that, or how, ancestors helped remove Hippias: Thomas (1989) 108, 139–43 (Andocides); 116–17, 144–53 (Alcibiades); 242–56 (Alcmaeonids).

[58] Thomas (1989) 98 calls stories such as those about Alcmaeon and Croesus, §125, folk tales. Over a period, changes in any tradition may give rise to a revised but commonly accepted view of an old event. Comparables show that popular accounts can come to deviate considerably from documented fact: Finley (1964) 2–3, arguing for caution in treating Homer as evidence for a Trojan War, cites three mediaeval epics derived from popular tradition, where documented history shows a very different picture: the Chanson de Roland, the Niebelungenlied, and the Slav tradition about Kossovo. A further case is the accounts of the invasion of England in the Norse sagas (Binns (1966)). Many years of practice at the bar taught me that even over a short period, apparently reliable witnesses can omit details, reverse the order of events, not say what they assume everyone knows, contradict each other: yet it is often possible to go behind their statements and reconstruct at least the probabilities of the situation.

the notes to §§34–41, 102–108, 121–4, and 125–31.[59] We complain about the lack of detail in the Marathon narrative, Appx 17 *init*, but even at the time, few will have had a good understanding of the whole battle. By c460, the youngest hoplites, who could speak only of their own part, would be 50 or 60 years old; older ones, and generals, would be dead, though Herodotus could presumably access their stories second-hand from sons or nephews. Also, as detail in popular tradition got lost over time, so there grew a generalised polis version which mainly stressed how their fathers had fought bravely; Aristophanes could eventually exploit it with his Μαραθωνομάχαι (and cf n. 62).[60] Politics had probably already started to bias popular traditions, although it is not easy to pin-point a passage in Herodotus which shows it.[61] One type of deformation noted by Thomas is in fourth century oratory, where the speaker refers to a past event, often with no great accuracy, to make a forensic point for his case. It should warn us how easily a misrepresentation of past events can be accepted as "true";[62] some of the allegations, and defences, at both Miltiades' trials seem to have fed the traditions that reached Herodotus: see on §104.2(g) and Appx 10 paras 6, 13; and Appx 18 para 16.

---

[59] For the considerable element of popular tradition, some of which can be read as derogatory, in §§121–131, see Thomas (1989) 247–51, 261–81, discussed in the note to §§121–4; generally on his Athenian sources, Forsdyke (2001) 330–1.

[60] That Miltiades has centre stage, not Callimachos, may be a Philaid bias; but Herodotus himself seems to have been selective: Aristides is not mentioned (but he was not, apparently, on the Poikile Stoa painting either: Harrison (1972) 372–6), though his part was recalled: Appx 17 H3.

[61] Our main evidence is from the fourth century: see Thomas (1989) 197–213. For the fifth century, one can argue from the influence of democratic politics upon tragedy that it was also likely to have influenced oral traditions: e.g. the supremacy of the people in assembly, Aesch *Supp* 365–9, 942–4 (c463); the evils of stasis, *Eum* 858–66, 976–87 (458), and the implied praise of the newly democratised Areopagus, *ib* 693–5 and *passim*; the praise of democracy in Eur *Supp* 403–55 (late 420s).

[62] Thus a defeat becomes a victory, Thomas (1989) 246; cf 228–231; Athens deserved her hegemony of Greece because she had single-handedly saved Greece in both 490 and 480 (the latter sometimes modified to the major contribution), *ibid* 221–36. For the latter see also Appx 17 A3. See also Nouhaud (1982). One particular case merits mention: tradition comes to confuse two men. Miltiades was conflated with his uncle: see on Μιλτιάδης, §34.1, and his son: see Appx 18 para 3. An incident of 480 was attributed to both Miltiades with Themistocles: see on πολλοί, §49.1, and the two men may have also been confused over Paros: Appx 18 para 3. In Diodorus' version of the §§42–3 events, Artaphrenes subsumes Mardonius: Appx 11. There is scant evidence that fourth century orators used historians to check their facts: Thomas 202.

In book 6 we are also concerned with input from Argos, Aegina, and Sicyon. The general picture of the reliability of traditions which can be illustrated in Athens must be true there also; if we want to fine tune the point, the way politics would affect them might depend on the particular régime in the given polis. We may detect aristocratic input from Argos for §83: see p. 22; Herodotus also had Argive input for parts of the rest of §§76–84 (Appx 6 para 4), probably from the same people. He had aristocratic Aeginetan sources for parts of §§87–93 (see on προδοσίην, §88). He probably got a version of Agariste's wooing, §§126–30, at Sicyon; the considerable folkloristic overlay suggests general polis tradition, the probable source also for 5.67–8. But the story may have circulated, with improvements in the telling, in Greece generally. The importance of his early years in Ionia has already been noted (p. 13). If Ionian traditions about the revolt were affected by the influence of Athens in the pentecontaetia, as explored by Thomas (2004), this would not have affected what he learnt as a youngster, even if he also revisited as an adult (n. 22). Murray (2001a) 32–3 = (1987) 106–7 (so *id CAH* IV^2 470–2) argues that oral traditions in Ionia differed from those on the mainland in that they lacked political deformation, but did attract folkloristic and moral patterns. That would include the Histiaeus biography (p. 63).[63]

Sparta might be a special case. It is unclear if there, there was a difference between family and popular traditions (cf Murray (2001a) 30 = (1987) 104); though anything which Herodotus was told might be a sanitised version for outsiders.[64] These general traditions would provide, e.g. the old Spartan history at 1.65–68, and most of §§51–60. But much of §§49–50 and §§61–86, as well as 5.39–48, appears to reflect sources who supported one or other of the royal houses; as well as Agiads who disapproved of Cleomenes. The story of Demaratos' birth seems to be a special case, a mixture of pro-and anti-Eurypontid stories. For these essentially political tensions, see the notes to §§49.2–55 paras 2–4, 8, and §§61–70. But Theasidas' intervention, §85, suggests

[63] The apparent contradiction between 1.56 and §137 may reflect the differences between what he learnt as a boy in Ionia and later in Athens: see on §137.1.

[64] Generally on the invention of Spartan tradition see Flower (2002); Osborne (2002) 515–16 discusses how far the detail of §§56–60 reflects a Spartan wish to claim that their then constitution was of long standing.

that there were Spartan families who put the state above the personal position of individual kings: see on §85.2.

Herodotus' handling of sources

Whenever the work was put together, and in whatever order, Herodotus showed considerable skill in collecting and marshalling his material, and dividing it up into *logoi*, as shown by the analysis in Immerwahr (1966).[65] As he moves from topic to topic, his basic tool for marking the transition is the use of μέν νυν or μὲν δή followed by δέ: this is how it was with event or person X; I now move on to Y. It helps the reader or listener keep track of the narrative; whether a new topic starts, as at the beginning of book 6, or §61, or there is just a change of scene, e.g. at Lade, from the tyrants with the Persians to the Greeks, §11. But it also shows that Herodotus was always conscious of the overall form of his work. He may cross-refer: at §19.3 he looks forward to §77.2; §43 looks back to 3.80–3. His digressions can be seen simply as a way of holding his audience's attention by changing the topic; but we must recall that he could not use footnotes and appendices.[66] Some seem to be there simply because he had the material and wanted to incorporate it, e.g. the information about Thasos at §§46–7, the note on the meaning of the Persian kings' names, §98.3, or how the Persians extract oil, §119; perhaps the story of §118. There is a further question, whether the order of writing corresponded to that in which he collected his material. Did he write up his material more or less as he collected it (which would not rule out subsequent additions, for instance 7.133–137, n. 7), or did he carry his information in his head, perhaps for some years; or may we assume that he took notes? Greeks had better memories than we: they could recall substantial quantities of poetry,

[65] For a thorough analysis of his techniques and his authorial persona, see Brock (2003); Dewald (2002a); Fowler (1996) 69–76. For his "self-correcting" as he wrote, see Lattimore (1958) 10–12.

[66] Since "digression" can connote a topic not of immediate relevance, some prefer "excursus", e.g. for the Samian emigration of §§22–4 or the Miltiades *logos* of §§34–41. Thomas (2001) 203–5 identifies the use of a digression to avoid revealing a chronological gap, to explain one event as vengeance or retaliation for an earlier one. There are no book 6 cases, but she notes 5.82–9, the chronologically vague old hostility between Athens and Aegina (Appx 12 para 2) to help explain Athens' development before the Persian Wars.

for instance. But we might imagine him travelling with a basket or chest containing sheets of papyrus, or at least wax tablets, for notes.[67] But notes could only be a fraction of the finished work, and some errors from forgetting what he had been told cannot be ruled out, though there are few passages where this is apparent.[68]

We are well aware of the weaknesses of oral tradition as a source of accurate information. In a world in which information normally circulated orally, this would not appear so either to Herodotus, or to his audience or readers. We may note omissions, or other problems in his narrative; it is a grave error to criticise him because he did not have the use of a modern library.[69] More generally, even if we assume that he saw the need to make more thorough enquiries on a given point, or he did probe and cross-question his informants (and that what we perceive as omissions were also so perceived by him), it does not follow that his sources could give him the detail. Luraghi (2001), while citing principally from earlier books, argues that Herodotus was doing no more than reporting what others were saying, not vouching for its accuracy; and his audience would so understand him. His sources could not give him the details which the Persian expeditions in book 6 lack (n. 50). Elsewhere, we might note §83, that δοῦλοι took over the government in Argos. We may doubt that it reflects real insight into the actual status of men who were elevated; it is more probable that he simply repeated what aristocratic Dorian Argives disdainfully said about the lower orders, without further enquiry (see *ad loc* and Appx 15 para 12). When told that the polemarch was elected by lot, §109.3, he would not doubt

[67] We have no idea how costly papyrus was in Herodotus' day and whether that would inhibit him from using it for notes. The δέλτος, wax tablet, although individually capable of holding limited information, was sufficiently common to be referred to from Pindar onwards: Pind *Ol* 10.2–3. It is explicit at Aesch *Eum* 275, PV 789, fr 281a Radt 19–23, cf *Cho* 450; Soph *Trach* 47, 157, 683; cf Ar *Thesm* 775; and an important feature of the action in Eur *Hipp*, *IT*, and *IA*.

[68] Thus τῷ προτέρῳ ἔτεϊ, §95.2, and τριηκόσια, §97.2, may be oversights rather than misrecollections. There are no examples in book 6 of him promising to deal with something and then not doing so (1.106, 1.184, 7.213).

[69] Hornblower (2002) 373–4; see Renehan (2001) 173 for an excellent critique of those who criticise Herodotus' accuracy because he did not approach his task by modern standards; so Hornblower 380: it is unsatisfactory to discuss his use of sources as if it was uniform. Thomas (1989) 34–8 has a valuable discussion of the more general point, that in an oral society, even where documents are made and retained, they are not consulted in the ways that moderns do. Dewald (2002a) 277–89 constructively reviews Herodotus the enquirer.

it, or think that the point merited checking. Even if he did, his informants were unlikely to be able to help further.[70] Marathon is a good illustration. On the one hand, his preference for oral sources led him to neglect the Stoa painting and dedications, p. 15; on the other, by the time he was talking to his sources, there was a limit to what they could say: p. 19.[71]

The same point arises on chronology: even if he saw that there was a problem, and tried to recover the detail, it is doubtful that his sources could help (cf n. 56); e.g. whether Aristagoras left Miletus before or after Histiaeus arrived in Sardis; how long the siege of Miletus lasted (see Appx 1 paras 5–7, 10–13); when Cleomenes' flight and subsequent suicide happened in relation either to the conflict(s) between Athens and Aegina, or Marathon (Appx 12); or when Miltiades captured Lemnos, §140 (Appx 10 paras 9, 14). In any case, apart from the absence of archives, there was no numbering system for years. We can say that Miltiades arrived in the Chersonese in c515 and left in 493; neither Herodotus nor his sources had any such system (see Appx 10 para 5). When he speaks of 800 years since the Trojan War, 2.145.4, or 3 generations being 100 years, 2.14.2, those could at best be concepts, and in no way comparable to our ability to say (for instance) that 1956 was (exactly) 200 years after Mozart's birth.[72]

He did have criteria for cautioning us about his information, even if it was by his standards, not ours. He used *oratio obliqua* with or without λέγεται where he felt doubts about the story and could not verify it, e.g. the Persian losses off Athos, §44, or the Timo story,

[70] A comparable point arises on 5.71: when the Alcmaeonids told him that the *prytaneis* of the *naucraroi* had been in charge at the time of Cylon's conspiracy he had no archives to show whether these officials existed prior to Solon: cf note to §§121–124.

[71] But some of the detail in the panting would already be in the tradition. It is understandable why he excluded the gods helping the Athenians (p. 34); but it is a puzzle why he did not speak of the Persians falling into the marsh as they retreated. He also omitted the debate(s) in Athens prior to marching out, Appx 17 C3–4, though that might have involved noting that there were those in favour of coming to terms.

[72] Much less that 1966 was 900 years after the battle of Hastings; see also on §98.2. His chronological references for the whole *Histories* are conveniently in Shaw (2003) 21. Osborne (2002) 500–4, dealing with Herodotus' accounts of archaic Greece, points out that he was not interested in constructing a time-line unless the sequence of events was relevant to explaining why something happened.

§134.[73] He often did this to distance himself from a divine manifestation: see pp. 33–4. When he reported Cleomenes' defence at §82, he did so in such a way as to show that he had doubts about its truthfulness. We get insight into his standards in the passages about Demaratos' ancestry. When the nurse took Demaratos' mother to the temple, he reports the story, including the epiphany, in *oratio obliqua*, §61.3–4. But when Demaratos later asked her about his father, her story, which includes another epiphany, §69, is in *recta*. He had different ways of dealing with conflicting information. He typically left the reader to decide, as with the ancestry of Spartan kings, §§52–3, or how the Pelasgians came to leave Athens, §137.[74] He might give it and then state his own preference, as with the four explanations for Cleomenes' madness (§§75.3, 84). He might decline to give any version, as at §14.1: he says that he had differing accounts about Lade, and could not truthfully (ἀτρεκέως) say who was right. This might be as much editorial diplomacy, not wishing to embarrass friends from different Ionian cities, as lack of detail in his various input.[75] Diplomacy, or at least a wish to present Miltiades in the best light possible, arguably explains why he omitted the Athenian account(s) for the end of the Parian expedition and only gave the Parian, §134: see note to §§132–140 and Appx 18 para 18.[76] There is a possible case of melding disparate sources at 4.137–8, the debate at the Danube bridge. The Scythian expedition as a whole will

[73] A striking example of his use of *oratio obliqua* is 8.94. Although Athens was then hostile to Corinth (cf on τοῦτον, §89), he put the Athenian version of how the Corinthian admiral Adeimantus allegedly behaved badly at Salamis in *oratio obliqua*, and concluded: this is the Athenian story, and the Corinthians deny it.

[74] So at 5.44–45 he gives each city's version of the sixth century dispute between Sybaris and Croton (cf §21.1). We may contrast this with §124.2: he accepts the event (the shield signal), but expresses no view whether the popular attribution to the Alcmaeonids is correct. We may interpret this as another piece of diplomacy, but equally it shows that he worked to no set pattern, dealing with each incident on its own merits as he saw them. See Lateiner (1989) 76–90 for a full review of how Herodotus deals with alternative versions.

[75] He uses the same expression at 8.87.1, where he does not, or declines to, give details of the conduct of either barbarian or Greek contingents at Salamis who were on the Persian side.

[76] See Appx 18 for what we can recover of the Athenian accounts. One of them spoke of his injury being from an arrow shot by Demeter, as a signal to go. Herodotus would not accept that the gods now intervened in men's affairs. If there was a divine hand at work, he preferred what Delphi said. Another case of one version only is 4.150–2, giving the Theran account of the foundation of Platea in Libya; it is implicit that there was also a Spartan version.

depend on Ionian input, rather than Persian contacts or his trip to Scythia; but Miltiades' contribution to the debate, and perhaps the debate itself, may be Philaid: see p. 49.[77] Sometimes he underlined the accuracy of his report: he has seen the mines of Thasos himself, §47.1. Something may be unique to his knowledge, τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν: the close *xenia* between Sybaris and Miletus, §21.1, and a Greek army attacking on the run, §112.3.[78] Another area where his standards were not ours is reporting without comment conduct that we would label as tricky or dishonest: Histiaeus' various activities: telling an admitted lie, §3, going off to freeboot, §5, or raiding for corn, §28; the tricky oath imposed by Ariston on his friend, §62; the cryptic terms in which Miltiades got his men and ships, §132.[79]

There are several topics which have been exhaustively analysed to argue that Herodotus had a particular standpoint, or that he deliberately shaped his narrative to conform to some pattern. It is easy enough to find literary parallels in the *Histories* as a whole.[80] It is also dangerous, reading something into the text that is not there.[81] It does not follow that one passage was written to create a parallel with another; and one should reject the views of Fehling (n. 17) that much of the *Histories* is creative reportage. Thus Griffiths (1989), esp at 70–2, identifies literary parallels between Cleomenes' madness, §75 and Cambyses', 3.33–8. But there are good grounds for thinking that Cleomenes did go mad; and Herodotus was only reporting what the Egyptians said about Cambyses: cf n. 86, and see note to

[77] It is tempting to see Miltiades' anti-Darius stance in the debate as something stressed by the Philaids, perhaps part of the defence at his first trial, §104.2(g), to "prove" that because tyrants were appointed by Darius, as Histiaeus is made to say, Miltiades could not have been one, and now opposed them; cf Appx 10 para 8.

[78] The phrase τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν occurs 35 other times in the *Histories*; it includes knowledge that we would regard as hearsay, as where he speaks of Croesus as the first barbarian "of whom we know" to impose taxes on Greeks, 1.6. Even if he learnt this as a child, it was about 80 years earlier. He is not consistent: he does not say that he has seen the monument on Samos, §14, though he almost certainly had; it is not clear if he visited the Styx (cf n. 49, and see on §74.2). In other books, he uses other words, e.g. εκμαίρομαι, μανθάνω, εὑρίσκω, to indicate his technique of research: generally Dewald and Marincola (1987); Marincola (1987); Dewald (1987), (2002a); also πυνθάνομαι and μανθάνω, though Lang (1984) 1–17 treats them as marking a transition in the narrative.

[79] See Fisher (2002) on popular morality in Herodotus; generally Detienne and Vernant (1978).

[80] E.g. Lang (1984); Lateiner (1987), (1989).

[81] Rhodes (1998) points out that while there is a literary echo of Hom *Il* 6.152 at Thuc 1.24.1, it is a false friend to link the two. It may equally be a false friend to link two apparently comparable passages of Herodotus.

§§71–5 and Appx 14 there cited. It is no more than that where rulers behave irresponsibly, men tend to recall what they do in similar terms.[82] Another example is the "warner", the wise, usually old, man, who steps forward at a critical time to advise how to resolve a problem that has been troubling others. At §37.1 and §52.6 he is an intrinsic part of the narrative. Where he found him, Herodotus may well have wanted to record him; there is no need to postulate imaginative additions to his material.[83] The same point arises on topics such as politics, religion, and causation, infra; we should be slow to assume that he sought to present, say, tyrants, or why things happen, to particular patterns, much less that he wrote with a check list in front of him. Certainly for the later books, including book 6, there is no reason to see him as other than a conscientious enquirer, within the limits of his world, and then writing up the results.

Foreigners and political power

When he proposes to tell how Greeks and barbarians came to fight, p. 9, "barbarians" means Persians; as noted on §9.1, from 5.94.3 onwards the context requires that "barbarian" usually means Persian. Much has been written on how Herodotus presents non-Greeks in the *Histories*.[84] There is no hostility; unlike many Greeks, he would be in contact them from childhood, including Persians with business in Halicarnassus. Certainly, they are men with different gods or customs to Greeks; so Persians cannot swim, §44.3;[85] and he notes how

---

[82] The full analysis may be more subtle: do "mad" kings tend to do similar things? When people recall what they have done, do they tend to remember similar things?

[83] Lattimore (1939) identifies the "tragic warner", who advises against a course of action but is ignored (and the action fails), and the "practical warner", as here. The two book 6 cases are not parallel. The "pine-tree" story of §37.1 was a fairly recent incident; §52 is an origin story, and the old man was just the sort of detail tradition would retain. Both suggest accurate reporting of the sources. For Hecataeus see p. 57 n. 191.

[84] The fundamental study of Hall (1989) draws on tragedy. Tuplin (1999) discusses how far Herodotus fits in to the general Greek perception, and assertion of, their superiority to barbarians. For substantial discussions of Herodotus' presentation of non-Greeks, see Hartog (1980), (1988); Nenci (1988); Cartledge (1990); Bichler (2004). There are parallels with Hipp *Airs* 12, 16, but this only shows that each used a common source or drew on sentiments which enjoyed some currency: n. 16.

[85] So his descriptions of Persian customs, 1.131–40, Egyptian customs in book 2, and Scythian customs in book 4. Greeks are cleverer than barbarians, 1.60.3.

Spartans, unlike other Greeks, are like Asiatics in some respects, §§58–60. In one respect the barbarian does differ from the Greek: he is the subject of an oriental monarch. Miltiades' warning at §109.5 may be part of a Philaid artefact, but it corresponds to the reality: the king's subjects were his vassals or slaves: p. 46 n. 163. It is tempting to argue that Herodotus presented oriental kings as stereotypes, men with absolute power, behaving as Greeks expected them to behave. But in reality they were absolute monarchs; the stories about them which reached him, even if coloured in the telling, reflected this. Hence the many stories in the *Histories* of the power and cruelty of these kings, especially Cambyses and Xerxes.[86] Discussions of the point usually mention the constitution debate, 3.80–3, referred to at §43.3: the monarch rejects democracy.[87] But in book 6, Darius is accurately presented. He is a powerful king with huge resources; he can replace his lost ships and muster large expeditions again and again: against Miletus, §§6, 11–14, under Mardonius, §§43–45, under Datis, §§48, 94–95, 109. He plans, as is said for Mardonius and Datis, to extend his empire over all Greece: by force if they will not submit voluntarily. We need not believe that he had a slave whose sole duty was to remind him to be revenged on Athens, 5.105, §94.1; the story reflects his power, a power not diminished when, on occasions, he acts generously towards individuals: §§24.2, 30.2. At §9.1 his generals are afraid of punishment if they fail. True or not, that was how it was believed he might behave. The Histiaeus biography is another matter: it makes Darius appear stupid for allowing Histiaeus to trick him into letting him leave Susa, §§1.1, 2.1, looking back to 5.106–7. For this, see pp. 65–7.

In Greek politics, there is one area where he felt strongly. §98.2, taken with 8.143–4, clearly indicates that he developed a strong panhellenic feeling. No doubt as a result of his travels, he saw, more clearly than most contemporaries, the common heritage of the Greeks:

Especially in books 1–4, which contain most of his ethnography, he regularly notes how barbarians differ from Greeks; indeed, Egyptians do things the opposite way to Greeks. Barbarians ("the others") have *nomoi*, customs, e.g. 3.38; Greeks have *nomos*, law. See, e.g., Thomas (2000) 102–34; Lateiner (1989) 145–57.

[86] Thus for Xerxes, we may note the stories at 7.35, 39, 238; 8.118; 9.111–13, and the anecdote of the execution of Phoenician captains at Salamis, 8.90. He accepted his hostile input on Cambyses: cf p. 6.

[87] E.g. Dewald (2002b) 27–30.

one influence would be his *xenia* hosts, who shared that heritage. The sturdy independence of each *polis* was also a panhellenic weakness. At §98.2 he complains that Greeks had been unable to maintain the fragile unity achieved against Xerxes, and had since been fighting each other. When he says that they had suffered more evil in the time of Darius, Xerxes, and Artaxerxes than in 20 previous generations, he means not just from the Persians, but also from the bloody internecine wars of the pentecontaetia. When he puts panhellenic sentiments into the mouth of the Athenians in 8.143–4, declining to make a separate peace with Persia, it surely reflects his own views; so his criticism of Pheidon for interfering with a panhellenic festival (§127.3; cf p. 30).[88] §98.2 is all the more pointed because, whenever written, once published it could also be taken as a criticism of the Archidamian war.

A much discussed topic is Herodotus' attitude to democracy, and Athenian democracy in particular. There is no consensus: the *Histories* has been combed to prove that he was both pro- and anti-democracy.[89] He would be sympathetic to his *xenia* hosts as individuals, but the impression from the *Histories* as a whole is that he was neither pro nor anti, but disliked oppression and approved of fair government of whatever complexion, even, perhaps, that of a tyrant.[90] In any case, in the mid fifth century more *poleis* were oligarchies than democracies; where the latter existed, they need not have been on the Athenian model, of the time or later, as discussed in Appx 11 sec 3

---

[88] That Mardonius sent Alexander to Athens is probably true. The Athenians tell the Spartans that they will not make peace with Persia, invoking τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, ἐὸν ὅμαιμόν τε καὶ ὁμόγλωσσον, καὶ θεῶν ἱδρύματά τε κοινὰ καὶ θυσίαι ἤθεά τε ὁμότροπα: "we are all Greeks, with common blood and a common language, common temples to the gods and sacrifices, common customs". It can be argued that the wording is influenced by, or designed to support, Athenian mid fifth century claims to hegemony of Greece (cf p. 30), but we may doubt that that was part of Herodotus' agenda (n. 31). His pan-hellenic views can also be seen in the Athenian stress on Greek unity at 8.3.1, and the sentiments attributed to Demaratos at 7.102. He perhaps makes Xerxes acknowledge it, 8.26. See also on ἐμοί, §84.3, where it is suggested that he thought that Cleomenes' sacrilege against the pan-hellenic Delphi was worse than his sacrilege in an individual polis.

[89] Harvey (1966) conveniently translates in summary the case of Strassburger (1962), cited as (1955), that Herodotus was anti-democracy, and then argues that he was pro-democracy. Ostwald (1991) reviews earlier studies and strongly concludes that Herodotus was anti-Periclean; Raaflaub (2002) 185 concludes that he was anti-democratic.

[90] Lateiner (1989) 163–186; cf Moles (2002) 50–2; Hart (1982) chap 3. Pope (1988) 277–89 argues that Thucydides' attitudes were similar. For tyrants see p. 30.

and Appx 15 para 16. The Ionian revolt and book 6 provide little material on the point. At 5.97 he attacks the Athenian *demos* for supporting Aristagoras. But that decision was bad because it triggered both Persian invasions; even if his words can also be read as anti-democracy.[91] He does not comment on the ἰσονομίη which replaced the Ionian tyrants, 5.37.2. When Mardonius set up democracies, §43.3, for Herodotus it proved that he was right in reporting the constitution debate, 3.80–3; he does not say whether he approved or disapproved of whatever form these governments took (Appx 11 sec 3).[92] His uncritical use of aristocratic Argive input for §83 (p. 22) may show an anti-democratic bias, but may simply reflect limited enquiries. He reports the Aeginetan aristocrats' execution of the democratic rebels, §91: that was the accepted penalty for the losers; his criticism is for their sacrilege, not their form of government.

The question of his attitude to Periclean Athens, either internally or in relation to her empire, is at best tangential to book 6. We glimpse changes since 508 behind some book 6 passages, but they are not there in the text.[93] It was not his purpose to deal with events after Mycale, even if he signalled the beginnings of the Delian league by noting how Athens supplanted Sparta as the dominant power in the eastern Aegean after Mycale (9.106, 114), and Themistocles' attacks on some islands (8.112).[94] The reference to Pericles' birth at

[91] The Athenian decision to send ships to Ionia was the ἀρχὴ κακῶν (a Homeric echo: *Il* 2.234, 5.63, 11.604) for Greece: it caused first Datis' and then Xerxes' invasions. It seems, says Herodotus, that it was easier for Aristagoras to fool 30,000 Athenians than one man; overlooking that Aristagoras had nearly fooled Cleomenes until Gorgo intervened (p. 59 n. 197). But we can read this is implying that such important matters should not be left to a popular assembly, who will make the stupid and wrong decision; especially if we assume that Herodotus was thinking of Athenian democracy as it was practised after Ephialtes' changes of 462. We might then go further and argue that Herodotus did not report the debate in the assembly to march out to Marathon (if his sources told him of it), a decision of the *demos*, to enable him to make Miltiades the hero of the battle.

[92] There is a question whether his use of ἰσονομίη in the constitution debate and at 5.97.2 reflects both his approval of fair government and sophistic influence. But it may simply be a matter of linguistic usage: Appx 11 sec 3.

[93] E.g. possible dissatisfaction with Cleisthenes' arrangement of trittyes (Appx 17 n. 22); the changes to the Areopagus in 462 (see on §104.2(b)); whether the army was organised by tribes or trittyes (see on ὡς ἀριθμέοντο, §111.1); and the systems for electing archons and generals (see on στρατηγοί, §103.1, and note to §§109–117).

[94] Thus he does not deal with the various refoundations of Sybaris and Thurii, though he must have been aware of them (see on §21.1). With the exception of the "flash forward" in §72 to the death of Leotychidas, references to events "in my time" (n. 5) are incidental to the main narrative.

§131.2 is ambiguous (see *ad loc*). We glimpse the beginnings of the Athenian tradition that her victory at Marathon preserved Greek liberty and justified the Athenian empire (cf n. 62): the brave Athenians of §112.3 (see *ad loc*), and the πόλις πρώτη references put into Miltiades' mouth, §109.3, 6 (see on πρώτη, §109.3); but that is his sources talking. He praises Athens' stand in 480 for fighting and not retreating (7.138–9), and gives them the panhellenic sentiments of 8.143–4, p. 28. But the fighting between Greeks of §98.2 must include Athens' attacks on league members (*ibid*). If there is merit in the argument of those who see a hidden message in the *Histories* warning Athens about her empire, n. 31, in book 6 we could extract it from the "deal justly" message implicit in the Glaucos story, §86.

So we get a mixed answer with Greek tyrants: some are as autocratic and bad as oriental monarchs, others not; they are not *per se* bad.[95] In any case, his book 6 references to them are conditioned by his sources. His Philaid sources wrote Pisistratos out of the Chersonese settlement, and made his sons responsible for Cimon's murder: pp. 18–19; but at 5.78 he had described how Athens became great under Pisistratos. The trireme in which Hippias sent Miltiades junior out, §39.1, can be read as a symbol of power: only the rich or the powerful then owned triremes: Appx 2 para 2; that may go back to the prosecution case against Miltiades in 493: see on §104.2(g). The picture of Hippias as an old man and mediser at §§102, 107, still clinging to the hope of power, is probably popular tradition. Herodotus notes Miltiades' cunning when he first arrived in the Chersonese, §§39, and the five triremes with which he left, §41.1; but he accepted Philaid input making him the hero of Marathon, §109, and could stress his service to Athens over Lemnos (Appx 18 para 19). Some tyrants are powerful and cunning: Anaxilas used the Samians to replace Scythes in Zancle, and behaved with treachery and ruthlessness towards the Zancleans (§§23–25); Pheidon, king of Argos, is a tyrant who insulted all Greece over the Olympic games (§127.3). By contrast, Cleisthenes of Sicyon is the benevolent tyrant giving his daughter a lavish wedding, §§126–30.[96] He may have per-

[95] Dewald (2002b) 37, 47; Lateiner, cited n. 90; Waters (1971); Hart (1982) 50–7.
[96] The story is popular tradition with folkloristic overlay: p. 20. One can read his report of Cleisthenes' politics at 5.67–8 as approval of patriotic and firm rule or disapproval of arbitrary power, according to taste.

sonally disapproved of the Ionian tyrants because of their Persian connections (cf pp. 49–51), and we might read satisfaction at their being removed (pp. 53, 57): he says they were caught by a trick, δόλῳ;[97] but we might read a sneaking admiration for Histiaeus in the way he presents his twists and turns and gives the story a sort of happy ending.

Causation and the divine; motive

Some divine references are unproblematic: they simply report what men would be expected to do: Spartan kings keep records of oracles, §57.2, 4. Miltiades as οἰκιστής consults Delphi, §35.1; Cleomenes consults before attacking Argos, §76.1. They sacrifice before a battle, as Cleomenes at §76.2, and the Athenians before Marathon, §112.1. The audience or reader would understand that the gods then give their approval (or, at §76.2, disapproval) for the proposed course of action.

There is a vast literature on Herodotus' religious beliefs, how he presents gods and oracles, and whether events happen because the gods have foretold it or by human effort. As to his own beliefs (using the word subject to the caveats of Harrison (2000) 10–23)[98] it is attractive to think that his education included exposure to the ideas of those Ionian philosophers who sought to replace the gods with cosmic principles, or explain them rationally, even as one god, with the traditional Greek gods as facets or reflections of that.[99] If he was so influenced, he knew that he could not advocate such views: his sources put the gods there, and his audiences expected them to be there.[100] So "no imposed theology can be detected or distilled

[97] As to whether he thought that Ionians deserved to the ruled by tyrants, see on δρηπέτῃσι, §11.2, and τὸ τρίτον, §32.

[98] See also Mikalson (2002); Gould (1994); Lateiner (1989) 64–67; succinctly at Renehan (2001) 185–6; Brown (1973) 6, 32.

[99] But it is hard to decide which of the many ideas he might have found attractive: the "prime cause" (ἀρχή) developed by the Milesians (Guthrie 1.63–4, 140–5); perhaps Heraclitus' *logos* (cf n. 30); Empedocles' chance and necessity; Anaxagoras' mind, νοῦς, (Guthrie (1965) 2.157–67, 274–9); Anaximander's "origin", also ἀρχή, (12 A15 DK = Arist *Phys* 203b6), Guthrie 1.87–9. For monotheism Lateiner (1989) 66 cites Xenophanes 21 B34–5 DK (Guthrie (1962) 1.370–383) and Alcmaeon 24 B1 DK (Guthrie 1.344, 350–6). Later (see p. 8), he may have been exposed to Protagoras' religious scepticism, 80 B4 DK, Guthrie 3.65, 234–5.

[100] A point well made by Immerwahr (1966) 311–314 at 311.

from . . . the *Histories*" (Harrison 158). It a false friend to see monotheism at §27.3, where he uses ὁ θεός, even if his sources spoke of the gods in the plural: we find ὁ θεός in Homer for the divine principle (e.g. *Il* 1.178, 2.436, etc).[101] Where he is sceptical on a matter of religion, that too need not evidence his own beliefs. Gould (1994) 92–8 at 94 argues that he was only expressing a universal Greek perception that there are limits to what men can know about the gods, disagreeing with one aspect of Lateiner (1989) 64–7, that some topics deserved tact and discretion.[102] However, the book 6 passages suggest only that he was not satisfied with his sources; either doubting that they were right to include the divine in the way they did, or not being satisfied as to the reliability of the source itself: perhaps both in the case of Epizelos' story, §117, which came second-hand to him.[103] It was fated (ἔδεε) that the story of Demaratos' paternity had to emerge, but ὡς οἶκε, "as it seems", §64. Why the reservation: he reports other cases of men fated to fall without reservation, e.g. 2.161.3, 4.79.1? Demaratos himself was blameless; we might infer that Herodotus doubted his sources saying that Demaratos had to pay the price for his father's misuse of the oath, §62, rather like Croesus paying for Gyges' crime. He is careful to say that the Pan story is what Philippides said; the epiphany to Demaratos' mother, §61.4–5 and the Epizelos story are in *oratio obliqua*.[104] He qualifies the portents on Chios with κως ("perhaps", §27.1; see *ad loc*). In contrast, the case of the Aeginetans at §91 is straightforward; they have committed sacrilege, cannot atone for it, and are punished, rather like Cleomenes (cf p. 24).

---

[101] He uses ὁ θεός at §98.1, but there the context requires one god: Apollo, or perhaps Poseidon. Generally, Harrison (2000) 169–81.

[102] Lateiner 66 notes that where a god is credited with earthly action, Herodotus always cites a human source, and cites Xenophanes 21 B34–5 DK and Alcmaeon 24 B1 DK for the proposition that men cannot fully comprehend or see gods. But all gods should be respected: Lateiner 65; Gould 93. There is perhaps scepticism at 7.129: the Thessalians say that the vale of Tempe was made by Poseidon, which he says is reasonable if you believe that Poseidon causes earthquakes. Contrast 8.77.1–2: he says that he does not wish to discredit unambiguous oracles.

[103] See, for instance, Harrison (2000) 11–16, 189–92. Herodotus uses πυνθάνομαι to stress that it is the story as he was told it.

[104] A series of epiphanies in 480 bear on the point. A storm off Euboea which destroyed many Persian ships was a signal from ὁ θεός, 8.13, though the dust storm before Salamis is what someone said happened, 8.65. The gods protected Delphi from the Persians, 8.37–9, with caution expressed only on the detail, that local heroes had also helped, 8.39.

As to causation, whether events are caused by gods or men, or a mixture of the two, Murray, *CAH* IV^2 463, puts it succinctly: "the range of phenomena which [Herodotus] admits as causes is limited to two main areas, the explanation of events in terms of personalities, and belief in the inevitability of the rise and fall of states, explained in terms of the "envy" of divine powers"; cf Derow (1994) 75–9. Lateiner (1989) 196–205 offers a fivefold analysis: (a) divine jealousy;[105] (b) fate; (c) the gods may signal the future; (d) the principle of τίσις, that where a wrong has occurred, justice (particularly divine justice) requires retribution to restore a proper balance; and (e), and principally, straightforward political acts by men.[106] In the archetypal case, Cyrus beat Croesus for several reasons: he cleverly advanced on Sardis at the end of the campaigning season, and the way into Sardis was spotted by a sharp-eyed Mardian; but Croesus was fated to be defeated (1.14, 79, 84, 91). It is used to extract several points: Cyrus won by human effort; the cycle of fortune had turned against Croesus; Cyrus was instrumental in bringing that about; the cycle was turning in his and the Persians' favour; but the gods had some part in it.[107] How far Herodotus consciously presented any story to one or more of those patterns, or how his audience understood it, are other matters.

In any case it does not affect our understanding of the events in book 6, though the narrative is a rich source of insight into the mindset of his world, as reflected in what his sources were saying. Unlike Xerxes' expedition, there is only one oracle in the whole Ionian revolt narrative, and none for Mardonius' and Datis' expeditions. Aristagoras had started the Ionian revolt to alleviate his personal difficulties; from then right through to Lade the results are due to what men do or fail to do. The fall of Miletus had been foretold in an oracle, §§18–19; but it required considerable effort by the

[105] But this summarises how Solon, Amasis, Artabanus and Themistocles speak of the gods, not how Herodotus actually explains any specific action (Lateiner 197 with nn. 24, 25).

[106] Amongst other discussions, Immerwahr (1956) 245–54 seeks to find a single main cause, the tension between human motivation and the cycle of fortune; Gould (1989) 42–7, 51–5, 63–5, 82–5 stresses revenge as human motivation, especially the reciprocity involved in retribution, and disagrees with Lang (1984) 12, 79 that it is a mere narrative convenience as opposed to a historical cause.

[107] Discussions of this much quarried episode include the conversations between Croesus and Solon and then Croesus and Cyrus, 1.30–33, 85–89.

Persians. We might say that the oracle implicitly foretold the failure of the whole revolt, and expressed Delphi's political acumen as to not resisting Persia, but neither Herodotus nor his audiences would see it that way.[108] Generally, the gods point the way and signal the immediate future, by oracles (§§34–5, 66, 77, 80, 86, 139), dreams (§§107, 118, 131), and portents (the two disasters of §27; the earthquake of §98.1; sneezing at §107).[109] At Marathon, the decision to fight and the battle itself reflect Athenian courage (and Miltiades' brilliant tactics, if we read that into §§111–13), but the gods had sent warnings to Hippias that he, and perhaps by implication, the Persians, would not succeed; the Athenian sacrifice before the battle was favourable; Pan, too, had hinted at victory. But Herodotus put Pan's epiphany and Epizelos' story into *oratio obliqua*, and ignored the other gods in the Stoa painting (pp. 32, 15).[110] Lade and Marathon have another common feature: the generals do not directly ask the gods to help them, only for a level playing field (θεῶν τὰ ἴσα νεμόντων, §§11.3, 109.5). Miltiades' plan to go to Paros and Athenian support for him are human decisions, and his failure to capture it are due to the resistance of the Parians; but his fatal injury was said to be foreordained (δεῖν, §135.3).[111] But cities fall by human agency alone: prosperous Sybaris, and Eretria, whose prosperity would be known to audiences and readers (§§21, 101). Histiaeus dies by human agency, and the gods play no part in his biography, except at §27 (p. 32). Indeed, although the concept of a cycle of fortune was clearly stated at the outset (p. 9), Herodotus never says that it operates in a given case; he leaves that to his reader, who must also work out for himself whether the failure has happened because the gods had foretold it, or by human agency alone.[112]

---

[108] Nor that the defeat at Lade was a necessary preliminary to Miletus' capture. As pointed on καὶ τότε, §19.2, Delphi knew that the revolt was likely to fail.

[109] On oracles see Harrison (2000) 122–57. The first two portents use μέλλω. Other portents of impending disaster include the priestess at Pedasus thrice growing a beard, 1.175; a mule at Babylon foaling, 3.150, and a snake leaving the Acropolis, 8.41. But at 8.137.3 bread swelling to an abnormal size foreshadows success. Outside book 6 he often refers to soothsayers (Powell sv μάντις).

[110] This does not prove a general scepticism of such phenomena: Herodotus reports other epiphanies, e.g. Salamis, 8.84. See Harrison (2000) 82–8. Strictly, the gods were only telling Hippias that he would not be restored, but audiences might also understand that his Persian protectors would lose the battle.

[111] Not necessarily his military failure.

[112] Cf Lateiner (1982b). It is not relevant here that he includes Leotychidas' down-

At first blush, Lateiner's fourth category, divine justice, τίσις, recalls Anaximander: things come to be and are destroyed "according to necessity; for they pay penalty and retribution to each other" (διδόναι γὰρ αὐτὰ δίκην καὶ τίσιν . . .): 12 B1 DK.[113] Evans (1991) 20 suggests that Heraclitus also proposed divine retribution as a mechanism to restore order.[114] If such ideas influenced Herodotus, it was only partially: he uses τίσις for where the gods punish a wrong and restore the balance,[115] while δίκη is human justice. Cleomenes and Leotychidas suffer τίσις for their wrongdoing, §§84.3, 72.1; perhaps Glaucos and the Aeginetans do so by implication, §§86, 91.1. But the balance is not always restored: at §27, the gods have twice inflicted disasters on the Chians; the latter then suffer further (human) reversals, the defeat at Lade, then Histiaeus inflicting himself on them. By contrast, δίκην διδόναι is for the Persians punishing the Ionians for their revolt, §11; the Athenians not yet punishing the Aeginetans for their earlier attack, §87; and Delphi ordering the Pelasgians to recompense the Athenians, §139.2.[116]

If we turn from the divine aspect of causation to motive, here too we find variety, and it is hard to decide if the text reflects how the sources put it, or is Herodotus' interpretation of what he was told. He gives no motive for Cleomenes' attack on Argos. Cleomenes goes

---

fall, well after the end of the main narrative of the *Histories* (cf n. 94), but does not mention either that of Pausanias, who does much good in book 9, though there is an adverse comment about him at 8.3.2; or the end of Plataea (cf p. 3).

[113] Translation from Kirk *et al* (1983) 117. The precise meaning of the citation, which may be a paraphrase of what Anaximander actually wrote, is a topic in its own right: Guthrie (1962) 1.76–89; Kirk *et al* 117–121; the limited extent to which Anaximander admitted the divine depends on interpreting 12 A15 DK (cf n. 99).

[114] Basically, his *logos* connoted order or system; 22 B94 DK says that if the sun overstepped its measures, the furies, ministers of justice, would find out. But this appears to relate to his views on heavenly bodies: Kirk *et al* (1983) 201–2; generally, Guthrie (1962) 1.435–464. Immerwahr (1956) sees the upsetting of the balance of order as the initial wrong, and then its restoration by the act of τίσις as an aspect of the cycle of fortune.

[115] Perhaps the most interesting case is 3.109.2: the mantis kills her mate, so the offspring avenge him and kill her by eating their way out of her. In fact she lays eggs; what Herodotus believed to be the offspring is a fatal infestation of ichneumon or similar. For the Greek, the story would have overtones of Clytemnestra, who received τίσις by the agency of Electra and Orestes. Divine retribution is common in the *Histories*: Harrison (2000) 102–21.

[116] For other examples of τίσις and δίκην διδόναι see Lateiner (1989) 203–4; Powell svv. For further discussions of Herodotus and divine justice, see Gould (1989) 78–81, citing the divine displeasure in 7.133–7 (the Spartan heralds); Hart (1982) 27–32.

to Aegina to help Athens and all Greece, §§50, 61.1; but when he returns, he has a grudge against them, ἔγκοτον, for their earlier attitude, §73.1; that had been stirred up by Demaratos, who was envious (φθόνῳ) of Cleomenes, §61.1. Darius' motive for attacking Athens was a grudge, though he was also ambitious to extend his empire (§§43.4, 94). Two words for motive merit a special note: πρόφασις and αἰτίη. Both can be translated "reason", but often have a pejorative meaning.[117] In Herodotus, πρόφασις usually means "excuse" or "pretext" (Powell sv 1); with one exception, this is always so in book 6.[118] Thus he says that Miltiades had an ostensible reason, πρόφασιν, for attacking Paros, her medising: see *ad loc*, §133.1; but also a real reason, a personal grudge (ἔγκοτον here also). Herodotus probably made this assessment of the two motives because, as is argued, in his world political leaders might make decisions on the basis of personal grudge or a desire for revenge, rather than political merits.[119] Here, he was probably repeating his sources, as if Miltiades had put about the medising for general consumption and the grudge among his friends; but in the other cases (n. 118), it is not clear whether it is his sources or his own judgment. The same is true of αἰτίη; at least in book 6, the word implies a guilty motive.[120]

Conclusion

If we are to assess how Herodotus used his sources, and how, in turn, the sources may have become biased or simplified (or both) since the actual events, it is clear that each passage, often each sen-

---

[117] Both words have a wide range of meanings: *HCT* on Thuc 1.23.6, one of three places where Thucidydes uses "truest reason" (ἀληθεστάτης πρόφασις; also 6.6.1, 6.33.2); cf Hornblower *ad loc*.

[118] Apart from §133.1, §13.2 (for the Ionians' conduct before Lade); §49.2 (Athens' motive for complaining to Sparta over Aegina); §86.1 (her motive for refusing to release hostages); §94.1 (Darius' grievance over Athens an excuse to conquer all Greece). The Athenians' reason for attacking the Pelasgians, §137.2, was probably Hecataeus' own words.

[119] Gould (1989) 67 follows Forrest (1979) and suggests that personal motivation, i.e. the ability of economically and politically powerful men to influence events, may have been more true in Herodotus' world than we realise. Herodotus offers a grudge also at 3.59, 8.29, and 9.110.

[120] Immerwahr (1956) 243–247, esp 245. At §3 it is ambiguous, perhaps deliberately so (see *ad loc*); it connotes guilt at §§30.1 and 115; at §135.3, where Timo is exculpated, the word can be taken as "cause" or "blame". Wider discussions of αἰτίη involve its meaning in the Proem (p. 9).

tence, has to be looked at individually, and the way we treat one should not bind us when we turn to the next. When we think that we have succeeded in extracting the basic facts, we usually find that considerable gaps in our information remain, and we need to embark on the further stage of drawing inferences from those facts. That typically involves an element of subjective judgment and choosing between two or three possibilities; cf the observation on that in the preface. I do not suggest that my own conclusions on a given passage are necessarily the only ones. But without Herodotus, we would know very little about the events he covers.

The Ionian Revolt[121]

Herodotus presents the Ionian revolt as started by Aristagoras to get himself out of a personal difficulty. It is not self evident why the rest of Ionia should want to help him, but two reasons for wanting to revolt can be suggested. One is that Ionians had a considerable sense of cultural and emotional unity. The other is that we may detect a growing dissatisfaction, both economically and politically, with Persian rule. Once the revolt had begun, the second factor would encourage others to join in: the Aeolians (infra), as well as cities in the Hellespont, Caria and Cyprus.

Cultural and emotional unity: the Ionians come to Ionia

The Ionian cities were between the river Hermos and Iasos (map 1). They had rich traditions of their origins; basically that their ancestors had emigrated there some time after the Trojan War; often from the Peloponnese, either Pylos and Messenia, or Achaea, via Attica,[122]

[121] It is conventionally so called, though not strictly Herodotus' phrase. But he uses Ἰωνίην ἀποστῆναι for the initial stages, 5.66.5, 98.2, and at §1.1.

[122] From Pylos and Messenia in Strabo 14.1.3 = Pherec *FGrH* 3 F154, 14.1.4–6; from Achaea in Hdt 1.143–8, with passing references to the Pylos tradition at 1.147 and 9.97. Paus 7.2–5 combines these. Archaeology indicates that the places in Achaea were small, insignificant almost, and unlikely to have had substantial populations (Morgan (1991) esp 137–143). Mimnermus fr 9 Page (Strabo 14.1.4) made Colophon colonised directly from Pylos, not via Attica. The long list at 1.146 includes groups from elsewhere: Abantes, Minyans, Cadmeians, Dryopes, Phocians, Molossians, Arcadian Pelasgi, Dorians from Epidauros. Strabo mentions Thebans at Priene and Boeotians at Teos; Pausanias Thebans, Minyans, Phocians, and Abantes; *id* 9.37.3 has Orchomenians. Archaeology tends to confirm the broad thrust

where they acquired a son or grandson of Codros as their *oikistes*.[123] Miletus had Neileus[124] son of Codros, and Ephesus Androclus son of Codros. For discussions of the migration and settlement see *CAH* II^2 2 chap 38, *CAH* III^2 1 chap 18a and III^2 3 chap 39a (all J.M. Cook), and Huxley (1966).[125] Whatever the reality behind these traditions, much Ionian culture looked back to Athens. Their dialect was related to Attic,[126] they had tribal and month names in common with Athens, and shared the festivals of Anthesteria and Apatouria.[127] South of Iasos there were Dorian settlements, including Halicarnassus, whose position in the revolt is unclear.[128] North of

of these traditions, placing the settlements on the coast and the adjacent islands at c1100–1000: Snodgrass (2000) 373–4; Miletus may have had Greek populations earlier, Minoan and then Mycenaean occupation being shown: Gorman (2001) 18–31; Greaves (2002) 65–71, which confirms the tradition in Paus 7.2.3 of an early Greek or Cretan community; cf the claim by the Caunians and Lycians for a Cretan, albeit non-Greek, origin (Hdt 1.172.1, 173.1).

[123] Pylos and Athens come together in the tradition about Melanthos. He was a descendant of Neleus (father of Nestor of Pylos): 5.65.3; Conon *FGrH* 26 F1.39 (= Photius *Bibl* 186.138a); Suda svv Ἀπατουρία, Εὐγενέστερος Κόδρου. The story was that he became king of Athens after winning a victory over the Boeotians by a trick, which was said to be the origin of the Apatouria festival (cf n. 127): Hellanic *FGrH* 4 F125 = 323a F23. He was succeeded by his son Codros. The Pisistratids also claimed descent from Neleus, 5.65.3; in one account the Alcmaeonids also: note to §§121–4.

[124] Pherecydes spells the founder Νηλεύς (like Nestor's father), but Herodotus 9.97 and Pausanias, e.g. 7.2.1, has Νειλεύς.

[125] Sakellariou (1958) has an extensive and detailed analysis of all the evidence. See also Roebuck (1959a) 25–31; Cook (1962) chap 2.

[126] Herodotus says that there are four different Ionic dialects (1.142.4). Four dialects are not confirmed in surviving inscriptions: Smyth (1894) 17–27; but his ear would pick up differences of vocabulary, and perhaps pronunciation and grammar. We can suggest three of them: the dialects of Ephesus, where the poetry of Hipponax shows Lydian words, no doubt from intermarriage; of Miletus, where we could infer Carian words (cf n. 137); and of Chios, where inscriptions have some Aeolisms. Perhaps there was also a "standard" Ionian, in which he wrote. Centuries later Strabo could still note the presence of local (or mixed) populations of Lydians and Carians (e.g. 13.4.12; 14.1.38, 2.1, 2.23).

[127] Tribal and month names are discussed polis by polis in Sakellariou (1958) 254–297 and summarised at 300; month names so far as known are listed in Samuel (1972) 114–125. Anthesteria: Burkert (1985) 237, 255; Herodotus notes the Apatouria at 1.147.2. The "deception" story in Hellanic *FGrH* 4 F125 (n. 123) is pure aetiology; it was the festival at which fathers presented their children for enrolment as citizens: Schol Ar *Ach* 146, and etymologically is thought to be derived from ἁ + πάτηρ.

[128] Herodotus' account of Dorian settlement is at 1.144. He does not say that they also revolted, and it is assumed that they did not; but there is a question about Rhodes, where the Persians apparently besieged Lindos at some stage: note to §§94–101 and Appx 1 para 9.

the Hermos was Aeolis, of whom the Lesbians were the majority; Herodotus commonly brackets the Aeolians with the Ionians.[129]

The question why they were "Ionians" should be simple: it was probably derived from an existing place name in Asia Minor, and explains why eastern nations, whose first contacts with Greeks would be here, called the Greeks "Ionians".[130] But it became complex, because the Athenians also used it, and were probably responsible for the creation of the eponym Ion.[131] Curiously, Ion was one generation younger than, and so junior to, Doros and Aeolos. In the general tradition, Deucalion was the father of Hellen; Hellen the father of Doros, Aeolos, and Xouthos; and Xouthos the father of Ion: Gantz (1996) I 164–6, 167, 233, 244–5; stemma, xxviii–ix (Ion was probably also the son of Xouthos in the alternative, possibly Ionian, stemma of Hecataeus: see on Ἑκαταῖος, §137.1). Ion's mother was Athenian: Creusa, daughter of Erechtheus; but Ion ruled in Achaea, with an Achaean wife (perhaps reflecting those Ionian traditions which made Achaea their origin?), before coming to Athens.[132]

---

[129] Description, 1.149–51. They are linked with the Ionians in Cyrus' empire, 1.6, 26; in jointly seeking to resist him, 1.141.1, 151–152.1; when conscripted by the Persians, 1.171 (Harpagus), 2.1, 3.1 (Cambyses), 4.89 (Darius, for Scythia), §98.1 (Datis). Aeolians consulted Branchidae (Didyma), 1.157.3, and joined Histiaeus, §28.1. Herodotus takes it for granted that they joined the revolt: Mytilene executed her deposed tyrant Coes, 5.38, and Lesbos co-operated with Chios over repatriating the Paeonians, 5.98, which it is argued was agreed at a pan-Ionic meeting (p. 59). The Persians recovered Aeolian cities on the mainland early on (5.123), but Lesbos sent ships to Lade: see on Αἰολέων, §8.1. At the end the Persians had to recover both Lesbos and Tenedos (§31).

[130] Of Luwian origin, originally Ἰαϝονες, per Szemerényi (1974) 154; cf Chantraine and Frisk sv. So Greeks are "Yavan" in the Old Testament: Gen 10.1.2, etc; the Persian texts calling them "Yauna" and Accadian and Assyrian texts calling them "Yaman" are noted in *CAH* III^2 3 3–4, 15–20. Even today, Greece is Yunanistan to the Turks and Al-Yunan to Arabs. But the problem may be more complex and tied up with the Greeks being Argives, Achaeans, or Danaans in Homer's world, with Hellenes one tribe in southern Thessaly and the Malian Gulf; and Graeci in Italy. The ethnic i-ja-wo-ne on Knossos tablets (B164 and Xd 146+165, perhaps Ws 1707 (Chadwick *et al* (1971) 32, 341, 334) is probably a false friend: it must there refer to a group local to Knossos.

[131] Etymologically, the eponym Ἴων cannot derive from Ἰαϝονες (Szemerényi, loc cit); the inference is that he was created after the place name became pronounced Ἰωνία.

[132] Ion first appears in Hes *Ehoiae* frr 9, 10a M-W; Gantz (1996) I 167. His brothers are Achaios and Diomede; making Apollo his father in Eur *Ion* (probably 418–17) appears to be a fifth century Athenian patriotic aberration (Gantz 244–5). His wife is only known from Paus 7.1.2: Helice, daughter of Selinous, king of Aigalos. Aigalos, an old name for Achaea, *id* 2.5.6, 7.1.1, is linked with Helice (the

But no Ionian city had a tradition of an *oikistes* of the Erechtheus-Cecrops family, or of a descendant of Ion.[133] Indeed, Codros' ancestor Neleus was, subject to his divine father Poseidon, a descendant of Aeolos.[134] On the other hand, at the beginning of the sixth century, Solon could say that Athens was the oldest Ionian land; Herodotus, in a passage about Athenian history, 8.44.2, says that "when Ion became their general, they took the name Ionians" (see on §137.1). This is no doubt all myth, but Aristagoras could appeal to the Ionian connection in getting Athens to help the revolt (p. 60).[135]

Economic development

It is probable that immigration was facilitated by the collapse of the Hittite Empire c1200 BC (for the date, Kuhrt (1995) I 264–6; *CAH* II² 2 266 (Goetze)), and perhaps also because the Greeks settled the coast, but not inland to any significant extent. Several cities had traditions of initial problems with Caria, and to a lesser extent Lydia, as well as between the cities themselves.[136] But the broad picture is

place) at Hom *Il* 2.575; Helice had Ionian connections: n. 148. Ion either succeeds Xouthos as king of the Achaeans, and takes them to Attica to lead the Athenians in battle against Eleusis; or is made king of Athens in succession to Erechtheus: Gantz, I 167, 244–5; *Ath Pol* 3.2; Philoch *FGrH* 328 F13. His four sons become the eponyms of the four original Athenian tribes (5.66).

[133] Paus 7.2.2 expressly says that Melanthos and Codros had no relationship to the clan (γένος) of Ion, though gives Codros an (unnamed) Athenian wife. Melanthos' wife is never mentioned; she might have been thought of as Pylian. Thus no tradition connected Ion to Codros, or suggested that Codros' sons married into the Cecrops/Erechtheus, or any Athenian, family. Eur *Ion* 1581–5, making the sons of Ion the oikists, is an aberration.

[134] For the stemma of Cretheus, son of Aeolus, Neleus' human father, see Gantz (1996) I xxx.

[135] Solon fr 4a West = *Ath Pol* 5.2, from the same poem as frr 4b and c; probably written before his archonship: see Linforth (1919) 54 for the date; the three fragments are his (iii) to (v). The sentiment may be reflected in the παλαιὰ ξυμμαχία of Thuc 3.86.3, if that is to be interpreted as an old alliance between Athens and Ionians (Smart (1972) 145–6); although we have no evidence for its being invoked as a military alliance before the revolt and the events in Thucydides, and ξυμμαχία is not the obvious word for a unity at a spiritual or emotional level. But in 479 the Athenians found it expedient to claim the Ionians as their colonists: 9.106.3; so Thuc 1.95.1.

[136] For this fighting see Huxley (1966) 27–9, 38, 47–9. For an overview of the archaeology of the cities see Bean (1979). Strabo 13.1.3 records a tradition that the Aeolians came four generations before the Ionians; on Lesbos, Methymna absorbed Arisbe (1.151).

that both Ionia and Aeolis developed good relations with their neighbours (the Carians were to join the revolt), and there was intermarriage.[137] Moreover, the cities were largely at peace with each other: apart from the violence associated with Polycrates of Samos, the last known inter-polis dispute before the revolt had been between Samos and Priene, in the mid sixth century (Appx 11 n. 7), and the next ones before that were probably in the early seventh century.[138] They typically prospered from commerce, with a considerable trade both in metals and for food, as discussed in Roebuck (1959a), especially chaps 6 to 9;[139] from the seventh century onwards, many of them established settlements in the Hellespont and Propontis and Black Sea (the latter almost entirely by Miletus).[140] Conventionally called colonies, they were often trading stations; at least we should not be acute to sort them into two distinct categories.[141] Several of those in the Hellespont and Propontis are mentioned in §33; others are noted on §36.2.

[137] Apart from the legend of intermarriage with Carian girls at 1.146.2–3, the fathers of Thales (DL 1.22) and of Herodotus himself, p. 2 n. 6, were Carian. Myndos was Carian (Hecat *FGrH* 1 F243), but the Myndian captain of 5.33, p. 53, had a Greek sounding name and was a *xenos* of Aristagoras. See also Hornblower (1982) 17. One of Alyattes' wives was Greek, and a daughter married Melas of Ephesus: p. 46. Histiaeus the son of Tymnes of Termera, arrested at Myus (5.37.1), probably had a Greek mother: perhaps, in view of his name, a member of Histiaeus of Miletus' family (p. 63); Heraclides son of Ibanollis of Mylasa (n. 193) also suggests a Greek mother. For Lydian intermarriage see also Roebuck (1959a) 31 n. 31 (generally for Ionia, *ibid* 33–4).

[138] Polycrates (c540–c522): 3.39, 45–8. Before the Samos-Priene conflict, c700 Colophon had taken over Smyrna, and Chios, with Milesian help, fought Erythrae, 1.18.3 (Huxley (1966) 47, 49): both possibly connected with the trade rivalries behind the alliances of the Lelantine war. The unsettled conditions in Miletus in the middle sixth century (§86a4) were internal politics: see *ad loc.*

[139] The cities on mainland Aeolis were small but agriculturally self-sufficient. Herodotus expressly mentions the favourable climate of Ionia, 1.142.2 (so Paus 7.2.5), and the substantial trading of Phocaea with Spain, and Miletus with Sybaris (1.163, §21.1). Colophon, an inland polis, was famous for its horses and cavalry. There is an excellent overview in Jeffery (1976) 207–236 (Ionia) and 237–243 (Aeolis); see also on Μιλήσιοι, §8.1. For Miletus' trade see also Gorman (2001) 47–59; Greaves (2002) 96–9.

[140] Lists of all Greek colonies are in Osborne (1996) 120–5 (arranged chronologically) and, with minor variations, *CAH* III^2 3 160–2 (arranged alphabetically); *HG* 657–60 (by regions). For those from Ionia see also the discussion in Huxley (1966) chaps 6 and 7.

[141] Even if a source calls it ἀποικία rather than ἐμπόριον. The trading aspect of Greek colonisation in general is stressed by Osborne (1996) 119, 125–7.

However, there is archaeological evidence which some interpret as showing that the trade of the Ionian cities was shrinking during the second half of the sixth century, as mainland Greek states expanded theirs, and that at a time when there may have been Persian-sponsored Phoenician expansion into the Black Sea.[142] There was a further spurt of colonisation by Miletus in the middle of the sixth century, and it is suggested that this reflects enforced emigration caused by appropriation of land by the Lydians and then the Persians.[143]

The Panionion

At some time between c800 and c700[144] the Ionians jointly established a cult site, the Panionion, on Mycale. Whether or not originally founded by cities whose tradition claimed a Codrid founder, and so of "pure" Ionian ancestry, from an early date it included the 12 cities named at 1.142.[145] The cult was that of Poseidon Heliconios (named after Mt Helicon). Poseidon was a natural choice for communities perhaps grateful for granting their ancestors safe passage to Ionia and certainly for the calm seas and prosperous voyages they needed for their present maritime trade.[146] The cult also existed in Boeotia, as well as Athens;[147] it was known to, or placed by, Homer

[142] Briant (1996) 162 for an excellent overview; economic pressures accepted Tozzi (1978) 113–128, esp 116–117; *CAH* IV^2 477–8 (Murray); Lateiner (1982a) 135–6; but not *CAH* IV^2 452–3 (Roebuck), nor Georges (2000).

[143] Most clearly discernible in the chronological list, Osborne (1996) 124. See Tsetskhladze (1998) 52–3 for the suggestion that some of the later colonisation from Ionia was enforced by the appropriation of land by Lydia and then Persia.

[144] The date is tied up with the question whether fighting between Ionians or some of them and Melie, a possibly Boeotian or Carian settlement on the west coast of Mycale, was after its foundation and stemmed from some dispute over control of the site, or before: Jeffery (1976) 208–9, exploring whether Melie was a Carian settlement and the place originally a Carian cult site; Roebuck (1955) 32–3; (1959b); Caspari (1915) 176.

[145] It did not include Pygela (which Herodotus never mentions), whose origins were said to be Dorian; nor Smyrna, originally Aeolian but taken over by Colophon, n. 138; nor Magnesia.

[146] We have positive evidence for the worship of Ποσειδῶν ἀσφάλειος as god of safe voyaging, at Athens (Ar *Ach* 682 and Schol; *SEG* XXII 274), Sparta, with temples in the city and on Cape Tainaron (Paus 3.11.9; Ar *Ach* 510 and Schol; Suda sv Ταίναρον) and Rhodes (Strabo 1.3.16); and, from inscriptions, in Arcadia (*IG* V.2 454), Crete (*IC* II viii.1), Delos (*ID* 2.406 etc), Erythrae (*SEG* XVII 516 and XXX 1327) and Colophon (*SEG* XIX 698).

[147] Boeotia: Farnell IV (1907) 29–33; Athens: Cleidemos *FGrH* 323 F1.

in Achaea (Hom *Il* 20.404–5).[148] Poseidon is the father of Neleus (*Od* 11.254; Hellanic *FGrH* 4 F125, cited n. 123). It was thus a cult that would be acceptable to all, whatever they believed about their mainland origins. Its foundation can be compared to similar ones on the mainland, because the eighth century was a time when Greeks generally appear to have felt the need for institutions that reflected common regional interests with a strong religious component[149] but usually fell short of political unity;[150] it shows that Ionians had a strong sense of community. Excavations have revealed a sanctuary and enclosure, as well as a small "theatre", 100 feet in diameter and with some 11 rows of seats, said to be a bouleuterion; but the remains are not securely dated (the Panionion survived into Roman times).[151] The Dorians had their own centre. Forrest (2000) 281–3 discusses what we know of the Triopion, near Cnidos, where there was a temple of Apollo; games were held, and some common deliberations may have taken place.[152] It is, however, doubtful that the Aeolians had anything comparable, based at the oracle of Apollo at Gryneia (1.149).[153]

Herodotus makes clear that the Panionion was a religious centre (ἱρόν, 1.143.3; χῶρος ἱρός, 1.148.1). We do not know how it was

---

[148] Strabo 8.7.2 says that the Ionians sent to Helice for either a statue of Poseidon or a model of his temple; this appears to have been in the fourth century, perhaps at a time when the Panionion was being revived. Farnell, n. 147, points out that Ἑλικώνιος has to come from Ἑλικών and not from Ἑλίκη, from which the adjective would be *Ἑλίκαιος. This did not prevent the aetiological connection with Helice being made: for the Ionians' alleged Achaean origin see nn. 122 and 132.

[149] Thus on mainland Greece there were the Olympic Games (which became panhellenic); the Amphictionic League which exercised political control over the oracle at Delphi; and the Calaurian and Triphylian Leagues (both also Poseidon cults: Tausend (1992) 12–19, 19–21); in the Aegean, the festival for Apollo on Delos. For the Calaurian League see also on πρότερον, §92.1.

[150] Apart from the Amphictionic League (previous note), there were (effectively) ethnic federations: that of Phocis noted in n. 194, and those of Thessaly and Locris, and the κοινωνία of Achaea (Rhodes (1986) 182–5; *CAH* III^2 3 298–9, 303–4 (Forrest)).

[151] Kleiner *et al* (1967); plans and photographs in Müller (1997) 655–662; J.M. Cook (1960) 47–8.

[152] The other cities were Cos, Halicarnassus, and the three poleis on Rhodes, Ialysos, Camiros, and Lindos, with Halicarnassus eventually being expelled (1.144). The location is given by Thuc 8.35.2; that games continued and deliberations held is indicated by Dion Hal *AR* 4.25.

[153] Parke (1985a) 171–4, though Forrest (2000) 283 argues otherwise. In any case, the demography of Aeolis was different to Ionia. Of the mainland poleis, only Cyme was of any size; the rest were very small: cf n. 139 and on Αἰολέων, §8.1.

managed, e.g. whether there was a permanent priest, and if so, how he was chosen (and paid); nor whether the cult was for the population as a whole, like the annual Delos festival, or chosen delegates only; or how often it was celebrated—presumably at least annually. But it was also (or became) a place where the Ionians met for political reasons. They had several such meetings before and after Cyrus conquered Lydia (p. 46), when Bias suggested emigrating en bloc to Sardinia rather than be subject to Persia.[154] Herodotus reports an earlier proposal by Thales that the Ionians should federalise with a central government at Teos, 1.170, but does not say if this was made at the Panionion. It has been suggested that a common political organisation developed there; but after Bias and up to the revolt we do not know of any meetings, nor of crises or other occasions that might have caused such meetings. During the revolt, it hosted at least one meeting, §7; up to four earlier meetings can be suggested, for which the Panionion would be a natural place (pp. 59–62).[155] But that is as consistent with *ad hoc* arrangements, using the Panionion for convenience, as assuming that there was some (semi-)permanent political organisation. Herodotus' use of συμμαχίη/σύμμαχοι for the Ionians acting together (5.99.1, 120, §§9.3, 13.1, 15.2) is at best neutral on this point. But on any view the Panionion would help give the Ionians a significant sense of emotional unity.

Dealing with Croesus and the Persians

When revolt became a real option in 499, the Greek perception (to judge from 1.5–28) would be that they had lived in freedom until

[154] Herodotus says that they συνελέγοντο, imperfect, beforehand, 1.141.4, and continued to meet, συλλεγομένων, afterwards, 1.170.1. They decided to ask Sparta for help. The Spartans refused military assistance, but sent to Cyrus to tell him not to interfere (1.152–3). An amphictiony could have a political function: cf van Wees (2004) 10.

[155] Roebuck (1955) 27, with some of the early mainland institutions (nn 29–30) in mind, argues that "the [Ionian] league was beginning to develop institutions to express its political interests"; at 28 he argues that a (permanent) religious official had the power to call political meetings; so *id* (1959a) 28; cf Keinast (2002) 11–12. The high water mark in favour of this is (a) when the Ionians agreed to send help to Cyprus (βουλευσάμενοι, 5.108.2), it expressed as taken by "the Ionian commonwealth", τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἰώνων, at 5.109.3), and inferring that it was taken at the Panionion (cf p. 61); and (b) the meeting which is stated as being held there, §7, being attended by πρoβούλοι.

only two generations ago, c560 in our terms,[156] when Croesus became king of Lydia; now was the chance to reverse that. They recalled a long period when they had been free, when Heraclids ruled Lydia ("22 generations or 505 years"); the latter had been essentially Greek and friendly to the Ionians (1.6–7). This changed after the Mermnad Gyges seized the throne, c685, i.e. about 6 or 7 generations earlier. He and his descendants, including Croesus, made a number of attacks on Ionian cities (1.8–14, 15–22, 26).[157] We cannot recover whether these were for plunder, or attempts to make the Ionians pay tribute, and/or to gain access to Mediterranean ports; but, despite "captured", no polis fell under Lydian rule. But perception is everything, and Croesus was worse: the first foreigner "of whom we know" to compel the Greeks of Asia Minor to pay tribute (φόρος: 1.6, repeated 1.27).[158] The earlier attacks were seen not as subjection, but the hazards of life; Croesus imposed regular taxation. He established or confirmed Lydian rule up to the river Halys (1.6), and we can accept the substance of Herodotus' statement that he ruled "all" the peoples west of there from the incident at Lampsacus, §37, another in the Troad, his troops in the Atarneus area, and his control of Aeolis and Ionia and the Dorian cities to the south.[159] Greek cities east of the Halys such as Cyzicos and Calchedon were probably free until the Persians came. At the élite level, the Mermnads sought good relations with

[156] The dates of the Mermnads are: Gyges, c685–c645, *CAH* III^2 645 (Mellink) or c680–c652, Kuhrt (1995) II 568; Ardys c645–c615, *CAH* 647 or c652–c630, Kuhrt; Sadyattes c615–c610, *CAH* 647 or c630–c610, Kuhrt; Alyattes c610–c560, *CAH* and Kuhrt; Croesus 560–c547, *CAH* 651 or c560–540s, Kuhrt (for the date of the capture of Sardis by Cyrus see on §35.1).

[157] Gyges attacked Miletus and Smyrna and captured (εἶλε) Colophon (1.14); Ardys attacked Miletus and captured Priene (1.15); Sadyattes attacked Miletus; Alyattes attacked Miletus and Clazomenae and captured Smyrna (1.16–17). Colophon was said to have founded Siris in southern Italy in response to Lydian pressure (*BM* 156). For Lydian history see *CAH* III^2 2 643–55 (Mellink); Jeffery (1976) 207–19 deals with the Lydian attacks on the individual cities from the Greek perspective.

[158] For Herodotus' use of the expression "of whom we know" see p. 25 n. 78.

[159] Strabo 13.1.42 says that Croesus attacked Sidene, a small town on the Troad. The reference to cavalry and army parades in Sappho fr 16.1 L-P suggests that these were familiar enough to her audience because Sadyattes or Alyattes had established a fort or barracks on the mainland opposite Lesbos where Lydian troops (including cavalry) were stationed; cf on §28.2. The Dorians are included at 1.6; it is not clear if, in practice, the cities on Rhodes, and Cos, remained free. The Persians certainly took over Cnidos (1.174) and Halicarnassus, as evidenced by Artemisia; the evidence about Cos is conflicting: see note to §§94–101.

Greeks: Gyges was a benefactor of Delphi (1.14); as noted in n. 137, Alyattes had a Greek wife, and a daughter married Melas, tyrant of Ephesus (c600).[160] But whatever the Ionians felt about Croesus gifting Greek shrines (for Didyma see on ἱρόν, §19.3), and his other contacts on mainland Greece,[161] they also recalled his taxation with resentment.

When Cyrus conquered Lydia (c547, n. 156) Herodotus says that at first only Miletus came to terms and the rest of Ionia was subdued after some campaigning, with emigrations to the west from Phocaea and Teos (1.143, 161–9); he records meetings at the Panionion to debate the situation (p. 44). He also says that the islands (meaning Lesbos, Chios and Samos) submitted. As Cyrus had no navy, it is suggested that their submission at this time was nominal (*CAH* III[2] 3 199 (J.M. Cook)); if so, it was substantive by Darius' time.[162] Formally, the Greeks became subservient to an oriental monarch, which was alien to their way of thinking,[163] and there may have

[160] Hence Croesus had a half-Greek half-brother Pantaleon, 1.92. For Melas' marriage see Huxley (1966) 78; his half-Lydian son Pindaros was required to vacate his office when his uncle Croesus succeeded to the throne. That incident is alluded to at 1.26.2; details, Tozzi (1978) 118 n. 10 at 119 and Huxley 109–110.

[161] Gifting Greek shrines, 1.46, 92; a representative in Athens, §125; alliance with Sparta, 1.6, 69.

[162] Apart from the fact that they all revolted, see the events recorded in 3.139–147 for Samos, 4.138 for Chios, and 5.11 for Lesbos, all in Darius' time. Also, all three islands had *peraiai* on the mainland, and would presumably have had to acknowledge Persian suzerainty there from the start (Chios had two, one the gift of the king: next note). The anecdote at 3.120.3 suggests that Samos was free in Polycrates' lifetime (c540–c522). The mid sixth century quasi-democratic constitution on Chios, ML 8, would not prove independence in Cyrus' time; it was Persian policy to let her subjects have their own laws (p. 48), though no doubt the later imposition of Strattis as tyrant would end the democracy.

[163] Submission to a monarch was for orientals, not Hellenes: p. 27, and see on §11.2. Also, the king treated everything within his empire as his to dispose of, and all those below him, even high ranking men, as his vassals if not his slaves: Briant (1996) chap VIII, Missiou (1993), esp 386, 390–1. Herodotus' statements about him (Brock (2004) 171–5) are substantive, not just a matter of literary presentation. It also enabled him to appear munificent: see Sancisi-Weerdenburg (1988), cited Appx 3 n. 14. Hence the gift of Atarneus to Chios (see on Ἀταρνέος, §28.2; cf Appx 7 n. 10); the many cases of giving cities to tyrants (p. 50) and gifts of cities and other property generally, for which see on παρὰ βασιλέα, §24.2; cf on §9.3. Equally he could punish: there are no cases of cruelty to individual Greeks, but he dealt harshly with the populations of Miletus and Eretria (see on ἄνδρες, §19.3). For the many cases of cruelty to Persians see Immerwahr (1966) 173 with nn 73–4, which also shows how Darius and Xerxes are differentiated; Waters (1971) 59–60, 67, 75–6.

been some appropriation of land to create Persian owned estates (p. 42). Although the Persians had troops in western Asia Minor (Appx 3 paras 6–7), there is no evidence that any were stationed in the Greek cities themselves. But the Greeks did become liable to conscription,[164] and to pay Persian taxes.

The initial threat by Cyrus reported at 1.141 to impose higher tribute than under Croesus for not immediately submitting seems to have been a mere threat, and Herodotus could record the Persians as saying that there was no fixed tribute under Cyrus or Cambyses, only "gifts"; that Cyrus had been like a father, Cambyses a tyrant, and Darius a tradesman (3.89).[165] There are two aspects to any tax: its assessment, and its collection,[166] and it is probable that under Cyrus there was either lower tribute or a less stringent collection of it; and, in turn, less rigorous financial demands from Susa on the satrap, than later. Under Cambyses tribute and taxation, or their enforcement, increased (hence "tyrant"); we can identify the costs of building and equipping a navy as a likely major item of expenditure in his reign.[167] Even so, on Darius' accession the Ionians did not revolt, though he had to spend two years suppressing revolts in the east and consolidating his power.[168] But once his position was

[164] Conscription is indicated at 1.171.1, 3.13–14, 4.89.1; see also n. 177.

[165] The Achaemenid reigns were: Cyrus 559–530; he took over Lydia in the 540s (see on §35.1); Cambyses, 530–522; Darius, 522–486: *CAH* IV^2 28, 47, 54, 71 (Cuyler Young); Kuhrt (1995) II 648.

[166] So Murray (1966) 143–7 stresses that φόρος, like "tax" in English, can mean either the tax levied or the tax received; and φόρον τάσσειν, the expression at 3.89.1, means to assess, not collect, a tax. Cf next note.

[167] The "gifts" in Herodotus' sources may well be a euphemism; some Greeks may have found it expedient to make them (as is suggested for the fifth century, Murray 147); in any case, the Persians had several types of taxation (Murray 149–155). For the financial and so taxation implications of Cambyses building a navy, and bases for it, and manning it, which continued under Darius, see Wallinga (1984) 407–11. The obligation to crew the ships extended to all the king's maritime subjects; cf the Mytilenean crew of a (Persian) trireme in c525, 3.14–15, and the Ionian and Aeolian contingents on the Scythian expedition (p. 49): Wallinga 415–17; cf *id* (1987) 68–72; and see Appx 3 para 2.

[168] Internal problems and revolts connected with his accession: Briant (1996) 119–35; 140–9; *CAH* IV^2 53–66 (Cuyler Young); for the dates *ib* 41, 47, 58, Kuhrt (1995) II 648. Herodotus' version is 3.61–79, followed by the constitution debate, 3.80–3. Darius' accession had been controversial and he needed at the same time to ensure control over all his subordinates, inspire their loyalty, meet the aspirations of the Persian nobility, and have an efficiently run empire, for which see *CAH* 87–91.

secure, the clear impression is that he made changes. In his time, if not before, the islands fell under Persian control (p. 46). He proved to be a capable administrator, and methodically organised the finances of his empire. Herodotus details the tribute payable by each satrapy, 3.89–94; but there were also other taxes to pay, for which see Appx 11 sec 2(1). He probably overhauled and reorganised rather than instituted the satrapy system, making sure that each part of his empire was duly assessed for tribute, and that the satraps collected it and other taxes. To Herodotus' detail of his making the Babylonian talent the measure for its payment, we may add his introduction of the gold daric.[169] Total taxation was almost certainly higher than previously, and more rigorously enforced. While it was Persian practice to allow their subject peoples to manage their own affairs under their own laws (*CAH* IV^2 42–3 (Cuyler Young)), it is likely that when we find tyrants ruling the Greek cities under Darius, it reflects this enforcement (infra).

Of course, individual Greeks could be promoted, as Democedes the doctor, 3.129–34, or Histiaeus the advisor, and Herodotus can present Persian kings as generous benefactors of high status Greeks (§24.2); more humble men could find employment (or were conscripted to work) at Persepolis. But Persians could also mistrust Greeks, at least from the élite,[170] and the Greek was likely to come out worse, because the Persian had the king's authority behind him. Quite apart from the political implications of rule by tyrants, by 499 there can have been little enthusiasm for Persian rule. The average Greek probably rarely met or had dealings with Persians, but it may be doubted if he felt any great warmth for them.

---

[169] *CHI* (J.M. Cook) 221–3 offers an overview of Darius as an efficient administrator. See Appx 3 para 6 for the relationship between the satrap and the army commanders in the satrapy; Briant (1982) 191, 211–12, for the administration (including fiscal administration) within the satrapy. For the introduction of the daric as a standard gold coin, see *CAH* IV^2 431 (Kraay); *CHI* 221–2. Herodotus 3.89 correctly makes the Babylonian talent worth $1^1/_6$ Euboean talents: Appx 11 n. 20.

[170] They were probably also jealous of Greeks who got royal preferment; for their disdain of Greeks generally see Keaveney (1988) 78–80. Thus Megabazos got Histiaeus removed from Myrcinos, 5.23.2, to prevent him exploiting its timber and silver; Megabates quarrelled with Aristagoras, 5.33; Artaphrenes mistrusted Histiaeus, §2.1 (and cf pp. 69–70). Ezra 5.3–17 has a similar story of the local satrap. There are no anecdotes of Greeks mistrusting Persians.

The tyrants

When Darius invaded Scythia in 513,[171] his force included a seaborne contingent of Ionian and Aeolian conscripts. The story is that he ordered them to sail for two days up the Danube and build a pontoon bridge (σχεδίη, so §41.3), and then, when his army was across, to break it up and follow him. Coes, commander of the Mytilenean contingent, advised him to leave it intact with the Greeks guarding it. Darius' revised orders were to guard it for 60 days and, if he had not returned, break it up and depart (4.89, 97–8). He did not return in 60 days, and the Scythians invited the Greeks to do as instructed, 4.133, 136. There was then a debate amongst the commanders of the Greek contingents, who (except for Coes) were the tyrants of their cities, 4.137–8. Miltiades argued for doing so, and Histiaeus for staying. There has to be a question as to the historicity of the debate: at first all the others agree with Miltiades, and then Histiaeus persuades them to change their minds. We may suspect that, at least as it reached Herodotus, it had considerable Philaid input, seeking to put the best face on Miltiades' presence, and asserting that his anti-Darius and impliedly pro-democracy stance was carrying the day until Histiaeus persuaded them otherwise. Histiaeus is made to say that they owed their positions to Darius, and if that support was lost, their cities would choose democracy. There is a consensus that the list of names is accurate, and that many owed their positions to the king. It is surprising to find so many tyrants in power, then and in 499 (infra), especially as in mainland Greece they had fallen out of fashion.[172] For earlier periods, Ionian traditions spoke of patterns of government similar to those of the mainland: kings for one or two generations after arriving in Ionia, and then oligarchies; tyrants in power in the early sixth century (e.g. Melas of Ephesus), and then again oligarchies.[173] The story of Glaucos

[171] For the date see Balcer (1988) 8, correcting his earlier attribution to 519; Badian (1994) 111.

[172] The best discussion of the governments of Ionia at the time of the revolt is Tozzi (1978) 118–120 with n. 10; at 121 n. 12 he stresses how widely we find tyrants in the Greek parts of Darius' empire. Those named at the Danube bridge are from Chios, Cyme, Samos, Phocaea and Miletus, 5 poleis on the south side of the Hellespont, and Byzantium; plus Miltiades. Licaretos and Coes are noted infra; others are named when they are arrested at Myus at the start of the revolt, p. 57.

[173] The kings were usually descendants of the Codrid oikists; some of the early

has a plausible historical background, because in the early sixth century there was civil strife in Miletus associated with tyrants: see on §86a3. If the mainland is a guide, we would have expected to find most cities with oligarchic governments, perhaps one or two tyrants, perhaps some democratic stirrings here and there (so Chios, n. 162). Were these tyrants a factor in precipitating the revolt?

Some were in power irrespective of the Persians, e.g. both Miltiades (§§34–41), Hippoclos of Lampsacus, and possibly Melancomas of Ephesus.[174] But most were not. Cyrus was said to have installed a tyrant at Cyme, and given seven cities to his friend Pytharchos of Cyzicos. As a reward for their services at the Danube bridge, Darius gave Myrcinos to Histiaeus, and made Coes tyrant of Mytilene (5.11); a little later Otanes made Lycaretos tyrant of Lemnos (5.27).[175] Darius had helped Aeaces of Samos to be restored, even though the latter had a claim to rule through his father Syloson (4.139–49), and had probably installed Scythes on Cos (see on §24.2). Imposing tyrants was not inconsistent with normal Persian policy, to let subject peoples have their own laws: the tyrant was not imposing Persian laws. Apart from the point that the king treated his empire as his to dispose of as he saw fit, n. 163, there are two reasons why we may believe what Histiaeus is made to say. One relates to the more rig-

inter-polis fighting, n. 136, was associated with dynastic in-fighting. These changes of government are fully discussed in Tozzi (1978) 114–22; Huxley (1966) 26–9, 36–7, 47–53, 78–84, 86–91. At Ephesus, the descendants of their oikist Androclus retained the title of basileus, and were hereditary priests of the festival of Eleusinian Demeter (Strabo 14.1.3; cf on Θεσμοφορίων, §17). Heraclitus (fl c500) was said to be of this family, and to have resigned the priesthood in favour of his brother: DL 9.1, 6 (22 A1 DK).

[174] For Hippoclos see Thuc 6.59. Heraclitus is said to have persuaded Melancomas to give up his tyranny, probably shortly before the Ionian revolt; this suggests that he was not constrained by obligations to Darius (Tozzi (1978) 118 n. 10 at 119; Huxley (1966) 140). Colophon may also have had an "ordinary" Greek tyrant (Tozzi, *loc cit*). Tozzi's assessment (121) is that Darius continued tyrants where he found them, introduced them where he did not; cf next note.

[175] Cyme: Heracl Lemb 38 Dilts, *FHG* II 217. It does not follow that the Aristagoras of Cyme who was captured at Myus, 5.37.1, was a descendant of Cyrus' appointee. Cyzicos: Agathocles *FGrH* 472 F6 (identifying the seven named cities is problematic). Tozzi (1978) 120 n. 11 more doubtfully suggests that Cyrus had also installed the tyrants of Colophon and Ephesus. For Histiaeus see p. 63; for Lycaretos see on προηγόρευε, §140.1. Early in the sixth century, Mytilene had had tyrants, followed by some form of more liberal government under the aesymnetes Pittacos; we do not know if that persisted until Coes' appointment or he replaced a recently deceased Persian appointee.

orous collection of tribute. Elsewhere in the empire, Darius and his satraps were used to dealing with a princeling or chieftain or similar (for the Levant see *CAH* IV^2 153–64 (Eph-ʿAl)), one man who could be made responsible, not just for the good behaviour of his people, but specifically for the collection and regular payment of tribute. In a Greek polis, whether an oligarchy or democracy, they would find that they were dealing with a committee. It takes little imagination to see how they could temporise, and why Darius wanted just one man in charge.[176] The second is that the Persians brought them along in 495–4 (§9.2). It looks as though they were intending to put them back in office after the suppression of the revolt and so restore the status quo; in turn, suggesting that they attached importance to having men in charge of Greek cities who were well disposed towards them. The Persians would find men who were willing to control their communities in return for power:[177] see Austin (1990); Whitby (1998b) 208. It is suggested that some men got themselves appointed by approaching the Persians; that would merely make easier the king's task in selecting his man.[178]

The tyrants of c600 may have had popular support, but these men were of a different order and would be universally unpopular. They stifled the political ambitions of all: the aristocracy whose ability to hold the magistracies was compromised, and the population as a whole who had aspirations for moves towards some form of democracy.[179] When the question of revolt arose in 499, men in their

[176] We could support the argument that tyrants were more often imposed than not by noting that when they are ultimately removed, §43, it is Mardonius, who is the king's man, who does it (Appx 11 sec 3). Tozzi (1978) 121 thinks that Darius did not understand the characteristics of politics in the Greek world. After the failure at Naxos, Aristagoras feared that his rule would be taken away (ἀπαιρεθήσεσθαι, 5.35.1), suggesting that his deputy tyranny was by courtesy of the Persians.

[177] It is likely that another duty which the Persians required of the tyrant was to enforce conscription, as well as act as general, as we see in Scythia, supra, and at Naxos, infra.

[178] Austin (1990) 304 suggests that with Darius, there may have been a ξενία relationship between him and the Greek appointee in cases other than Syloson; at 289 n. 3 he suggests that some tyrants were men of wealth and influence, with a strong personal following in their cities.

[179] Apart from Chios, n. 162, 5.30.1 evidences such aspirations on Naxos: the Naxian aristocrats, p. 52, had been exiled by the δῆμος. No doubt the events in Athens in 510–8 would also be an influence. Tozzi (1978) 122–3 explores the extent of the tyrants' popularity; their supporters (like the στασιῶται of Aristagoras, 5.36.1), whether bound by ties of family or cult, or for some other reason, would have an interest in the status quo.

early 60s could say: we were born into "freedom", meaning before Croesus (c560: n. 156). Younger ones could say this of their parents. All would say that things had gradually got worse under him and then the Persians: conscription, taxation, and loss of political power, and to men who were enforcing the conscription (n. 177) and taxation. They symbolised Persian rule. Even if not entirely accurate, e.g. because of Lydian demands even before Croesus, it is perception that counts.[180] The fact that Aristagoras nominally gave up his own tyranny and had the other tyrants removed as one of the first steps in the revolt suggests that he realised that this would be seen as liberating the cities both in terms of government and from their obligations to Persia. The very ease with which they were arrested at Myus and deposed elsewhere, quite apart from the fate of Coes (n. 129) and Miletus' later resistance to Histiaeus' return (§5), shows that they were unpopular.[181] There were both economic and political motives which persuaded the Ionians to revolt; in Ionia, the tyrants had become the symbols of both grievances.[182]

Herodotus' account of the revolt

Histiaeus, tyrant of Miletus, was in Susa as adviser to Darius (5.24); his nephew and son-in-law Aristagoras was deputy tyrant. Some time later, a group of exiled Naxian aristocrats, *xenoi* of Histiaeus, approached Aristagoras for help in being restored, promising to underwrite the

[180] Perception apart, Balcer (1974) considers that Persian tribute levels were reasonable, and Ionians as well as Carians Hellespontines and Thracians prospered under Persian rule. Plut *Apophth Reg* 172f records an anecdote about Darius to the effect that he halved what his subjects said were reasonable levels of taxation.

[181] It is probable that at Myus the ships' crews would be in full sympathy with the arrest of the tyrants: we may compare the story of the involvement of sailors in a coup in Samos c600 (Polyaen *Strat* 6.45, accepted Shipley (1987) 52, 90); cf Kienast (2002) 9 ("a revolutionary mood amongst the fleet"). That story is not a complete parallel, as there it is a tyrant who is put into power, as the anecdote is interpreted by Shipley; but it illustrates the potential power of ordinary citizens when acting as a navy; cf on §12. Coes had probably behaved stupidly and earned particular hatred, but the resistance to Histiaeus, §5, despite his family connections, as well as the subsequent Persian decision to remove support generally from the tyrants, §43, shows the general level of resentment. But crews had the reputation for independence (or indiscipline): van Wees (2004) 219–21.

[182] Cf *CAH* IV^2 474–6 (Murray). Since Cyprus and Caria, with kings, also joined in the revolt, we may suspect a universal objection to being subjects of the Persian king; in Ionia, the tyrants were an additional grievance, as representatives of the king and his arbitrary power.

costs. He hoped to become ruler of Naxos also, and approached the satrap Artaphrenes for help, promising to pay more than the costs of the expedition, as well as Persian suzerainty over the Cyclades. Artaphrenes got authorisation from Darius to prepare a force of 200 triremes and a large number of Persians and "other allies" under the Achaemenid Megabates (5.30–32). En route, Megabates and Aristagoras quarrelled when the former disciplined Scylax, a captain from Carian Myndos (5.33.2). Megabates then let the Naxians know they were coming, and the former made preparations for a siege. After four months, both the Persians' and Aristagoras' own resources were exhausted; the siege was lifted and the expedition withdrew (5.33–34). Aristagoras could not honour his promises to Artaphrenes, including the costs of the expedition, was afraid because of his quarrel with Megabates, and thought he would be removed from his deputy tyranny. He contemplated revolt; just then a slave arrived with a secret message from Histiaeus telling him to revolt; he hoped to be sent back to Asia Minor to quell it (5.35). He met with supporters, στασιῶται. Hecataeus advised him not to revolt, in view of the resources at Darius' disposal, and failing that, to secure control of the sea using the treasure given to Didyma by Croesus. He was overruled on both counts, and the decision was made to send a man to Myus, where the army from Naxos was, to arrest the generals (5.36). Iatragoras was sent, and many tyrants were arrested. Aristagoras stepped down from his own tyranny and set up ἰσονομίη in Miletus; other tyrants were expelled from their cities. New generals were appointed, and he then set off to get help from the mainland (5.37–38). He was refused in Sparta, but secured it in Athens (5.49–51, 97).

20 Athenian ships and 5 Eretrian triremes now arrived in Ionia. Aristagoras appointed commanders for the Milesian contingent, and the Greeks marched on Sardis and captured the city, except for the acropolis. However they accidentally set fire to the town, and the temple of Cybebe as well as houses were burnt. Persian troops arrived, chased them back to Ephesus, and defeated them in battle. The Ionians returned to their cities; the Athenians and Eretrians returned home and decided to give the Ionians no further support. But the Ionians were able to spread the revolt to the Hellespont and to Caria (5.99–103; as §33 shows, the first included the Propontis up to Byzantium). Cyprus also revolted, and asked the Ionians for help, which was sent; it took a year for the Persians to regain control

there (5.104, 108–115). When news of Sardis reached Susa, Histiaeus persuaded Darius to let him go to Ionia, promising to end the revolt (5.106–107). On the mainland, Persian forces under three sons-in-law of Darius, Daurises Hymaees and Otanes (the latter a different man to the Otanes of 5.27, p. 50: App 5 Note 1), and Artaphrenes, restored Persian control on the Asian side of the Hellespont between Abydos and Paesos, in the Troad, and down to Cyme and Clazomenae; and also parts of Caria, though not without fierce fighting there, in which Miletus and other allies took part (5.116–123). Aristagoras now decided that he could not win, and having ignored further advice from Hecataeus to go to Leros, he handed over power in Miletus to one Pythagoras and cowardly went to Myrcinos. The following year he was killed in fighting the local Thracians (5.124–126).

Initial stages of the revolt—discussion[183]

Several important topics can only be briefly noted here: why Aristagoras wanted to support the Naxian aristocrats, why he involved the Persians, why they wanted to support it, and why the expedition failed. Kienast (2002) 2–3 suggests that the Naxian exiles were *xenoi* of Histiaeus from long-standing trade relations between two prosperous poleis, a relationship soured when the democracy exiled the former. Views differ as to why Aristagoras agreed to help them, and sought Persian help.[184] The Persians seized the opportunity because they saw it as an opportunity to expand their empire into the Aegean;[185] they pro-

[183] Of the considerable literature on the revolt as a whole, I here note: Lang (1968); Chapman (1972); Evans (1963), (1976); Manville (1977); Blamire (1979); Forrest (1979); Neville (1979); Lateiner (1982); Keaveney (1988); Walter (1993); Keinast (1994), (2002); Georges (2000).

[184] To enable Aristagoras himself to become ruler of Naxos, per Herodotus (5.30.3): an assumption of Herodotus, per Kienast (2002) 2, but (as Kienast points out) Aristagoras had to allow for Histiaeus' possible return home; to make Miletus itself overlord of the Cyclades under Persian rule, per Georges (2000) 14. Whatever his motives, Aristagoras was clearly keen to do it: he asked for Artaphrenes' help, hinting at a bribe over and above the costs (5.30.6, 31.2). He could probably have recruited a Greek force for a Greek enterprise without Persian permission, even if Artaphrenes misinterpreted its purpose. He perhaps thought that he needed a bigger force than he could recruit locally, but it was also diplomatic to involve the Persians. On any view he presumably envisaged some personal advantage.

[185] So Kienast (2002) 5; cf note to §§42–5. Wallinga (1984) 419–21, summarised *id* (1993) 143, noted Naxian sea-power (Burn (1984) 173), and suggested a wish to curtail Naxian trade in the Black Sea.

vided a large force, even if "200" ships is rounded up,[186] and put an Achaemenid in charge; though the force included many Greeks, whether as conscripts or mercenaries: at Miletus, Megabates collected Aristagoras, "the Ionian force" (τὴν Ἰάδα στρατιήν), and the Naxians (5.33.1). The Ionians, or most of them, were at Myus on their return. Tension between Aristagoras and Megabates is plausible. The Achaemenid Megabates was a relation of Darius and Artaphrenes; he was also the commander, and would treat Aristagoras as his inferior. Aristagoras saw it as his "show". If, as is likely (see Appx 5 note 2), Megabates was the son of Megabazos who had shown himself hostile to Aristagoras' uncle Histiaeus (p. 63), he would mistrust Aristagoras anyway.[187] The story that he forewarned the Naxians is almost certainly untrue: it would waste the Persian investment in the expedition and prevent Persian expansion. But it is feasible that the siege ended when the Persians decided to stop funding it, and Aristagoras and perhaps the Naxian aristocrats were unwilling to continue subsidising it.[188]

We may debate how far the motives attributed to Aristagoras for proposing revolt reflect what he actually said at the time. If he was right in saying that his deputy tyranny was at the king's pleasure (cf n. 176), his fear of being removed may have been genuine. Whether

[186] Herodotus says that Aristagoras asked for 100 νέες and Artaphrenes provided 200 τριήρεας (5.32), a bigger force than Aristagoras asked for. We need not assume that every ship was in fact a trireme; a galley was better for carrying supplies, and the actual fleet was probably a mixture of ships: cf Appx 2 paras 5–8. But if a substantial part of the fleet was taken over by the Ionians at Myus, and in turn it formed an important part of their fleet of triremes at Lade, there must have been a majority of triremes.

[187] See the analysis in Kienast (2002). So far as Artaphrenes was concerned, Megabates was the commander. He is probably the Megabates attested as admiral on a Persepolis tablet (PT8: *CAH* IV^2 473 (Murray)). The quarrel over the Myndian captain shows that Aristagoras felt that he ought to be in control. Aristocratic Persians did not think well of the Greek élite (n. 170), and relations between the two men at Naxos cannot have been good.

[188] 5.34.3 speaks of Aristagoras using his own funds; we may accept that he could have done so from the high status of his family (cf n. 209). Herodotus implies that he was not prepared to spend more, not that he had bankrupted himself. In the real world, he had no practical way of getting the Naxians to honour their promises to reimburse him beyond anything they may already have provided. Even rounding down the number of ships, we can still imagine a force of at least 10,000 men, and the discussion of costs in Appx 18 para 6 suggests that over 4 months, the costs would easily be 200–250 talents. The annual tribute of the whole satrapy is said to have been 400 talents (Appx 11 sec 2(1)).

the Persians would have done that, or taken steps to recover their costs, by arresting him or seizing his family estates, is at best speculative. He was not sufficiently frightened to quit Miletus, e.g. for Myrcinos or mainland Greece. We may suspect that the major motivation was ambition: he saw an opportunity to impose his authority beyond Miletus, at the same time deflecting any Persian pressure on himself. He ensured that he retained considerable control in Miletus notwithstanding his stepping down from the tyranny. Iatragoras was almost certainly a kinsman; he (Aristagoras) arranged with Chios and Lesbos to send the Paeonians home; appointed generals for the Sardis expedition, including his own brother (5.98–9); and when he finally left he could appoint one Pythagoras his deputy; the story is presented on the basis that he had been leading the revolt (5.124–6).[189]

But Aristagoras would be sensitive to anti-Persian and anti-tyrant sentiments amongst Ionians generally (cf pp. 51–2), and realised how he could turn that to his advantage. It is possible that the idea started during the siege of Naxos: he foresaw failure, and that his ambition to rule Naxos had been frustrated. He may have put out feelers to test the attitude of other cities, either with men on the spot, or by sending to the cities themselves.[190] Alternatively, he may have done this immediately on returning to Miletus. In any case, he would sense that removing the tyrants, as well as becoming independent of Persia, would be popular throughout Ionia. The question whether he actually received a message from Histiaeus at this time is looked at on pp. 64–5. The account of Hecataeus' cautious advice shows that some had doubts about the wisdom of revolt.[191]

---

[189] For -agoras names see *IMilet* I 3.122, cited n. 209. He is still called tyrant when his messenger tells the Paeonians that they can leave (5.98.2); this may be a slip by Herodotus, who had recorded him stepping aside from the tyranny at 5.37, but Herodotus is scornful of Aristagoras, e.g. at 5.98 and 124–6. But the return of the Paeonians involved detailed arrangements with Chios and Lesbos, and was arguably very much in the Ionians' interests (cf n. 196). Questions whether he was accepted as a de facto leader generally, e.g. in relation to the decisions to send men to Cyprus or to help the Carians; or, alternatively, whether he treated himself as the leader, are peripheral to book 6.

[190] Evans (1963) 119 points out that Aristagoras' intervention for Scylax against Megabates would make him popular with the Greeks.

[191] The στασιῶται of 5.36.1 may have included political opponents who were prepared to support a revolt provided Aristagoras gave up his tyranny; Herodotus notes Hecataeus' caution. For the variant views on this see Walter (1993) 277–8; Blamire (1979) 146; Evans (1963) 120. S. West (1991) would treat the references to Hecataeus as constructs, both his contributions to Aristagoras' counsels now,

He could not have acted as he did at Myus if Megabates, or any other senior Persian commander, was present. Some Persian ships will have gone directly to, say, Myndos; others put in briefly at Myus and gone on, e.g. to Cilicia. Some would be empty except for their Greek crews, where the troops had disembarked and marched off to their bases within the satrapy (Appx 3 paras 6–7). Some Greek contingents also may not have been there, if their tyrant-generals could not be arrested at Myus. But the implication of 5.37 is that when Iatragoras arrived, many contingents from Ionia and adjacent areas were there. He would quickly find support amongst the men for his arrests.[192] Although Herodotus says that Iatragoras was sent to arrest "generals", the narrative indicates that it was tyrants who were arrested; they re-appear with the Persians at Lade. As at the Danube bridge, he perhaps assumes that his readers would know that the tyrants typically acted as generals. Of the four whom he names, the two Greeks, Coes of Mytilene and Aristagoras of Cyme, were tyrants (5.11, 4.138);[193] he says that "many others" were arrested, and the rest expelled by their own cities (5.37–8). Precise numbers are speculative, but including Lesbos there would be about a dozen men, of whom 6 to 8 reappear at Lade: see on §9.2. While the Ionians could also take the Persian ships still at Myus, they could not have been all the original "200" which had gone to Naxos (supra, and cf on Μιλήσιοι, §8.1).

5.36.2–3, and at 5.125 (p. 62), because Herodotus wanted to cast him in the role of the wise adviser who is ignored (cf p. 26 n. 83). But the details are likely to be accurate, deriving from Ionian tradition (Tozzi (1963) 320–1). He had better knowledge than many of the size and might of the Persian empire: cf n. 197. We might particularly note that he limited his advice to the treasure deposited by Croesus, not the treasure as a whole, i.e. from Greek consultants, a detail often overlooked by scholars. It may be Herodotean to stress that his advice was ignored, as if the failure of the revolt and Aristagoras' fate were "caused" by ignoring it, but the context of each occasion suggests a genuine tradition of cautious opposition and advice led by Hecataeus.

[192] Kienast (1994) 393–4 argues that the sailors were still there as if waiting to be paid, e.g. while Artaphrenes sought to get funds from Aristagoras. Once the soldiers had disembarked, we might have expected the sailors to return their now empty ships to their normal bases (Appx 3 para 2). For sailors as "revolutionaries" see n. 181, but here the soldiers would support them.

[193] The other two are Oliatos son of Ibanollis of Mylasa in Caria, otherwise unknown, though a relation, perhaps brother, Heraclides son of Ibanollis appears at 5.121, organising an ambush against Persian troops; and Histiaeus of Termera, which was either Carian or Lycian (Steph Byz sv, who says that it is the same as Herodotus' Termilae, 1.173 and 7.92); he reappears in 480 as a commander in Xerxes' army, 7.98.

What form of government *isonomia* meant in practice is unclear; it need not have been uniform, and was probably a resumption of the oligarchic governments in place before the tyrants, not democracies in any later sense. We may guess that traditional magistrates' offices and a council were confirmed or revived, with some provision for their election. It is speculative how wide the franchise extended, and what powers were enjoyed by a popular assembly; cf Appx 11 sec 3. In Miletus, Aristagoras clearly retained considerable power (p. 56). The king would probably see the removal of his nominee tyrants as an act of revolt; the real overt act would be the refusal to pay further tribute and taxes; all the easier because the Persians did not keep garrisons in Greek cities (p. 47).

Further events in the revolt

However we judge the reasons why Aristagoras proposed revolt, it looks as though it spread on a general tide of enthusiasm. The implication of Herodotus is that all the cities initially joined in. Most were represented at Lade; see on Αἰολέων and Μιλήσιοι, §8.1, where the reason for the absentees are noted. Like Delphi (p. 34), we may think that it was not likely to succeed; the advice attributed to Hecataeus, pp. 53, 54, 56 shows that some knew, but the majority underestimated, the determination of Darius and the forces which he could assemble. Herodotus may have thought the same, though from the standpoint that the revolt had triggered the Persian invasions of Greece: cf p. 10, and see on τὸ τρίτον, §32. But at the time, most Ionians would see it as an opportunity to throw off Persian control, and think that it would succeed. They had seen the Persian army defeated in Scythia and very recently unable to win on Naxos; they could reasonably believe that it was not invincible (with hindsight, we could add its defeat at Marathon). They could hope that with a little help from the gods they could succeed: is it fanciful to think that θεῶν τὰ ἴσα νεμόντων, §11.3, ultimately reflects how some expressed their belief that the gods wanted to see them free from Persian slavery? Indeed, there is an impression that Lade could have been won if all had stayed to fight, and the Persians might then have been amenable to a further attempt at settlement (cf on συλλέξαντες, §9.2).[194]

[194] From our perspective, the revolt was doomed without better organisation;

Herodotus says that Aristagoras went in a trireme to Greece, 5.38.2, firstly to Sparta and then to Athens. Kienast (2002) 11–12 suggests that after Myus, they held a joint meeting, to which Aeolians also came (he argues at the Panionion), at which this was agreed. That Aristagoras went on behalf of all Ionia is inferred partly from his description, ἀπόστολος, ambassador; partly from his asking Cleomenes to free Ionia, not just Miletus; partly from his offering the king a bribe of up to 50 talents, arguably relying on a financial undertaking underwritten by the Ionians as a whole;[195] and partly because it was unlikely that he would have gone without the blessing of the other Ionians. Keinast also suggests that other decisions were taken: how to finance the revolt, some proposals about the conduct of the war, including the election of generals, arranging with the Chian and Lesbian delegates to repatriate the Paeonians (below), and to build more ships; we might add, how to share out the ships seized at Myus.[196] When Aristagoras got to Sparta, he showed Cleomenes a map (p. 5 n. 13) and spoke of the wealth of Asia (5.49–51), but failed to secure his support.[197] En route to Athens, it

---

Hecataeus was right to stress the forces which the king could muster, and the need for funds: to build ships, as recorded: we might add, to pay mercenaries. For the possible common coinage see n. 196. Initially, Aristagoras provided some *de facto* leadership, and the Ionians were able to build up their fleet to the "353" at Lade, §8. But after Aristagoras left, the Ionians needed to appoint a new leader. That required political will as well as resources. The first, perhaps only, Greek αὐτοκράτωρ was Philomelos of Phocis (the Third Sacred War, 356: *HG* 512–13). His appointment was facilitated because Phocis was a federated state (*CAH* III^2 3 304–5 (Forrest)), and he could access funds with which to pay mercenaries. The weakness of the Ionian mindset is demonstrated at Lade: they did not appoint a commander at the Panionion beforehand, and once at Lade could not achieve even the fragile unity which the Greeks achieved in 480–79: §12.

[195] The point is not invalidated by his concentrating on Miletus at Athens (5.97): there he wanted to stress the Ionian connection. Whatever the family wealth, it is doubtful if he would offer 50 talents from his own resources, especially if he had been paying towards Naxos (p. 55 with n. 188).

[196] Kienast (2002) 11–17, 21. For finance, Kienast 14 suggests not only the taxes not now paid to Persia, but also Thracian silver, some of it with the goodwill of the Paeonians. That the coinage from Ionia and the Hellespont with the symbol of individual cities on the reverse but a common obverse dates from the revolt and is connected with its financing is an attractive possibility, but not certain (Jenkins (1990) 16–17, 19; Kraay (1976) 30; Gardner (1918) 91–103; Kienast (2002) 15 for a recent find of a coin from Miletus). Also, the decision to build more ships may have been taken later (p. 62).

[197] Herodotus' account, which he says is from Spartan sources, 5.49.1, is that Aristagoras showed Cleomenes a map of the world and spoke knowledgeably about the geography of the east; this suggests that he was well briefed by Hecataeus. It goes on that he tried to bribe Cleomenes, and the latter's daughter Gorgo, then 8

is possible that he went to Argos: see Appx 6 paras 8–10. At Athens he addressed the assembly; again he tempted it with Asia's wealth; but also called Miletus an Athenian colony (pp. 38, 40).[198] The demos agreed to send 20 ships, a decision described as the "beginning of evils for Greeks and barbarians" (5.97.3).[199] He also secured help from Eretria, which sent 5 triremes.[200]

It is suggested that there was a further meeting after Aristagoras returned from Greece, when he could report that Athens (and Eretria?) were sending help, presumably in the spring, and the Ionians decided to march on Sardis.[201] If financing was discussed, it may have meant no more than agreeing that each city should bear its own costs, even if we associate the coins (n. 196) with this period. Their consensus is described as a συμμαχίη (p. 44), and Aristagoras enjoyed some *de facto* leadership: he arranged to repatriate the Paeonians to Thrace, with the co-operation of both Chios and Lesbos, 5.98. But there is no evidence of appointing a common military commander or hiring mercenaries (cf n. 194).

---

or 9, cleverly persuaded him to send Aristagoras away. She re-appears as the clever wife of Leonidas in 481–0 explaining how to look for Demaratos' secret message, 7.239.

[198] Herodotus does not opine whether it was the promise of wealth or the appeal to fellow-Ionians which swayed the assembly. We might think the former, as at §132. At 8.22.1 Themistocles reportedly asks the Ionians with Xerxes' fleet not to fight "their fathers"; and at 9.106.3 Athens tells Sparta in 479 that her colonies in Ionia are her concern and not theirs. Cf the statements in Thuc 1.2.5–6, 6.3, 12.4 about Athens colonising Ionia. But during the fifth century Athens wanted to emphasise the Ionian connection to justify her control of the Delian league: cf p. 19 with n. 62, p. 30.

[199] For the expression see p. 29 n. 91. Herodotus adds that the Athenians were hostile to Persia because she had recently tried to get Hippias restored: 5.97.1, referring to 5.91, 96. Whether Aristagoras was actually permitted to address the assembly, or was received by the archons or boule, who then put his proposal before the assembly, is a moot point.

[200] Herodotus does not explain how, or why, Eretria did so. There must have been some liaison between her and either Aristagoras or Athens (or both). It has been suggested that it reciprocated the help Miletus had reputedly given her in the Lelantine war some 200 years before; but the most likely reason is her eastern trade. She may have had *xenia* relations, analogous to those between Miletus and Sybaris (§21.1), with one or more of the Ionian cities or islands, staging posts en route to the Levant. She may also have seen the opportunity to weaken Phoenician interference with it, especially if there is substance to the story in Plut *Mal Her* 861a-d = Lysanias *FGrH* 426 F1, that before the march on Sardis, she fought a sea battle against "Cypriots", interpreted as the Phoenicians in Cyprus by Burn (1984) 199–200. He sees it as a sensible step to neutralise them, and encourage the Greeks on Cyprus to help Ionia. For another point arising from Lysanias see n. 202.

[201] Kienast (2002) 21.

In spring 498 (Appx 1 paras 1–2) the Ionians, with the Athenian and Eretrian contingents, marched on Sardis. Aristagoras did not lead them: he appointed his brother and another man to do that (5.99–100). But it is unclear which other cities sent troops. Ephesus apparently only provided guides, 5.100. Herodotus merely says that afterwards, "the Ionians" scattered to their cities (5.102.3). The Greeks presumably saw Sardis as a soft target, and perhaps hoped that a show of strength might persuade the Lydians to join the revolt. For Herodotus, the burning of the temple there, 5.102.1, gave the Persians the excuse to burn Greek temples in revenge, §§32, 96. Artaphrenes was able quickly to muster local troops, for whom see Appx 3 paras 6–7; the Greeks retreated and were defeated at Ephesus (5.102, 116).[202] It is likely that at this stage Ephesus came to terms with the Persians: her enthusiasm for revolt was probably lukewarm from the start. She had only provided guides for Sardis, did not send ships to Lade (see on §8.1), and after the battle killed Chian survivors (§16).[203] But most Ionians remained enthusiastic, sailing both to the Hellespont and to Caria, and got the cities there to join in; though apparently without a formal alliance: neither were to send ships to Lade.[204] It might be argued that the decision to continue the revolt and arrange to send to these other areas was taken at a further meeting.

A meeting seems certain when Cyprus revolted and asked for help, 5.104.1, 108.2. On arrival, the Ionians are recorded as saying that they had consulted amongst themselves, and been sent by "the Ionian commonwealth" (n. 155). This revolt lasted for up to 12 months in 498–7 (Appx 1 para 2). During it, a squadron of Ionian ships, principally Samian, beat a Phoenician squadron in a sea-fight (5.112; for another possible sea-fight see n. 200). Meanwhile, Persian troops

[202] Kienast (2002) 22 makes the ingenious suggestion that behind the story in Lysanias, n. 200, that Persian forces were besieging Miletus at the beginning of the revolt, we may find Persian troops gathering who had to be diverted back to Sardis when the Greeks advanced on it.

[203] Also, Strabo 14.1.5 says that "Xerxes" burnt Ionian temples except at Ephesus; Xerxes is almost certainly an error for Darius, more accurately his present commanders (cf on ἱρόν, §19.3). Herodotus noted that Ephesus and Colophon did not celebrate the Apatouria (1.147.2).

[204] On this, it can scarcely be in point that some came under the satrapy at Dascylium, not Sardis. All on the European side, and some in Asia, were free until spring 493 (§§31–3). DS 10.25.2–3 refers to Carians rowing with Milesians; this is as consistent with the Naxos expedition as sending men to Lade (cf on Μιλήσιοι, §8.1).

under three sons-in-law of Darius and Artaphrenes recovered much of Asia Minor down to Cyme and Clazomenae; even though Miletus and "and their allies", presumably other Ionians, helped the Carians,[205] though Daurises and other Persian generals were killed, and Hymaees died (5.116–123). This fighting also is to be dated to 498 or perhaps 498–7 (Appx 1 paras 3–5). The Persians apparently did nothing further until their expedition against Miletus, §6; thus the Ionians, and Hellespontine Greeks, were free of Persia for some 4 or 5 years, not so much because of their efforts, as because Darius decided that he needed larger forces to crush them than he could muster locally. There is no evidence that the Persians tried for a diplomatic settlement during this period, such as that prior to Lade, §§9–10. But the Ionians did do one thing: they maintained the ships captured at Myus and built more, and so could assemble a substantial fleet at Lade (see on §8). Although it is suggested that the further ships were built early on (p. 59), it is just as likely that this was only decided later, perhaps at a yet further meeting, after news of the Persian preparations came through, §6.[206] But with the Persian successes in Caria, Aristagoras left Miletus. Once again he rejected advice from Hecataeus, 5.125. Herodotus has already said that he was the rogue who bamboozled the Athenians and harmed Greece (p. 29 n. 91); now he is a coward who fled when things turned sour (ψυχὴν οὐκ ἄκρος . . . δρησμὸν ἐβούλευε, 5.124.1). This may have been inherent in the Histiaeus tradition, to enhance the latter's standing; it may be Herodotus' own comment, to underline the point that by involving Athens he triggered the Persian invasions. It is possible that the real reason that he left was because Histiaeus urged him to go (pp. 68, 70). That he could go to Myrcinos suggests that a Greek presence had continued after Histiaeus was moved to Susa (p. 63), and he could take advantage of it. At all events, his death, probably in 496 (Appx 1 para 5), ends book 5.

205 5.120; where a few lines further down it says that the Milesians suffered heavy casualties, as though most of the men were from there.

206 Xen *Hell* 3.4.1 shows how quickly news of a shipbuilding programme could spread.

Histiaeus

Book 6 opens with Histiaeus' arrival in Sardis. He is the conman of §§1–5 and the buccaneer of §§26–30; but he does nothing to lead the revolt or to assist the Ionians, and these are really digressions to the main narrative. It is probable that Herodotus used a biographical tradition about him,[207] a popular account which presumably went back to those who had had dealings with him or been with him, perhaps also input from his family presenting him as a patriot, but which had acquired a considerable overlay of folklore. Thus he comes to be portrayed in turn as a tyrant, a mediser, a leader of Greeks, acting out of fear, an Odysseus-like twister, a liar. He is presented almost as a hero (anti-hero?), whose career was only ended by the treachery of hostile Persians who would not send him back to Darius.[208] It is difficult to decide how much historicity there is behind the folklore.

He came from a distinguished local family;[209] we first meet him as tyrant of Miletus, leading the Milesian contingent at the Danube bridge (p. 49). Whatever the historicity of the debate there, and the statement put into his mouth about the status of tyrants, for whatever reason he could ask Darius for Myrcinos (p. 50). The story that Megabazos persuaded Darius to remove him (n. 170) is plausible; his access to its resources would attract the hostility of the Persian. Darius "promoted" him royal adviser, perhaps on Greek matters, and took him to Susa (5.24).[210] He could appoint, or cause the

[207] So *CAH* IV^2 486–7 (Murray); *OCD*^{3} sv Histiaeus.

[208] Students of Herodotus' methodology may care to analyse why Aristagoras is criticised for annoying Darius, but not helping the Ionians, when repatriating the Paeonians (5.98.1: cf pp. 56, 60); but Histiaeus is praised because his letters to Sardis (§4, infra) annoy the Persians ("uproar in Sardis"), though his plans for helping the Ionians fail.

[209] We do not know whether Aristagoras was the son of a brother or a sister; Tozzi (1978) 138 points out that the importance of Aristagoras' family is indicated the frequent appearance of -agoras names in the list of *stephanephoroi*, *IMilet* I 3.122 (the relevant part printed at 97–8): in 512, 6 out of 10 times between 506–497, and several from 492 on. It was a prestigious role, being both high priest of the cult of Apollo in Miletus and, politically, her eponym: see on ἱρόν, §19.3.

[210] The Persians were perfectly happy to appoint non-Persians to appropriate positions: e.g. Democedes the doctor, p. 48; and the Armenian Dadarshi as general in c522 (*DB* II 29–37); Nehemiah is made governor of Jerusalem (Neh 5.14). Cf *CAH* IV^2 (Cuyler Young) 42–3, and on Δᾶτιν, §94.2. *CHI* (J.M. Cook) 223 finds evidence that Darius also had an Egyptian to advise on Egyptian affairs.

appointment of, his son-in-law and nephew Aristagoras as his deputy. Since he then had a married daughter, c512, it suggests that he was aged about 40.

We next hear of him in 499, with his secret message to Aristagoras to revolt, 5.35.2–3. This is from the biography, showing how clever he was in foreseeing the situation, fooling Darius into sending him back to Ionia, and enhancing his role in the revolt.[211] We may accept that Histiaeus did want to return home. By 499 he would be over 50, and had been away for about 13 years. The method allegedly used, tattooing the message on the shaven head of a slave, would be plausible, as the references to guards on the royal road, *ad loc* and at 5.52, and also 7.239 (cf n. 197), suggest that there was censorship. But it cannot be true if it implies that it was sent in the knowledge that Naxos had failed. By shaving only part of the head and then brushing the slave's hair over it, he could, perhaps, have sent the man off immediately (otherwise, he would need to wait up to a month for it to regrow), but the slave would still need 3 months for the journey to Miletus (Appx 4 para 2). Thus he would have had to tattoo the slave more or less as the 4 month siege was starting, about a month into it at the latest. If Darius had authorised the expedition (p. 53), Histiaeus might know about it;[212] but to save the story we must accept that he foresaw that it would fail, that it would do so just as the slave arrived in Miletus, that Aristagoras would see revolt as the solution to his problems, and that Darius would then send him home to quell it.

We could save the essence of the story by removing the slave, and assuming that both men could use the royal mail (no doubt messages had passed over the years between them, if only on matters relating to the family and family estates),[213] and that such letters were uncensored; and Aristagoras had written to Histiaeus about 3 months into the siege, when he foresaw that it was likely to fail.[214]

[211] If it were not for the details in §§1–3, we might possibly argue that the story was put about by Aristagoras when he saw the revolt faltering, to put some of the blame for starting it on Histiaeus.

[212] Even if Darius had not consulted him on the proposal, Aristagoras could have written to him directly.

[213] Kienast (1994) 389 argues that he could. Even if censorship was not rigorous, there would always be the risk that a compromising letter would be intercepted.

[214] Allowing about a week for the letter to get from Naxos to Sardis, about 10 days from Sardis to Susa (Appx 4 para 2), 10 days back to Sardis and a few days

An alternative is to keep the slave, and assume that Histiaeus sent to him without reference to the Naxos expedition, counselling revolt in the abstract, as it were. Even so, the story raises serious objections. He would know of (a) the Persian resources available to crush a revolt; (b) the punishments meted out afterwards;[215] he could not know (c) if even Miletus, much less all Ionia, would agree to revolt; nor (d) foresee that Darius would send him back: the troops available locally to Artaphrenes might well be able to settle it. Indeed, Darius might have arrested him as a relation of Aristagoras.

The story involves another problem: when did it become common currency? If Histiaeus did advise revolt, in whatever circumstances, Aristagoras would tell at least his στασιῶται (n. 191). Unless news of this never reached Chios, it is hard to see why the Chians should later arrest Histiaeus, §2.2, unless they had other reasons for mistrusting him. The Ionians at §3 knew it, but that exchange is part of the biography. Even if the alleged advice was known in Ionia, would it necessarily have reached the Persians in Sardis? This in turn affects how we assess the conversation between Artaphrenes and Histiaeus (p. 69). We may suspect that the story is an accretion in the biography, not a historical fact.

When Darius learnt about the burning of Sardis he confronted Histiaeus (5.106–7). This could be when he first heard about the revolt. Artaphrenes, while no doubt concerned at the removal of the tyrants, might not feel it needed reporting to Susa. He would think that he has enough troops at his disposal to deal with any more serious unrest, and would want to see if the Ionians stopped paying their taxes and tribute. But Sardis had to be reported, whether or not he added that the tyrants had been deposed; it is not clear from Herodotus whether their removal was known to either Darius or

---

on to Miletus, the reply could have been received in about 5 weeks, i.e. about a week after Aristagoras got back to Miletus. Kienast, n. 213, accepts such a scenario, with a sealed letter.

[215] Darius dealt severely with rebel leaders. The Behistun inscriptions consistently refer to his executing rebel leaders, sometimes described in graphic detail: "I cut off his nose and ears and tongue, and put out one eye . . . afterwards I impaled him . . . his foremost followers I (flayed and) hung out (their hides, stuffed with straw)" (Phraortes of Media, *DB* II 73–8); similarly Ciçantakhma of Sagartia, 88–91; others, perhaps luckier, were just impaled, as Vahyazdata in Persia, *DB* III 49–52, Arkha of Babylon, *DB* III 91–2; or slain, e.g. Açina of Elam, *DB* I 81–3, Nidintu-Bel of Babylon, *DB* I 72–81, II 1–5.

Histiaeus when they had their conversation. Of course, the conversation is part of the biography, probably going back to the self-serving story that Histiaeus offered the Chians and Ionians. He is made to tell Darius what Darius wants to hear. But it is plausible both that he saw the opportunity to persuade Darius to send him back to Ionia, and that Darius suspected him of complicity, if only because of his family relationship with Aristagoras.[216] Of the three promises allegedly made, the first, to quell the revolt, could be right. If he did not give it, why would Darius let him go (he had used a non-Persian, Dadarshi, to quell a revolt in 522, n. 210)? He would prefer to end the revolt diplomatically, and avoid the need to raise a substantial expedition such as eventually proved necessary; using Histiaeus in Ionia is not inconsistent with sending his sons-in-law to deal with other areas. The second, to arrest Aristagoras, is more doubtful: was he promising to hand over his own relation to the sort of fate of n. 215; Darius might well have disbelieved him if he really said it.

The third, to add Sardinia to the king's domain, recalled in §2.1, is also suspect.[217] Settling Sardinia, whose prosperity no doubt grew in the telling, was spoken of by those who did not know, or wish to reveal, the realities.[218] The Phoenicians had settled it in c1200, in apparent harmony with the indigenous population (the Nuragi, from the nuraghe, their beehive shaped dwellings); shortly after the battle of Alalia (Appx 2 endnote [5]), certainly by c520, the Carthaginians conquered it.[219] Both, as well as the Etruscans, dis-

---

[216] One could argue mistrust if Histiaeus had advised revolt, but his letters were censored. But then could Darius, knowing this, have believed Histiaeus' denials of complicity or promises to quell it, and let him leave Susa?

[217] It could be a punning joke in the tradition: Darius had lost Sardis, and Histiaeus offered to replace it with Σαρδώ: see Nenci on §2.1.

[218] So Bias (p. 44) and Aristagoras (5.124.2). Paus 4.23.4–6 relates that Manticlos, the Messenian leader, proposed emigrating there after their defeat by Sparta in 668, but the account is chronologically confused, as it is linked to Anaxilas, tyrant of Rhegion in 494–476: see on §23.2. In the seventh century, it would be as (un)feasible as Bias' proposal; in Anaxilas' day, it would be quite impracticable. Hecataeus, who knew of the area from his writings, advised against Aristagoras' proposal (5.125). That Greek plans to settle Sardinia were unrealistic is stressed by Gras (1985) 18–20.

[219] Except for the unhealthy southern part of the east coast, where malaria was endemic until 1951: Balmuth (1984) 48; Davison (1984), inter alia analysing the history in Paus 10.17; Brown (1984) 210, maps 214, 223). Despite the Greek place names of Olbia and Neapolis, the Greeks never colonised it, except in legend: *CAH* III^2 2 507 (Culican).

couraged Greeks from directly trading there, or calling en route to Spain. Greek trading with the western Mediterranean was mostly done at Pithecoussae or elsewhere in S Italy and Sicily.[220] Further, Darius had taken steps to get intelligence of the Mediterranean (Appx 3 para 9), and from that, and from his Phoenician subjects, would know the realities. To capture it would mean involvement with Carthage and perhaps also the Etruscans; if a sizeable Persian and Greek force had not been able to take Naxos, how could Histiaeus take Sardinia? It would also be difficult to enforce suzerainty over an outpost isolated from the rest of his empire. As with arresting Aristagoras, if he did make this promise, we may doubt that the king believed him; though it is pointed out that the promises correspond to themes in Darius' own inscriptions; one might argue that Histiaeus knew what points to take to persuade Darius to release him.[221]

At all events, the king let him go, 5.107–8.1,[222] and he arrived in Sardis, §1; probably in the second half of 498 (Appx 1 paras 6–7). What were his intentions, or at least hopes? Artaphrenes accused him of starting the revolt; the Chians accused him of siding with the Persians; he claimed to have deceived Darius (§§1, 2). Modern scholars have argued for each of these stances.[223] I suggest that his real agenda was to resume his tyranny in Miletus; it is arguably

[220] E.g. metals, obsidian, and corn, from Iberia or Sardinia itself. From c600 Phocaea had established Massilia and then Agathe (Agde) and Emporion in Spain, but her attempt to settle Alalia in Corsica, c546–540, was unsuccessful (1.165–7), and while one route to Massilia would be along the east coast of Sardinia, general knowledge of the island amongst Greeks appears to have been limited, though it was no doubt reputed to be prosperous.

[221] Tozzi (1975) 140, citing the Behistun inscription: restore order, *DB* I 61–71; hand over the guilty rebel leader, *DB* I 82–3, II 70–8, etc; conquer more territory, *DNa* 15–30 ("these are the countries which I seized outside of Persia . . ."), 39–47. He also suggests that Herodotus put them into Histiaeus' mouth because Herodotus' experience of Persia caused him to know what would appeal to Darius. But the story surely was in the Histiaeus biography, not Herodotus' invention.

[222] On one view, if Histiaeus promised Sardinia, Darius might doubt that he could do it, and so came to doubt his promise to quell the revolt; in turn, he decided that Histiaeus' usefulness at Susa had expired, and warned Artaphrenes of these views. The story ends with Histiaeus being posthumously honoured by Darius (§30.2). If this is true, then 5.106–7 is true to the extent that Darius trusted Histiaeus to act in his interests, or perhaps balanced his good service against his perceived misdemeanours (1.137). If the honour is a contrived happy ending, then Darius' attitude to Histiaeus' alleged promises remains an open question.

[223] See Tozzi (1978) 196, 197 with nn. 92, 93; Chapman (1972) 561 (pro-Persian); Lang (1968) 34 (pro-Ionian).

explicit in the biography.[224] Thus Sardis was an obvious first port of call, and it would also give him the chance to find out the mood in Ionia after the recent rebuff at Ephesus. We should not see his meeting with Artaphrenes as a pure courtesy call, although if he used the Royal Road, he would have to pass through Sardis anyway. If he went overland to Cilicia and then took ship (cf Appx 1 n. 6; for routes, see on οἱ ζωγρηθέντες, §20), he would still want to talk to the satrap. At Sardis (if not already in Susa) he would learn that the tyrants had been deposed; but Aristagoras had kept considerable powers, and whether or not he was still there (Appx 1 paras 5–7), Histiaeus could hope to get himself reinstated. If he could secure Artaphrenes' support for that, and terms as to ending the revolt (e.g. remitting arrears of tribute and the costs of the Naxos expedition), he could go to Miletus and persuade the Ionians as a whole that it was in their interests to comply. To them he could appear pro-Ionian, saving them from mass enslavement and into a prosperous future. If Aristagoras was still there, Histiaeus might have had to promise Artaphrenes to arrest him; but he could send to tell him to go, partly to make room for himself, partly for his (Aristagoras') own safety.

His wanting Artaphrenes' support is consistent with the letters story of §4: on arrival, he first spoke to men who were close to the satrap, officials or advisors, perhaps some merchants. §4 is problematic and ambiguous, as variously noted *ad loc*, but if it be true that it was the replies which were compromising (or as compromising as the letters from Histiaeus), it suggests that the addressees were men with whom he had already made contact.[225] He would come with pro-Persian credentials as the king's advisor. He would want to sound them out on the points just noted: Artaphrenes' terms for ending the revolt, and whether he would support his return to Miletus; and whether they would put his (Histiaeus') case before the satrap before he met him. During such discussions, he might have offered

[224] On what other basis would he want to go back to Miletus? Macan on §2.2 suggests this motivation; he had acted at the Danube bridge in order to preserve his tyranny. Whatever the practical effect of Aristagoras stepping down from his position, and however the Milesians now perceived Histiaeus, he would see himself as the tyrant returning from exile to resume his tyranny. We might read this into the end of 5.35.4 ("unless there was a revolt, he had little hope of seeing Miletus again"); §5 shows his determination to return.

[225] If it is true that he fled Sardis immediately after meeting the satrap, any exchanges with others must have been before that.

bribes, or, in the case of merchants, advantageous terms for Persian use of the port of Miletus. It could be at this point that he sent to tell Aristagoras to leave.

That Histiaeus did have such discussions can be read into §2.2: the Chians had heard of them, and interpreted it as his acting in Darius' interests. As pointed out on προλελεσχηνευμένων, §4.1, the Greek strictly means that the letters were about revolt from Darius, and many accept that;[226] it suited the biography so to represent it. But that is very doubtful. Were there still high status Persians who, after some 25 years, still hoped to overthrow the "usurper" Darius or his brother the satrap? Did any such men live in Sardis? It seems more probable that Persians there would be officials or merchants.[227] To succeed they would have to suborn at least one military commander, whose allegiance was to Darius.[228] How could Histiaeus, arriving in Sardis, discover their existence? How would they see their cause advanced by confiding in any Greek, and particularly this one; indeed, how did they think he could help them? Could he, in turn, persuade them that he was hostile to Darius, no longer his adviser, nor there as his "eyes and ears"? Also, why should Histiaeus approach them: how could they help him, whatever his aim?[229]

Whatever the true position, his meeting with Artaphrenes was unsuccessful. The biography reaffirms, in effect, the shaven head story: Artaphrenes knew the truth (§1.2), i.e. that Histiaeus had advised revolt. We may reject that, but we may accept that Artaphrenes made clear that he would not support Histiaeus; he may have been as jealous of him as Megabazos had been, a Greek whom the king had promoted. Histiaeus probably sensed the satrap's mistrust: when

[226] E.g. Macan *ad loc*; Kienast (2002) 29; Brown (1981) 389; Chapman (1972) 563; Lang (1968) 34; Blamire (1979) 149. Later revolts are authenticated: e.g. Tissaphernes: Xen *Hell* 3.4.25; Spithridates: *ib* 3.4.10; full references and details of 4 others, Starr (1975) 71–2.

[227] Though there is no reason to doubt that there were Persians with estates within the satrapy (Briant (1996) 516–19, mostly relying on later authorities); cf Appx 3 para 6. Whether they were dissatisfied with their status quo and wanted to revolt is another matter.

[228] Such a group could achieve nothing without military help, e.g. from local army commanders. But they were the king's men (Appx 3 para 6); and the satrap was the king's brother. They would also know the penalty for being caught, e.g. the execution of Oroetes, a predecessor of Artaphrenes who sought independence from Darius, some 20 years earlier: 3.126–8; cf n. 215.

[229] A new régime was unlikely to give up suzerainty over Ionia. Was he hoping for a gift of more land to supplement his existing family estates?

the latter had the chance, he executed him, §30. Also, Darius may have had doubts about Histiaeus (pp. 66–7), and forewarned Artaphrenes. If Artaphrenes was minded to negotiate, it would not be with Histiaeus, whose kinsman Aristagoras had recently let him down over Naxos.[230] He could also think that the Persian forces then successfully active in the north-west and Caria (p. 62) would soon deal with Ionia.

The surreptitious night departure from Sardis, although in the biography as part of his pro-Greek credentials, might be factual: Histiaeus could genuinely have feared arrest. He had some quick decisions to make. His plan A, help from Artaphrenes, had failed, and he probably realised that recovering his tyranny in Miletus would be harder than he had first thought. But he could not remain in Sardis: self-preservation meant that he had to go to a Greek polis. Chios was a good choice, as the nearest large Greek city, and on an island.[231] Also, if he had not yet warned Aristagoras to leave, he could do so from Chios. In fact the Chians mistrusted and detained him, though he is now made to claim to have deceived Darius and to be there to lead the revolt: §2.1, implicitly repeated when he persuaded them to release him by telling them "the whole story", whatever that was, §2.2 (see on ἐδέθη). Then the Ionians come, §3.1. They complain that he advised revolt (i.e. the biography makes them refer to the "truth"); he tells an admitted lie about enforced emigration, which frightened them. Whatever historical inferences we draw from this, it is clear that they did not give up the revolt, and he did not lead it (cf infra). There follows the letters episode, §4, supra. The story which the biography tells is hardly logical, it both gives him credit for creating "uproar" in Sardis and disappointment that his contacts have been executed. But if we accept preliminary discussions on the lines suggested, once Artaphrenes learnt of them, he could well view them as treasonable, either for discussing the end of the revolt with a Greek, especially this Greek, without his authority, or simply as an interference with that authority.

---

[230] After the revolt, we see Artaphrenes in a conciliatory mood: see Appx 11. But in 498–7 his policy probably envisaged the eventual restoration of tyrants: those who were brought along some three years later, §9, were presumably already living under Persian protection. Even if he was minded to make concessions, he was not going to make them to Histiaeus.

[231] It was a shorter journey than going directly to Miletus, and he would be safer on an island. In any case, while in Sardis he had probably learnt enough to know that his eventual return to Miletus needed some planning.

As discussed in Appx 1 paras 6–7, Histiaeus probably spent several months on Chios. But he did nothing to help the revolt, much less lead the Ionians. The reality is probably a mixture of his not wanting to, and the Ionians not wanting him as leader. If he was ever serious about leading them, he would not press it: (a) he realised that the Ionians would or could not help him get back to Miletus, and (b) he saw no other personal advantage in being leader, e.g. on a Greek victory there was no chance of his restoration; and/or (c) he thought that the revolt would probably fail and it was only a matter of time before the Persians mobilised forces to achieve that; or (d) he knew that he could not achieve the sort of semi-political unity essential for any chance of success;[232] or possibly (e) despite his rebuff at Sardis, he could still hope that when Persian forces appeared, their generals, who were the king's men, might help him recover power (as they seemed likely to do with the other ex-tyrants, §9: hence his later return south, p. 72). He preferred to play a waiting game to see how things turned out. If he did offer to lead, the Ionians rejected him, from mistrust or because they did not want a tyrant as leader. If he made his restoration to Miletus a condition of leadership, the Ionians knew that they could not (or did not want to) fulfil it.

Finally, he tried to get back to Miletus directly, §§5.1–2. He failed, but at least he earns marks for persistence. Rejecting ideas of exile (see on §5.2), he was able to get the Lesbians to give him ships and men (§5.3). He saw that Byzantium offered the chance of both command and profit; in effect freebooting, ληστεία, though expressed as seeking the allegiance of ships' captains—to do what, we may ask, and as though they were not already loyal to the Ionians. The reality is in §26.1: he had, in effect, a business, exacting a toll on passing ships. Even the biography cannot turn this into tangible help for the revolt. Traditionally ληστεία was not a dishonourable occupation, even if the aristocratic raiders of archaic times had long since turned into aristocratic traders. Despite Thucydides' discussion of ληστεία in 1.4–12 there are no traditions of the territories of coastal cities being consistently at the mercy of such raiding.[233] Histiaeus'

[232] We must be careful not to credit him with hindsight, but he could have had a perception of the disunity problems touched on in n. 194.

[233] The absence of tradition suggests that it was unlikely to have been a major

activities now, and later on Chios, at Thasos, and finally in Mysia may be compared to Aeginetan aristocrats raiding Attica, (Appx 12 para 2); Miltiades senior's raid on Lampsacus, §37; Miltiades junior's on Paros (the latter with polis backing), §§132–5; and Dionysius' activities after Lade, §17. We get the impression that where the attacker was of high status, his conduct was acceptable, perhaps even to be admired; piracy was dishonourable and to be suppressed.[234]

Apart from the chronology, there is little to add to the commentary for the least year or so of his life, §§26–30. Perhaps the most interesting aspect is that he consistently stayed in the general area of Persian influence. Just as he had rejected safety in exile after his rebuff at Miletus, he made the same choice now, and on several occasions, despite his age, well into his 50s: when leaving Byzantium, when he again failed to get back to Miletus, if that is why we think he came south; when he had to leave Thasos; when he ran out of food on Lesbos. He left Byzantium when news of τὰ περὶ Μίλητον γενόμενα reached him, §26 1. As discussed *ad loc*, this could mean that the siege had begun, or the city had been captured. He cannot have thought that Artaphrenes' mistrust had evaporated, but the generals were the king's men (Appx 3 para 6), and he could hope that they would restore him; if the siege was in progress, he could offer to secure surrender. In any case, he might want to safeguard his family estates against appropriation. He could negotiate from Lesbos, a natural landfall given his Lesbian crew. Any such negotiations failed. It is not explained why he could not stay on Lesbos, given her support a few years earlier, but to judge from his hunger the following spring, it looks as though he had exhausted his good-

continuing problem; if there were isolated incidents, they had dropped out of memory. Pritchett *GSW* V 325 seeks to list known cases, which are all on non-Greeks: Sidonia and Egypt in the Odyssey (14.125–9; 257–265; 17.425–434); an Assyrian reference to Ionians attacking Phoenicia (*Iraq* 25 (1963) 76–8); and Ionians and Carians attacking Egypt, Hdt 2.152. Cf next note.

[234] It is assumed that there is a degree of historicity behind the Homeric picture of Odysseus' alter ego, son of Kastor, the aristocrat seeking and acquiring wealth by freebooting: de Souza (1999) 18–20, who stresses that essentially the same conduct is acceptable when done by a hero, blameworthy by a villain. They become traders: Appx 2 n. 3. Piracy was to be suppressed: cf on §89, and Cimon's attack on Scyros in 476 (Thuc 1.98). Yet ληστεία was sufficiently honourable for Solon to include it in occupations that could be legally recognised partnerships; Aristotle regarded it as an acceptable occupation (Solon in Gaius, per Just 47.22.4; Arist *Pol* 1256b1–7).

will there. But in the absence of material support from somewhere, his options, other than exile, were limited. The claim that he conquered Chios, §§26.2, 27.3, is hollow; he imposed himself on a small settlement; as ὁρμώμενος, §26.2, makes clear, he used it as a base for raiding, whether on other ships, or on settlements on Chios or the mainland. For the chronology see Appx 1 para 15: he probably left Byzantium during 494, spent the winter of 494–3 on Chios, abortively raided Thasos in spring 493, and was captured in Mysia in about May, §§28–9. This time the satrap stood no nonsense. No doubt Histiaeus asked to be sent to Darius, but Artaphrenes and Harpagos executed him, §30; this has to seen against the background of Artaphrenes' more positive acts at the same time for establishing peace in the area, §§42 and 43.3, Appx 11.

It is hard to penetrate the persiflage of the biography and assess him objectively. He comes through as energetic, able, and devious, but these are not unusual qualities in any political leader. He probably resented the more or less compulsory posting to Susa, however much status he enjoyed there, and one cannot fault his ability to get himself sent back to Ionia, even discounting the story in Herodotus. His later career as a buccaneer was arguably acceptable for a man of his status; one can argue whether, after returning from Byzantium, his decision to live dangerously in Ionia rather than go into exile and safety was a sort of perverted patriotism, or a foolhardy disregard of the realities, especially as tyrants had gone out of fashion. It is not surprising that a folkloristic biography about him grew and circulated, or that Herodotus perhaps presented him as a "cycle of fortune" case.

A Note on the Text

This commentary is not a critical edition, and uses Hude's OCT (third edn, 1927), except at §101.1, where the eighteenth century amendment of Valckenaer (Τέμενος to Ταμύναι) cannot be sustained. I do, however, note a number of variant readings, partly to help a reader using another edition, occasionally where the Greek may be difficult to translate; I use the common convention: **a** = A B C; **d** = R S V, often with D. By and large, variants do not affect the substance; the most significant exceptions are §8.1, where **a** has the Aeolians coming from the mainland as well as Lesbos (which we

might infer from **d**'s text); §40, which raises problems beyond the textual, discussed in Appx 10; §95.2, where **a**'s ἐς τὰς νέας would make it express that the fleet did not just comprise triremes; §98.2, where two modern editors accept the attractive amendment of Cook (1907); and §122, generally thought to be an interpolation. In the handful of places where there is a translation problem, I selectively cite from standard translations, including the modern Greek one by Mandilaras, who can be expected to have a special feel for the language.

I do not discuss the vexed question whether the MSS truly represent Herodotus' Ionic dialect; but I have taken advantage of the TLG to note the many cases where he uses a word which is rare or unique in fifth and fourth century Attic, and next found in the Septuagint and Hellenistic Greek: see Index 1. I may have overlooked one or two other cases; I offer it in the hope that someone will be inspired to do the exercise for the whole of the *Histories*, as a step to a better understanding both of vernacular Greek, Ionic in particular, and the development of the spoken and written *koine*.

I follow Cagnazzi (1975) in assuming that Herodotus used 28 papyri rolls in writing the whole work, which were edited into our nine books by or at the instance of Aristarchos in Alexandria, so that our book 6 contains Herodotus' rolls 17–19,[235] and that the break between rolls 18 and 19 was between our §93 and §94 (the paragraph numbers are, of course, "modern" (Jungermann, 1608: see Nenci, p. 9). Cagnazzi proposed that roll 17 ended with §42; one might just argue for §45. There is a clear break in the narrative between §140, the end of roll 19, and 7.1, the beginning of 20. For those who wish to pursue the transmission of the text further, a useful starting point is McNeal (1983). Apart from urging that only **a** and **d** are of value in establishing the text (followed by Nenci, for instance), he discussed the history of the text (125–7). At 125 he raised the question whether there was a standard edition before Aristarchos.[236] See also p. 4 for the problem of readings or oral publication, of parts, not necessarily in their final version, in Herodotus' lifetime and afterwards.

[235] Cagnazzi's divisions for the whole work closely resemble the analysis of *logoi* in Immerwahr (1966) chap III.

[236] ". . . he may not have lived to publish an authorized version, whatever that might have been in antiquity. Perhaps some editor stitched together Herodotus' notes or in some way brought order into a collection of material . . ."

Other Accounts of the Events in Book 6[237]

If we had the whole library at Alexandria, it would eliminate speculation as to exactly what, say, Xanthus or Hellanicus wrote; it would tell us much about the literary sources for a later writer such as Ephoros; it might even reveal an author whose very name was unknown even to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Thuc* 5. But it is unclear how much more solid detail we would have about the events in book 6. Charon of Lampsacus mentioned the Ionian revolt and Mardonius' expedition in his *Persica*, *FGrH* 262 F10, 262 F3/687b F1,[238] so it is reasonable to think that he also included Marathon. We might hope that the *Persica* of Dionysius of Miletus and Hellanicus covered the same events: Casson (1914) 86–7 thought that Dionysius dealt with Marathon. For the revolt we could hope to identify the source(s) for Carians rowing with Milesians, DS 10.25.2–3 and the Hecataeus anecdote of DS 10.25.4; and read what the local chronicles for Ionian cities had to say. We would want to look at Antiochos and, although later, Timaeus, to see if either could give us more information about the Samians who went to Zancle and the general Sicilian and Rhegian politics of the period which affected them.

Turning to Miltiades, as just noted at least some of the *Persica* will have covered Marathon; perhaps other writers also, depending on whom Theopompos had in mind when he wrote as he did at *FGrH* 115 F153 (Appx 17 A4). We might have other input about Miltiades in the Chersonese and on Paros, as well as at Marathon, from Stesimbrotos, and perhaps Ion of Chios; though the former having Miltiades alive in 483 and opposing Themistocles, *FGrH* 107 F2, is not encouraging as to the accuracy of his information, or his reliability. There was at least one other account of Miltiades' Paros expedition, to judge from Plato *Gorg* 516d-e, and even in the fourth century AD Sopater could access that (or those), or accounts derived from it or them.[239] As discussed in Appx 18 para 2, it or they recorded at least one version of the Athenian accounts of the end

---

[237] See also Burn (1984) 1–16.

[238] The citations in this Note are dealt with elsewhere; see the Index of Citations where no cross-reference is given.

[239] But we should be cautious. Whatever accounts Sopater could access for Paros other than Herodotus and Ephoros, as discussed in Appx 18, esp para 2, for Miltiades he was content to say: Herodotus, book 6, has sufficiently dealt with Miltiades (see S1, Appx 18 Endnote).

of the expedition which Herodotus omitted. An early *Atthis* probably made some mention of these Athenian events and may have been one of these accounts.

The reliability of any of these authors would be another matter. It would depend on when a given writer was accessing his information (one or two, e.g. Charon, may have done so closer to the events than Herodotus); how carefully and widely he cast his enquiries; how reliable his input was; and how closely he kept to that information and how far he used his imagination, or presented personal anecdotes as opposed to hard narrative. The surviving Stesimbrotos fragment illustrates one aspect of the problem. Another is how Plato refers to these events. Apart from the Gorgias reference noted, he mentions the Athenians sending for help before Marathon, the huge Persian army, helot unrest or revolt preventing the Spartans from sending help sooner, and Datis reporting that he had netted the Eretrians: *Leg* 698d-e, *Menex* 240c. We cannot be sure how far he was accurately quoting a writer, and how far he was relying on memory, or expressing a point in rather general terms; if the first, how reliable that writer was.

Once we move into the fourth century, oral sources would be more and more distant from the events. The full text of Ephoros would enable us better to judge whether scholarly scepticism about his value for fifth century events is justified, as well as which parts we could accept as based on earlier writers whose factual basis was as good as Herodotus'. We know that Ephoros offered one version for the end of the Paros expedition; the question is from where. We would at least know what he said about the Chersonese and Marathon without having to penetrate the brief, broad brush statements of our Nepos epitome, or the Datis message at DS 10.27. We would know whether it was he or an earlier writer who conflated the two Miltiades into Miltiades of Marathon, and whether we could judge that that was how tradition had already come to speak of the men (see on Μιλτιάδης, §34.1). We might still be left discussing how reliable he was in terms of historicity: cf Appx 17 n. 9 and Appx 18 para 2. A full set of the fourth century orators would enable us to see what other references they made to Marathon or Miltiades; but they are unlikely to be any more accurate than those we do have (p. 19).

For events outside Athens, it is unclear if we would be much better informed about Cleomenes and other Spartan information in the middle of book 6. The lost *Spartan Constitutions* and cognate works

such as those of King Pausanias (e.g. *FGrH* 581–3) would probably give us versions of the political background to some of the events, and might have shed light on Demaratos' ancestry and removal from office; but Sosibios, dated by Jacoby to 250–150 (*FGrH* 595) seems to have been the first to write up Spartan "history". We would be able to read what was said about Cleomenes' attack on Argos from the Argive perspective; but, as discussed in Appx 15 paras 6–11, the first *Argolika* dated from c350, and contained a good deal of folklore and aetiology. We would still be arguing about how much reliable detail they added to Herodotus.

As we move forward in time, the problem is different. We have a good deal of information, tangential to book 6 if not directly bearing on it, in a number of writers: Demon, Diodorus, Nicolaus of Damascus, Strabo, Plutarch, Pausanias; scholia on, say, Aristophanes; and citations in, e.g., Athenaeus and the Suda. Many were probably doing no more than recycling earlier works, and they often did not use Herodotus: Diodorus used Ephoros for much of our period, for instance. Pausanias, and perhaps Strabo, also relied on local enquiries; though by their day, oral tradition would be significantly influenced, if not wholly dependent, on what had by then been written (cf, e.g., Appx 15 n. 12). We would at least know the sources for the Athenian details in Plutarch's lives of Aristides or Themistocles or Cimon, and, for Sparta, Lycurgos; we would still need to assess the reliability of those sources. We would know if the χωρὶς ἱππεῖς story was indeed first recorded by Demon (Appx 17 n. 66); but unless the text had more detail than the bare story, we might still be left to decide if it referred to Marathon or some other occasion. We might learn the source for the sea-fight recorded by Lysanias of Mallos (second century AD), *FGrH* 426 F1, possibly in a useful narrative of the Ionian revolt as a whole; as we would for the various scholia to Aelius Aristides which are discussed in Appx 18. We would almost certainly have a good idea which of the manifold pieces of information in the Suda go back to reliable originals and which are more imaginative than factual. It would be ironic if the overall conclusion was that Herodotus, for all the difficulties of extracting history from him, turned out to be as reliable as any other writer.

COMMENTARY

§§1–5 *Histiaeus arrives at Sardis. The satrap Artaphrenes suspects him of disloyalty to Darius; he flees to Chios, where the Chians suspect him of disloyalty to the Ionians. They arrest him, but he persuades them and then the Ionians that he is loyal to their cause. However he fails in a bid to return to Miletus; he persuades the Lesbians to give him ships and men, and departs for Byzantium.*

The division between our books 5 and 6 almost certainly goes back to Herodotus ending one papyrus roll with our 5.126 (Aristagoras' death), and starting another one here (see p. 74). Although structurally §§1–5 continue his narrative of the Ionian revolt, they tell us nothing about it, because Histiaeus does nothing relevant. They derive from the folkloristic Histiaeus biography, which portrays him as an Odysseus-type hero who does nothing for the Ionians: see pp. 63–73, which should be read in conjunction with the commentary below. For the background to the revolt see pp. 37–52; Herodotus' account of it in book 5 is summarised at pp. 52–4 and discussed at pp. 54–62.

1.1 Ἀρισταγόρης μέν νυν . . . Ἱστιαῖος δέ . . . Histiaeus' death concludes book 5 (5.124–6); irrespective of a new papyrus roll starting here, μέν νυν also marks a transition in the narrative. The δέ has the force of "meanwhile", as at §§6, 94.1, and probably §26.1; so (e.g.) 4.205–5.1.1 for Megabazos in Thrace, and 5.116 for the three generals recovering parts of Asia Minor (pp. 54, 62). The problems of dating Histiaeus' arrival in Sardis, probably in the second half of 498, and relating it to Aristagoras' departure, are discussed in Appx 1 paras 5–7. Aristagoras probably left Miletus fairly soon after Histiaeus arrived in Sardis.

μεμετιμένος The form also occurs when Histiaeus gets Darius to release him, 5.108.1 (p. 67), and at 7.229; reduplication of μετά is not found elsewhere; but it exists for κατά and πρό. Aristotle has four instances of πεφροιμίασμαι and one of πεπροοιμισμένον. It is next found in the Septuagint (κεκατήρανται or -αμένος 4 times and πεπρονομευμένος once). The MSS variants reflect uncertainty over spelling the perfect passive participle of μεθίημι ("release") in its Ionic spelling with -τ- for -θ.

εἴρετο . . . ὁ ὕπαρχος On the view taken here, this was no mere courtesy call; Histiaeus wanted to secure Artaphrenes' help in getting back to Miletus, settling the revolt on the best terms possible: pp. 67–9. The text reads as if he saw him immediately on arrival in Sardis, but it is likely that he first spoke to Persian officials (*ibid*). "Satrap" in Herodotus is always ὕπαρχος, though it also covers a range of subordinate Persian commanders: Balcer (1988) 2–3; cf on Οἰβάρεϊ, §33.3. Satrapy, σατραπηΐη, occurs at 1.192 and 3.89, but the earliest occurrence of σατράπας is in Xenophon (in Persian, *xšaθrapā, Schmitt (1967) 131). For the satrap's powers see on τούτων, §30.1. Artaphrenes was a brother of Darius: 5.25.1; Appx 5. Although so spelt in Herodotus, and in Aeschylus for the co-conspirator of Darius whom Herodotus spells Intaphrenes, the Persian, *Artafarna, "having justice as glory" (Schmitt 129) suggests that later writers who spelt it 'Αρταφέρνης even when quoting Herodotus were more accurate (e.g. Suda sv ἀπεκορύφου, from 5.73.2; sv ὑπερθέντι, from 5.32.1; so for his son (§§94.2, 119.1): DS 10.25.4; Plut *Vit Aer* 829a; Suda sv Δᾶτις; Paus 1.32.6; and for other Persians, Thuc 4.50, DS 14.79.5.

1.2 τὴν ἀτρεκείην In the biography, Artaphrenes has to know the "truth", that Histiaeus had advised revolt and deceived Darius. Both the shaven head story, and the conversation with Darius as represented, are factually doubtful, and would only circulate amongst Greeks later, as the biography developed: pp. 64–5, 65–7. But Artaphrenes could doubt Histiaeus' bona fides for other reasons: as a Greek whom he did not trust, and a close relation of Aristagoras who had recently let him down over Naxos and was now promoting the revolt; possibly because Darius had doubts about Histiaeus and had forewarned Artaphrenes. On any view we may accept that Artaphrenes made clear that he would not help Histiaeus, and that his mistrust of him was apparent to the latter.

τὸ ὑπόδημα ἔρραψας . . . The saying passed at least into literary collections of proverbs: Diogen 8.49, Aes *Prov* 17; in Apostol 16.81 Artaphrenes becomes king of the Persians and Histiaeus a Samian. Herodotus was fond of such expressions: e.g. in book 6, the razor's edge of §11.2, rubbing out like a pine tree at §37.2, ἐπισκυθίζω in §84.3, and οὐ φροντὶς Ἱπποκλείδῃ, §129.4 (generally, Lang (1984) 58–67). But he did not record ἀναπαριάζω in relation to §§132–5: see Appx 18 paras 1–2.

2.1 δείσας . . . ἀπέδρη ἐπὶ θάλασσαν If Artaphrenes would not help, a Greek polis was the only sensible alternative. Both δείσας and particularly ἀπέδρη have a pejorative connotation; the latter for fleeing by stealth, often for runaway slaves or military desertion (LSJ sv 1); so δρηπέτῃσι, §11.2, and δρησμῷ, §70.1; they are entirely appropriate to a surreptitious night departure. A claim that he had done so because he feared arrest would help support the anti-Persian and pro-Greek credentials he needed to present in Ionia, but he could genuinely have feared arrest: cf pp. 69–70. The nearest large harbour was Smyrna, c90–100 km along the Hermos valley and then over the higher ground between Mts Tmolos (Olympos) and Sipylos; an easier but longer route kept further down the Hermos valley and round the west edge of Mt Sipylos, c120–30 km; or he could make for Phocaea or Cyme, c130 km, or perhaps a village with boats at the mouth of the Hermos (map 1). Even with horses and taking minimum rests, it would need some 12–15 hours to reach the coast: Appx 4 para 2.

Σαρδώ The belief as to its size was not unreasonable, though Sicily is in fact larger: 9,925 sq m; Sardinia 9,187 sq m (*Ency Brit*). It was part of the biography that one of Histiaeus' three promises to Darius was to take Sardinia, 5.106.6. It may be doubted that he did so promise: see pp. 66–7, but it made a nice touch to mention it again here.

ὑπέδυνε . . . τὴν ἡγεμονίην This is the only express mention of Histiaeus leading the revolt. But it is arguably implicit in both the shaven head story, 5.35.2–3 (pp. 64–5), and the "whole story" of §2.2 (see on ἐδέθη), that once back in Ionia he would lead it, and Aristagoras only started it (ἀποστήσας, §1.1) on his advice: 5.36.1, 4. But it is hard to see §§3–4 as steps in the revolt. In fact he does nothing for the Ionians, and it is not clear that they wanted him as leader: see pp. 70–1.

2.2 ἐς Χίον Whether there was a genuine or feigned fear of pursuit by the Persians, Chios made sense: whatever his route (see on §2.1), it put water between him and the Persians, and it was the nearest large island. It gave him a potentially safe base from which to weigh up the situation; whatever his plans, support from the Chians could only be helpful.

ἐδέθη . . . τὸν πάντα λόγον The Chians may have arrested him as nominally tyrant of Miletus, or because they simply mistrusted him; but they may also have heard of his doings in Sardis, pp. 67–70, and see §4, and interpreted it as his acting for the Persians (not wrongly: on any view he would have to appear pro-Persian in Sardis). It might also suggest that they did not yet know the shaven head story (but see on ἐπέστειλε, §3, and cf p. 65). Presumably the biography wanted us to understand that the "whole story" here, and the "truth" which Artaphrenes knew, was that he had advised revolt, and then persuaded Darius to release him on the promise to quell it, but in fact to lead it. He may perhaps have added that he hated Darius for detaining him at Susa against his will, and wanted to help the Ionians. Whatever he said, it got him released; but it was not what he told the Ionians (next note).

3 ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰώνων Herodotus does not indicate who arranged this meeting; perhaps the Chians, who took Histiaeus at his word about wanting to help the Ionians. It is not clear whether representatives came from every city still free: the Persians had recovered Clazomenae early on, 5.123, and Ephesus had probably come terms, p. 61. Note that de Sélincourt's translation omits the transition from "Chians" to "Ionians". If Milesians came, and gave him any hint of his lack of popularity (whether or not Aristagoras was still there), it did not deter him from trying to get back, §5.1.

ἐπέστειλε In the biography, the Ionians already know of the shaven head story; as noted on ἐδέθη, §2.2, the Chians arguably did not.

κακόν If we want to find an element of historicity in this detail, we could argue that with Persian troops recovering cities in adjacent areas (pp. 54, 62), the Ionians foresaw that it would be their turn next. But it is just as consistent with either ex post facto retrojection into the tradition, or Herodotus' own comment, in line with his general view of the revolt at 5.97.3 (p. 29 n. 91; cf p. 62), one of the many places where he uses κακόν or κακά for the evils or troubles of war (e.g. 5.28.1, §§21.2, 27.1, 98.1, 2). Even ignoring the point that the Ionian cities did not have to follow Miletus and revolt, so that it was their decision and not Histiaeus', at this time most of Ionia was free of the Persians, and indeed was to remain so for another 3 years.

τὴν μὲν γενομένην . . . αἰτίην οὐ . . . ἐξέφαινε In the biography, the "real reason" was presumably the "whole story" of §2.2: see on ἐδέθη. Even so, there is, perhaps, ambiguity in αἰτίη (cf p. 36), as if even the whole story was not the whole truth. It now makes him offer a different story: a deliberate lie or perhaps half-truth (next note). The folkloristic overlay, and the corresponding lack of logic, is particularly noticeable. When asked, why did you advise revolt (the text twice uses ἐπιστέλλω) and cause us harm?, it is no answer to say: because Darius was threatening you harm, even if it carries the implication, to save you from that threat. Nor does the biography explain why he told an admitted lie. If there is a grain of historicity behind the story, and if his real aim was to recover his position as tyrant of Miletus (cf pp. 67–8), and he realised that that would need Persian help, he may have wanted to persuade the Ionians to end the revolt, and thought that this story would frighten them into a frame of mind to agree. He could scarcely stress the huge forces which the Persians could mobilise: after all, he claimed to have advised revolt in the first place.

ἔλεγε . . . Φοίνικας μὲν ἐξαναστήσας . . . Herodotus reports two earlier cases of the Persians forcibly deporting peoples, which may have been generally known: the Libyans from Barca to Bactria, 4.204 and Paeonians to Phrygia, 5.12–17; at 3.93.2 and 7.80 he says that the king uses islands in the Persian Gulf to relocate deportees. But there is no case of a population exchange. Later, Milesians and Eretrians were deported, §§20, §119.2, and Milesian land was expropriated and given to Persians and Carians, §20. Thus Histiaeus might make his story plausible by speaking of the king's powers, or possibly exaggerating threats which Darius or his officials had made as to what they might do if the Ionians did not end their revolt.

ἐδειμάτου We may believe that such a statement, if made, would frighten the Ionians; an enforced exchange of population would be a credible extension of known Persian policy (previous note), and the Phoenicians in particular were trade rivals. They had effectively shut the Phoenicians out of the Hellespont and Black Sea (cf on ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου, §5.3), and Greeks, including Ionians, were seeking to share the trade in copper and other goods from Cyprus (Roebuck (1959a) 65); in turn, the Phoenicians' Carthaginian cousins sought to shut the Greeks out of the western Mediterranean (see pp. 66–7).

The Ionians would find it hard to maintain their Black Sea trade from the Levant, if their rivals were living in Ionia. But their fright did not encourage them to end the revolt, or make Histiaeus their leader. The use of the rare δειματέω instead of δειμαίνω is of stylistic significance only.

4.1 Ἑρπίππου ἀνδρὸς Ἀταρνείτεω Atarneus had been Mysian territory, opposite Lesbos, but was given to Chios in c545 as a reward for handing over Pactyes to the Persians: 1.160; cf Roebuck (1986) 86; map 1. For a long time thereafter the Chians would not use its produce for religious sacrifice, 1.160.5; as noted by Hornblower (2003) 44–5, in Herodotus, Atarneus is always a "bad place" (so the story at 8.104–6). Here, not only is Hermippos' mission a failure (infra), but there is, perhaps, a cycle of fate theme: Histiaeus was captured at Atarneus and taken to his execution a few years later, §29.1. Herodotus normally names men as X son of Y, occasionally as from his city (so Aristagoras and Histiaeus are sometimes Μιλήσιος, e.g. §§13.2, 26.1). He may add ἀνήρ, e.g. §§52.5, 83.2, 86a3, 105.1, 117.2 (Powell sv IV 5b) where the patronymic was not known.

ἔπεμπε βυβλία In Herodotus, βύβλια is the regular word for a letter or written message; papyrus at e.g. 1.123.4, where it is sewn into an animal, or 8.128.1, where it is attached to an arrow; here and at e.g. 3.40.1 it could be papyrus or wax tablets (he uses δέλτιον where he knows that it was a tablet, 7.39.3); ἐπιστολή is a (verbal) instruction: 4.10.1, §50.3 (though there it could be a written message). From Thucydides on, e.g. Thuc 1.129.1, a letter is typically ἐπιστολή.

προλελεσχηνευμένων "Having previous [social] conversation." The word is a hapax, though λεσχηνεύω, connoting social or casual conversation (e.g. 2.32.1, 9.71.3) is not uncommon, if mostly late, and the form with περι- is at 2.135.5. The problem is to decide what facts lie behind the story: why should such conversations be treasonable, even in a story designed to present Histiaeus as helping the Ionians by making trouble in Sardis? It is unclear whether Hermippos was unexpectedly arrested, or Histiaeus intended that Artaphrenes should see the letters. §§4.2–5.1 suggest that he wanted the result both ways, taking credit for the execution of "many" Persians and the uproar that resulted (both surely an exaggeration: see on §5.1),

but disappointed that these "friends" had been executed and so dashing his hopes—of what: leading the revolt, getting Persian support, returning to Miletus? It is at least consistent with the general picture of him in the biography, running with the hare and hunting with the hounds. Most translate ὡς "as if" (Powell sv D3, e.g. de Sélincourt, Nenci, Mandilaras); Waterfield has "after" (Powell sv B6). "As if" is ambiguous: did he write to men with whom he had had discussions, but not social ones; or to men with whom he had had no exchanges, but whose names he knew? Further, ἀποστάσιος πέρι, without τοῦ, should mean "about a revolt" (so Waterfield, "revolt from Darius"), it is commonly translated "about the Ionian revolt". Either way, it is hard to see that Persians in Sardis could support the revolt. It is equally hard to see that if there was a group of renegade Persians in Sardis, they would confide in Histiaeus. The solution here proposed, as discussed at pp. 68–9, is that when Histiaeus arrived in Sardis, he first spoke to officials who had the ear of the satrap, to find out the terms on which the latter end the revolt and what help he might give him (Histiaeus) to get back to Miletus; perhaps also offering them bribes. But if the letters referred to any aspect of the discussions, perhaps mentioning their failure to give value for their "gifts", or asking them again to approach the satrap, the latter could treat it as treasonable for talking to Histiaeus as to how he, the satrap, might end the revolt: it was an interference with his own authority: see p. 70.

4.2 ὁ δὲ μαθών See previous and following notes.

5.1 ταραχή . . . ἀποσφαλέντα τῆς ἐλπίδος The commentary on προλελεσχηνευμένων, §4.1, covers this sentence also: as there noted, the biography seeks to give him both credit for the uproar and disappointment that his plans have been frustrated. There cannot have been many addressees, and we may doubt how much "uproar" or "turmoil" their execution would cause.

κατῆγον ἐς Μίλητον The very fact that he tried, and in the way he did, strongly supports the argument that his real aim was to be restored to power in Miletus (p. 67). The text reads as though the Chians just provided the ship(s), as if his goodwill with them was already running out: cf on οὐ γάρ, §5.2.

ἀπαλλαχθέντες καὶ Ἀρισταγόρεω Although Aristagoras is said to have resigned his position as deputy tyrant at the beginning of the revolt, he clearly retained some power: p. 56. That he had now gone does not help on when, discussed in Appx 1 paras 5–7.

τύραννον . . . ἐλευθερίης In Herodotus' political thinking, oppressive government of any complexion was bad, and tyranny was usually bad: see p. 28, and Lateiner (1989) cited in n. 90. He usually offers the τύρανν‑/ἐλευθερ‑ antithesis in connection with Athens: 1.62.1 (Pisistratos seizes power); 5.55, 62, 64–5, §123.2 (Hippias removed). Irrespective of the Milesians not being prepared to accept Histiaeus back, his family as a whole was not then popular, as may be inferred from the lack of his family's names in the list of *aisymnetes* between 497 and 492: *IMilet* I 3.122 (p. 63 n. 209; p. 14 n. 45).

5.2 βίῃ This suggests that he had now learnt that his return to Miletus would be opposed, and he could only hope to do it by stealth or force; hence the subterfuge of a night attempt with armed men. As the Chians apparently provided only the ships (see on κατῆγον, §5.1), the armed men were perhaps supporters whom Histiaeus had earlier brought over from Miletus, or paid mercenaries.

οὐ γὰρ ἔπειθε τοὺς Χίους . . . ἔπεισε Λεσβίους His goodwill with the Chians had clearly now run out; at the least, they would not want to install him at Byzantium, on a trade route. It is unclear why the Lesbians were willing to help; it might reflect long-standing trade rivalries: Chios, like Samos, was a terminus for cross-Aegean traffic, where goods could be transhipped to or from the north (Hellespont and Black Sea) or south (Rhodes or Cyprus): Roebuck (1959a) 6; while Miletus was a major trader in the Black Sea, as noted on ἐδειμάτου, §3: see on ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου, §5.3. Given the set-back at Miletus, it is understandable that he might not wish to remain as a private citizen elsewhere in Ionia, but he chose not to go into exile in mainland Greece or Magna Graeca (not to Myrcinos: if Aristagoras was alive, he (Histiaeus) might at best be tolerated; if dead, he would not wish to risk a similar fate).

5.3 ὀκτὼ τριήρεας The triremes were probably Persian ones recently captured at Myus. If fully manned, they would require a total crew of some 160–180: Appx 2 para 5. Even if these ships were not fully

manned (*ib* para 7), Histiaeus' complement of Lesbians must have numbered several hundred.

ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου ἐκπλεούσας . . . ἕτοιμοι . . . πείθεσθαι Although most of our information is later, Black Sea trade in the early fifth century almost certainly included grain (cf 7.147), which most of Ionia needed to import for part of their requirements, and salt or pickled fish, a staple item of diet (cf Ar *Ach* 1101, *Eq* 1247; Theophr *Char* 6.9); and probably some quantities of iron from the Pontos and cinnabar (miltos) from Sinope: Gorman (2001) 47; Roebuck (1959a) 21, 102, 104, 124–130; Tsetskhladze (1998). Polybius 4.38 refers to cattle, slaves, honey, and wax, but *non constat* how far that reflects the fifth century. Miletus played a substantial part in the trade: it was she who had established most of the trading stations or colonies there (p. 41; Gorman 59–71; Greaves (2002) 104–9). Histiaeus perhaps wanted to target her ships particularly; ἕτοιμοι . . . πείθεσθαι appears to be a euphemism for extacting tolls: cf §26.1, which has him seizing the ships (συλλαμβάνοντι), in effect as a business which he could leave in the hands of a deputy. There is no hint here or at §26 that he is helping the Ionians. He is effectively starting a new career as a λῃστής, though Herodotus does not use the word for him either here or later, §§26–30. That λῃστεία was not unacceptable if carried out by an aristocrat is suggested on p. 72. Burn (1984) 208 offers another scenario: he secured the passage of Greek ships through the Propontis against privateering from the Persian controlled shore on the Asian side. That is inconsistent with §26.1 and Histiaeus' later conduct. Burn would connect it to Miltiades' return to the Chersonese, which secured the western end of the Propontis. Even if one accepts that dating (Appx 10 para 2(c)), it would not be for another two or three years (495, Burn 218); but also presupposes considerable liaison between the two men.

§§6–17 *The Persians assemble a large force to attack Miletus. The Ionians meet at the Panionion and agree to resist the Persians at sea, but let Miletus defend herself. Their triremes assemble at Lade, off Miletus. The Persians have brought the former tyrants, and use them to send to their respective cities urging them not to fight. This is rejected. Dionysius of Phocaea makes a stirring speech and is appointed commander; he attempts to train the men. They resent this and after seven days refuse to train further. The Samian contingent decides to desert.*

When battle is joined ships from several other cities desert; the Chians and others fight bravely, but the Persians are victorious. Some of the Chians escape to the mainland, but are killed at Ephesus. Dionysius sails to Phoenicia, raids cargo ships there, and goes to Sicily to engage in freebooting against Carthaginians and Etruscans.

Herodotus now returns to the revolt itself, though his account leaves a gap of two or three years since the events which ended book 5. On the balance of probabilities, the Persian preparations were in 496; the expedition moved off in 495, with Lade that September; and the siege of Miletus, §18, lasted until summer 494: see Appx 1 paras 8–14. Herodotus will have learnt about the events as a youngster, though he may have supplemented this as an adult (cf pp. 13, 20). We can infer input from at least four places: Chios (so §§15, 27), Samos (see Mitchell (1975)), Miletus (§§18–20) and, for §16.2, Ephesus. But his sources would stress different things; that is explicit for Lade, §14.1. The Samians cannot have spoken with one voice. Some sought to justify their desertion by blaming the Ionians as a whole, §12.4, and exaggerating the power of the Persians, §13.1; but a monument was subsequently erected to the patriotic minority who stayed to fight, §14.3, and some emigrated rather than accept Aeaces (§§22–4). For the politics of Samos at this time see Shipley (1987) cited on ἐκ τῶν στρατηγῶν, §22.1, esp 107–8. Others too would be keen to justify their desertion at Lade, and perhaps sought to the blame the Samians by saying: we resisted until we saw what the Samians were doing (cf on §10); the Ephesians sought to justify their treatment of the Chians. Lateiner (1982a) 151–7 shows how Herodotus subtly distanced himself from these accounts. The Chians, and others who stayed, could emphasise their patriotism and efforts.

We should note the Persian instructions to the tyrants, §9, the speech of Dionysius, §11, and the words of the recalcitrant Ionians, §12.3. The events themselves are probably true: the Persians did try diplomacy before a battle; the Ionians needed a commander, and no doubt Dionysius got himself elected after a stirring speech; and they came to regret it: see *ad locc.* But all are presented in the pattern of other speeches in Herodotus. The speaker seeks to motivate his audience, and offers alternative courses of action, with a warning of disaster if the "wrong" one is chosen. So the tyrants are told to say: surrender now or worse will befall. Dionysius' speech offers hard work followed by victory, or defeat in battle followed by Persian

punishment. It also has "gnomic" components: how human fortunes may change, a Homeric reference, and an appeal to the gods. The Ionians are made to argue that since the hardship of their rigorous training is worse than any future slavery under the Persians, they should not go on with it. For the three speeches see Solmsen (1943) 203–6; for such speeches in the Histories as a whole, Lang (1984) 52–58 (alternatives) and 21, 73–9 (motivation); for gnome Lateiner (1989) 5 n. 11 and 75; cf also Lattimore (1939), cited p. 26 n. 83. Speeches of similar pattern in book 6 are Theasidas' warning, §85.2; Leotychidas offering alternative courses of action at §86α1; and Miltiades, §109.3–6, with alternatives, warning, and gnome. One can also suggest that the Ionians' language at §12.3, and the Samian justification for deserting, §13, is the mirror image of what is attributed to Dionysius, as if Herodotus drew on the accounts of the "deserters" in writing up Dionysius' words. But he may have had sources who recalled what Dionysius had said: see on Διονύσιος, §11.1.

The narrative of the beginning of the battle is awkward, perhaps reflecting the conflicting accounts which Herodotus had. It moves abruptly from the Samian decision to desert, §13, to the start of the battle, §14.1, apparently on a later day; it is unclear whether all the Greek ships lined up at the start, or the Samians simply weighed anchor and sailed past the Persian ships back to Samos.

6 Ἱστιαῖος μέν νυν . . . ναυτικὸς πολλὸς καὶ πεζὸς ἦν στρατός As at §1.1, δέ means "meanwhile". It is probable that the news reaching Ionia was of the preparations, 496, rather than the departure of the forces, 495 (introductory note). The preparations included building ships to replace those lost at Myus and off Cyprus (Appx 1 para 8), and news of that was likely to spread quickly: cf Xen *Hell* 3.4.1, cited p. 62 n. 206; and orders for the army to assemble, probably at Cilicia: Appx 3 para 8.

συστραφέντες . . . οἱ στρατηγοί Herodotus or his sources stress the size of the force here and at §9.1, and the extensive operations at Miletus, §18; but, unusually, he or they do or could not name the generals. There is a slight possibility that one was Datis, if the siege of Lindos is to be dated to this expedition: see note to §§94–101. Another possible candidate is Otanes, the surviving son-in-law of Darius from 498–7 (5.116, 123; p. 62; Appx 5).

πολίσματα A πόλισμα, as opposed to πόλις, connoted an urban settlement rather than its political status, often (1.57.2, 98.3, 178), though not exclusively (as here and 1.143.2), non-Hellene: Flensted-Jensen (1995) 129–31; Hansen (1998) 21, 25–6. Despite Hansen and Nielsen (2004) 48, the word here seems to denote the smaller mainland cities, all still free except Clazomenae and probably Ephesus (see p. 61). See on Μιλήσιοι, §8.1.

Φοίνικες The Phoenicians had been the cornerstone of the Persian fleet since Cambyses started it in the 520s, but it was now based all around the Levant: Appx 3 paras 1–2; the Persians had regained Cyprus by 497 (Appx 1 para 2). Cilicia was also an important army base: §§43.1–2, 95.1; Appx 3 para 8. Herodotus often calls the Persian fleet "Phoenician" in relation to the Ionian revolt: 5.112 off Cyprus, here and at §§14.1, 25.1, 28.1, 41: but not for Scythia, Mardonius or Datis. He calls it "Persian" at §31.1 and 32 (but not §33) to mark the Persian military presence (so §101.1).

7 προβούλους . . . ἐς Πανιώνιον This is the only time during the revolt where Herodotus expressly says that the Ionians met. But an earlier meeting (somewhere) is indicated when the Ionians on Cyprus say that they had taken counsel (βουλευσάμενοι, 5.108.2) and been sent by their "commonwealth" (τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἰώνων, 5.109.3); other meetings during the revolt are also proposed; all at the Panionion. See pp. 59–62. It would be a convenient place for such meetings, where *ad hoc* representatives (so πρόβουλοι here) could come when circumstances required a common discussion. The balance of evidence does not suggest that it hosted a permanent political organisation; it was basically a religious centre: p. 44, esp text and n. 155. The Lesbians were presumably present on this occasion (see on Αἰολέων, §8.1).

ὑπολιπομένους μηδεμίαν τῶν νεῶν A very Greek way of saying "including all".

προναυμαχήσοντας Only found here and 8.60b. The decision to fight at sea and let Miletus defend herself is understandable. The Ionians had been able to assemble a large fleet, §8, but manning it stretched their manpower. Also, fighting the Persians on land would seem less attractive than in 499, when Ionian troops had been defeated at

Ephesus and later in Caria (p. 62). Even if the meeting was not around harvest-time, poleis would be reluctant to see their men away for too long, even without the risk of having their men shut up in Miletus, if there was a siege. Miletus was a large walled city (see on Μιλήσιοι, §8.1), and the other Ionians would think that she could look after herself.

Λάδη Nowadays, three hillocks standing up from the silted plain of the old Meander. Then, an island effectively guarding access to Miletus, c4 km long, and c2 km from the coast opposite, and with its eastern tip 2–3 km to Miletus' western harbours: map 2; photo, Müller (1997) 550.

8.1 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Herodotus represents the Greeks as encamped on Lade before the Persians arrived.

Αἰολέων οἳ Λέσβον νέμονται Rosén follows the a MSS in printing ὅσοι τὴν Αἰολίδα γῆν νέμονται; Nenci has ὅσοι for οἳ. Mainland Aeolis had been back in Persian hands since c498. Herodotus only mentions Cyme, 5.123 (p. 62), but as the Persians came from the north, they presumably retook the other poleis, except Notion, which was in Ionian territory near Colophon. Herodotus had not specifically said that the Aeolians joined the revolt, but several references including this make it clear that they did (p. 39 n. 129). Their ships are here attributed to Lesbos (§8.2), but some may have come from Tenedos. As the Persians did not police their territory, some men could also have come from the mainland; but, except for Cyme, mainland cities were small, and several were inland (list, 1.149.1, to which add Elaea; the coastal ones with known locations are shown on map 1; descriptions, Bean (1979) 5, 72–98). The entries in Hansen and Nielsen (2004) 1038–51 show that most had territories of under 100 km^2. Whatever the motives for the Lesbian help to Histiaeus, arguably unhelpful to the Ionian cause: cf on οὐ γὰρ ἔπειθε, §5.2, they sent to Lade in some strength (§8.2).

ἐτάσσοντο δὲ ὧδε Strictly, (παρα)τάσσω connotes an actual battle array, as for the troops at Marathon, §§108.1, 111.1, 113.1, here, the ships are arriving. It could mean the order in which they happened to arrive and moored their ships around Lade, or it could refer to an order of battle which they subsequently agreed (at this

stage there was no leader to organise them). Given the numbers of ships and men (infra), they might need to settle themselves all round the island; though, so far as we can judge, the north coast had more and wider bays than the south (see map, Müller (1997) 549; Greaves (2002) 118, fig 3.15). For the actual battle line see on τότε ὦν, §14.1. That the Milesians were at the east is neutral: if they arrived first, they would encamp on the part of Lade nearest to their polis.

Μιλήσιοι . . . ὀγδώκοντα . . . The large numbers from Miletus Chios Lesbos and Samos have probably been rounded up, though the smaller contingents may be reasonably accurate. Even so, we may still put the fleet at 300 to 320. There is a consensus that some of these were the Persian ships captured at Myus (cf on λογάδας, §15.1), though (a) the actual number at Naxos was probably rounded up to 200 (p. 55); (b) some may have not been triremes (p. 55 n. 186); (c) some had almost certainly gone back to Caria or Cilicia either directly from Naxos or after a quick stop at Myus (p. 57), and (d) those then captured and taken to Cyme would have been lost when Cyme was recaptured. We should thus be cautious in saying that 200 of the ships at Lade came from Myus, as some do, e.g. Wallinga (1993) 133, (1987) 68–9; de Souza (1998) 281. Secondly, Wallinga also argues that the Ionians captured up to 100 more off Cyprus: this seems questionable, though there is evidence for a sea-battle there not recorded by Herodotus: Lysanias *FGrH* 426 F1, noted p. 60 n. 200. If, before the revolt, Persians kept triremes in Greek ports (Appx 3 para 2), they will have been included in those sent to Naxos. Thus however many were taken from the Persians in 499–8, we must think of the Ionians building some 50 to 150 ships, most or all triremes, since then. It has been suggested that they were built early on in the revolt, but it is equally likely that they were constructed when news of the Persian preparations came through, §6 (cf pp. 59, 62).

It is feasible that they were built to the design of those captured; "Persian" triremes were probably slightly shorter than classical Athenian ones, and so required less than 200 men for a full crew, perhaps some 160–180 including officers (Appx 2 paras 5–6). Rounding down the large contingents, even 300 ships with crews of 170 would require 51,000 men, and at least some of the cities sent soldiers (ἐπιβάτας, §12.1). For Herodotus' 353 triremes, over 62,500 men would be needed. These figures imply a total population from 200,000 up to

325,000. Roebuck's calculation (1959a) 21–3 assumed Herodotus' 353 ships, 200 men per trireme, and 40 soldiers on each Chian ship; this gave 74,600 men at Lade; he added 1,600 Lesbians at Byzantium with Histiaeus, §5.1, and multiplied the totals by four. This artificial calculation has been criticised, but at least for the smaller cities the figures are broadly consistent with archaeology, if we allow for farmers who lived outside the actual polis area: from 2,400 for Myus and Phocaea to 13,600 for Teos. This is consistent with the territories attributed to them: see Hansen and Nielsen (2004) 1091–2 (Priene); 1088–9 (Myus); 1101–2 (Teos); 1073–6 (Erythrae); 1090–1 (Phocaea); Bean (1979) 161, 204–6, 106–15, 122–7, 96. Silting of the Bay of Myus may already have made Priene landlocked; when that happened, she kept her ships at Naulochos, for which see *RE* Supp 9 1184 (Kleiner). For the larger cities, Roebuck calculated: Samos, 48,000; Lesbos, 62,400; Miletus, 64,000; Chios, 96,000. From different perspectives, Shipley (1987) 14–15 proposes that Samos' population including slaves was 50,000; Greaves (2002) 102 offers 50,000–60,000 for Miletus, plus slaves (she had an extensive *chora*: see on τὰ περὶ τὴν πόλιν, §20; at 100 he had noted their unspecified losses in Caria, 5.120 (p. 62 n. 205)). These estimates assume a slave population, for which cf Appx 15 para 11 and n. 23. Roebuck queried whether his figure for Lesbos was too low, given the fertility of the island; in (1986) 81 he revised his Chian estimate down to 60,000–80,000. While any figures can only be guesstimates, the Ionians as a whole could probably just man 353 triremes, although that would stretch their resources. DS 10.25.2–3 refers to Carians rowing with Milesians; this might refer to Lade (so Hornblower (1982) 21 with n. 124), but it could equally refer to the Naxos expedition; some deny that the men at Lade included slaves (Roebuck (1986) 81; Shipley (1987) 14).

The absentees are Clazomenae, Ephesus, Colophon, and Lebedos. Clazomenae had been recovered by the Persians, and Ephesus had probably come to terms: cf on §3. Colophon was inland, and largely agricultural, though including its port at Notion its total territory is put at over 500 km^2 (Hansen and Nielsen 1077–80; Bean 151–5); like Ephesus, it did not celebrate the Apatouria (1.147.2). Lebedos was not large, with a territory under 200 km^2 (Hansen and Nielsen 1080; Bean 118–19). A few men might have come from at least Colophon and Lebedos and helped row other cities' ships.

8.2 τριήρεες Each contingent has been described as so many νῆες (cf on ἑξακόσιαι, §9.1); the total is now given as triremes. This might, perhaps, alert us to whether there were a few penteconters or other galleys, not so much by analogy with those at Artemisium and Salamis, 8.1, 42–9, as because some of those captured at Myus may have been galleys (p. 55 n. 186). Also, the large contingents came from cities with substantial trading connections, typically using galleys (cf Appx 2 para 3). However, the reference to hoisting sails, and trierarchs, in the battle, §14, suggests that the majority were thought of as triremes. If there were some galleys, it would have a slight effect on the numbers of men needed and present.

9.1 βαρβάρων Perhaps as an accident of context, the connotation of βάρβαρος in Herodotus shifts. Except at 2.158.5, where it refers to the Persians as potential enemies of the Egyptians from the latters' point of view, it simply means "non-Greek" (even of Macedonians at 5.22.2), until he comes to speak of the Persian invasions. With rare exceptions, e.g. §58.2, it then becomes a synonym for the Persians or their forces: when Aristagoras tried to get Spartan help and succeeded in Athens, 5.49.3, 97.3 (p. 53); here and §31.1, and then regularly in both 490, §§99–121, and 480, books 7–9 passim. In Thucydides βάρβαρος often just means non-Greek, e.g. 1.1–6 *passim*; for the Illyrians at Epidauros at 1.24, 28, 47, 50; but also for the invading Persians of 490 and 480–79 at 1.14.3, 18.2 and 23.2. But in fifth century tragedy "barbarian" came to be a synonym for "Persian" (Hall (1989) 56–60): Persians were perceived as the barbarians par excellence, and Athenian democracy could be presented as the antithesis to the barbarians who lived under a tyrant (Hall 13–15); cf pp. 26–7.

ἑξακόσιαι 600 is semi-conventional for a Persian fleet in Herodotus (Appx 3 paras 1, 3–5). Here, a substantial part of the troops were marching overland, §6, and supplies would be better carried in galleys than triremes (*ibid* para 4, referring to Appx 2 paras 5–8). In that sense Herodotus' use of νῆες is accurate. However, in the battle, Herodotus implies that there were triremes on each side, so the Persian fleet would include a substantial number of them. Also, they would know that the Ionians could muster a large number, even if they did not know exactly how many they had built to supplement those taken at Myus (cf on Μιλήσιοι, §8.1). The numbers at Lade were probably similar on each side; there is the implication that but

for the desertions, the Greeks could have won. See also on πυθόμενοι, infra.

τὴν Μιλησίην Not "Miletus", but "the area controlled by Miletus"; so 1.17–19, 1.46.2, 1.157.3, 5.29.1; Thuc 8.26.3. For her *chora* see on τὰ περὶ τὴν πόλιν, §20. Herodotus has both fleet and army approaching Milesian territory at about the same time. A sizeable fleet would need several anchorages, though we may envisage that many were in the bay between Priene and Myus. It is not clear whether he envisages that the generals who saw the size of the Greek fleet were with the army or the ships.

πυθόμενοι τὸ πλῆθος . . . κακόν τι λαβεῖν As presented, this is probably just assumption by Herodotus or his sources; we could expect the Persians to try diplomacy (see on συλλέξαντες, §9.2). If the first phrase has a factual basis, perhaps the Ionians turned up with more ships than the Persians expected (cf supra). The second is arguably a mixture of fact, in that a Persian fleet had recently been defeated off Cyprus at least once (hence they were not ναυκράτορες), perhaps twice (p. 61; p. 60 n. 200); and the Greek perception of the oriental monarch as a powerful but cruel tyrant (p. 27). Whether Darius really so behaved is another matter. Mardonius, despite his alleged failure, reappears as second-in-command in Xerxes' expedition (see on §45.2), though Datis is not heard of again (see on §118.1).

9.2 ἐπιλεγόμενοι "consider", as at §86a.5: Powell sv 5.

συλλέξαντες . . . τοὺς τυράννους The Persians regularly tried a sort of diplomacy to persuade the other side to come to terms; one method was to ask for earth and water, for which see on §48.2. For Mardonius in Macedonia see note to §§42–49.1 paras 6–7; in 490, apart from bringing Hippias, they probably tried before Marathon (see on κατηγέετο, §102 and Appx 17 C6). In 480–79 they succeeded in neutralising Argos, 7.150, and tried before Plataea, 8.140–4; according to DS 11.5.4–5, before Thermopylae also (but Herodotus 7.208 merely says that a man on horseback spied out the Greek positions). Orontes settled with Evagoras of Salamis in c382 (DS 15.9). Sending the Greek spies back to report on the size of their army, 7.146–7, could also be included under this head. Despite the brave words attributed to Demaratos, 7.102, 104, 209, 234–5, they may have hoped that he could persuade Sparta to come to an accommodation

(cf on παρὰ βασιλέα, §70.2). The theme of submit, or it will be worse for you (so λέγετε ἐπηρεάζοντες, §9.4) is also at 4.126, Scythia, and, as reported, before Marathon. Herodotus had not previously said that when the tyrants were deposed, 5.37–8 (pp. 53, 57), they had gone to live under Persian protection. But there can only have been about 6 to 8 men. Coes of Mytilene had been executed (p. 39 n. 139), Histiaeus was in Byzantium, and Aristagoras dead. We may exclude Aristagoras of Cyme (4.138.2, 5.38.1), now back in Persian hands (see on Αἰολέων, §8.1), and perhaps any from the Ionian cities who were not present at Lade, as noted on Μιλήσιοι, §8.1 (and the tyrant of Ephesus may not have been a Persian appointee: see Tozzi (1978) 118 n. 10 at 119–20). There is no indication that the Persians had candidates to replace Coes or for Miletus. Nor, apart from Aeaces (the only one named, §13.1; restored after Lade, §25.1), and probably Strattis on Chios, is it clear that these tyrants were in fact restored to their cities the following spring. The present repulse of their overtures may have started the Persians thinking that they had overestimated the tyrants' influence and popularity: see Appx 11 sec 3. There is no significance in Herodotus using Μῆδοι instead of the more usual Πέρσαι (so §§22.1, 24.2, 67.1, 109.1, 3, 112.3; μηδικός, §§84.2, 111.3, 112.3). Graf (1984a) argues that before Darius, the first king to call himself "Persian" in inscriptions, Greek perception was that Cyrus' conquest of Lydia was an expansion of the Median empire; Herodotus helped to put the record straight, 1.130.1. But the two nouns in the plural had become interchangeable (exceptionally, the singular at 5.77.3). The singular, as for Datis at §94.2, was specific for a Mede, and there was a clear distinction between περσίζω and μηδίζω, for which see on τοὺς μηδίσαντες, §64.

ἐτύγχανον Not necessarily ironic—the tyrants did not happen to be there, but because it suited the Persians. Herodotus often uses τυγχάνω with a participle where it is more or less equivalent to the simple verb, as with the location of the Styx in §74.2; though at §28.2 it stresses the chance that Harpagos was there, and at §41.2 that it was Metiochus' ship that was caught; so §§61.2, 89. See Powell sv.

9.3 τὸν βασιλέος οἶκον About a dozen times in Herodotus (Powell sv οἶκος). So when Aristagoras asked Artaphrenes for help (5.31.2, 4; cf p. 53), he said: you will add Naxos and the Cyclades to the king's dominions (βασιλέϊ προσκτήσεαι); Artaphrenes replied that

Aristagoras will benefit οἶκον τὸν βασιλέος. The expression is equivalent to the Persian empire, but "house" stresses the fact that the king treated the empire as his personal property, and the inhabitants, whether the Greeks appreciated it or not, were the king's servants, slaves from his standpoint: cf p. 46 n. 163.

συμμαχικοῦ The word, also at §13.1, denotes the common purpose of the Ionians, not an underlying political union: pp. 44, 61–2.

προϊσχόμενοι Regularly in Herodotus for making a proposal (Powell sv).

οὔτε τὰ ἱρὰ οὔτε τὰ ἴδια Doing this is a recurrent theme in book 6: §§19.3, 32, 96, 101.3; and in Xerxes' expedition, 8.32–3, 53–6, 9.13.2, 65.2. Themistocles is made to refer to it as typifying the Persians, 8.109.3. Herodotus says that it was done to avenge the burning of the temple of Cybebe at Sardis: pp. 53, 61; he repeats it for Eretria, §101.3, and Xerxes threatens it for Athens, 7.8β.3 (not mentioned when Mardonius does it, 9.13.2). But Persian thinking was more general; local gods had to be punished for permitting their people to revolt from or attack the king: see on ἐνεπίμπρασαν, §32. They spare Samos because she effectively surrendered, §§13.2, 25.2.

9.4 εἰ δὲ . . . οὐ ποιήσουσι H&W add (wrongly) that this is not part of the message, but the Persians telling the tyrants that their threats are serious. This is neither the natural meaning of the words (especially with λέγετε ἐπηρεάζοντες ("threaten abusively")) nor the natural sense of the context.

ἐξανδραποδιεῦνται . . . τοὺς παῖδας . . . τὰς δὲ παρθένους As noted on συλλέξαντες, §9.2, Persian diplomacy is typically reported as: surrender or it will be worse for you. The form of the speech can be paralleled by others in Herodotus (introductory note). Certainly he made them correspond to the outcome: enslavement at Miletus, §§19.3, 20 (though the threats could not have been made to Miletus: the Persians had no candidate to replace Histiaeus), and castrating boys and taking girls to Persia, §32. But it is likely that even if not in the words of §9.4, the messages did threaten serious harm if the Ionians did not surrender, and some of his sources would stress the threats as part of their justification for deserting at Lade.

ἀνασπάστους ἐς Βάκτρα In Herodotus, ἀνάσπαστος, literally "dragged away", always refers to groups forcibly taken into captivity by the Persians into Asia, e.g. the deportees of 3.93.2, 4.204 noted on ἔλεγε, §3, or the girls at §32. Bactria was as far from Susa as Ionia, and so would be a 6 months' journey; it had the connotation of a very distant place. Beyond it lay the Pamirs. Also, the juxtaposition of Lydia and Bactria seems to have had a "Land's End to John O'Groats" connotation for the limits of the Persian empire (Diogenes (fifth century) *TGrF* 45 F1 = Athen 14.636a; Men *Samia* 628–9); except that Lydia was next to Ionia and known; Bactria was as remote as, say, Tierra del Fuego: cf Arnott (1998) n. 6.

τὴν χώρην ἄλλοισι παραδώσομεν This phrase also echoes what actually happened, at Miletus, §20. But it is suspect as part of the message not only because there was no tyrant-elect to threaten Miletus, supra, but also because if said to islanders, it might well sound implausible: the logistics of carrying it out would be formidable.

10 διέπεμπον . . . οἱ Ἴωνες . . . μούνοισι There are several ambiguities here. The natural meaning of τοὺς ἑωυτοῦ is "fellow-citizens". Does this mean men still in their cities, or those at Lade? §13.1 reads as though Aeaces sent to Lade. But with so many men encamped within a fairly small area, it is hard to believe that approaches to each of the contingents there could remain secret for long; even allowing for the implication of secrecy in νυκτός, as at §2.1 (cf the night-time activities amongst the Greeks before Salamis, 8.57–64; 78–83). Whether to cities or to Lade, who were the recipients of the messages: family or adherents of the tyrants, or men currently in power, or considered influential. If to cities, were the messages sent on to Lade? How widely were they discussed? There is also the problem noted supra: who sent messages to Lesbos and Miletus or their large contingents at Lade? It looks as though this detail is ex post facto, from Ionians who later said: we resisted the tyrants' overtures, and if the Samians had not deserted we would not have.

ἀγνωμοσύνῃ A curious word, which usually connotes want of sense or arrogance (LSJ sv). Powell sv here offers resistance, hardening one's heart, as at 4.93, 5.83.1; in other words, the Ionians do the right thing: so "categorically rejected", Mandilaras.

11.1 ἀγοραί . . . ἠγορόωντο This stage above all exemplifies the Ionians' weakness, or perhaps their mindset. We can understand that after Aristagoras left Miletus, the Ionians saw no immediate need to appoint a leader to replace him; but faced with a real Persian threat, we might think of them appointing their commander at the Panionion meeting, §7, and not waiting until after they arrived at Lade: cf p. 58 n. 194. In 480, the Greeks did agree on Eurybiades as commander before Artemisium (8.2–3). Herodotus has these meetings only after the tyrants have sent their messages; if so, the Ionians had been several days at Lade without starting to choose a leader. It seems to have been a controversial business; the plural ἀγοραί and ἄλλοι ἠγορόωντο suggest several meetings and several candidates, no doubt mostly from the larger *poleis*. Perhaps Dionysius was a compromise candidate.

Διονύσιος He is only known from this episode; we last hear of him in §17, when he attacks the Phoenicians on their home ground and sails off to a career of freebooting in the west. When we examine what he knew and sought to impart, Appx 2 paras 9–14, he comes through as an experienced sea-captain, probably aged about 40, i.e. born around the time of Alalia, 535 (Appx 2 endnote [5]); he would have grown up with quayside talk of that battle as well as stories from other seafarers who had dealt with attacks from pirates, or other hostile ships; later he probably had direct experience of this during his own voyages to the western Mediterranean. He understood what was needed now: to train the men, with their varied experience of rowing triremes, and then teach them how to ram, the diekplous manoeuvre. As pointed out in Appx 2 para 9, it must remain open how far the eventual problem stemmed from his poor leadership and overzealous training, and how far to the Greeks' own reluctance to put the necessary effort into that training.

11.2 Ἐπὶ ξυροῦ . . . ἀκμῆς . . . ἐλευθέροισι ἢ δούλοισι We may accept that Dionysius did make a stirring speech. Some of its phrases could reflect what he actually said; though as presented here it is a literary artefact; perhaps with its wording designed to reflect the outcome (introductory note). It is made to start with a virtual Homeric quotation: νῦν γὰρ δὴ πάντεσσιν ἐπὶ ξυροῦ ἵσταται ἀκμῆς, *Il* 10.173; Theogn 557. For Herodotus' use of proverbial expressions see on τὸ

ὑπόδημα, §1.2. The choice of freedom or slavery was a commonplace: Greeks are free; barbarians are the slaves of an oriental monarch (cf p. 27, and Nenci on ἐλευθέροισι). It is made by the emigrating Samians, §22.2 (see on ἐκ τῶν στρατηγῶν), and paralleled in the speech attributed to Miltiades, §109.3; so Pausanias' appeal to the Athenians in 479, 9.60. When the revolt is over, the Ionians are returned to slavery: see on §32. Cf next note.

δρηπέτῃσι . . . ταλαιπωρίας . . . πόνος . . . μαλακίῃ . . . ἀταξίῃ Dionysius is made to stress the undesirability of slavery and the effort needed to avoid it. Nenci prints **a**'s ταλαιπωρίην δέκεσθαι, with much the same meaning. When we reach §12, the irony is self-evident: his drilling gives them πόνον, and after a few days they complain of their πόνων and are worn out with ταλαιπωρίῃσι; they say that a future as slaves would be better than their present sufferings. The unusual δρηπέτῃσι (only 3.137.2 and Herodas *Mim* 3.13) is a particularly strong word: not just slaves, but runaway slaves. A more difficult question is how far §11.2, taken with the opposing arguments of §§12.2 and 13, by themselves or with §32, were intended to be a pejorative attack on the Ionians. As noted on τὸ τρίτον, §32, Herodotus' comments are not always anti-Ionian; if we detect a bias in the language of these speeches, it may be as much because he disapproved of their conduct on this specific occasion, as if to convey his own view that if the Ionians had practised harder and not then deserted, they could well have won the battle.

δώσειν . . . δίκην For Herodotus, δίκη meant human punishment or recompense (§§87, 139.2), as opposed to τίσις, divine retribution (§§72.1, 84.3): see p. 35. Perhaps by an accident of context, in the 7 other places where he uses δίκην δίδοναι in a speech, it is a threat to punish in the mouth of a Persian magnate; here, Dionysius threatens that that is what the Persians will do (Lateiner (1980) 31).

11.3 θεῶν τὰ ἴσα νεμόντων Miltiades uses the same expression, §109.5: we ask only that, in the forthcoming battle, the gods give us a level playing-field; we will win by our efforts. The idea that the gods νέμουσι ("distribute") benefit or woe is common (Eur *Suppl* 615–16, Ap Rh 1.298; in inscriptions, ἐσθλά (benefit) or σκληρά (woe) νέμουσι θεοί ends or is restored to end a pentameter: *IG* I^2 763; *SEG* XVI

22, 139; XIX 38, XXI 117a, b. By contrast in §§26–7 Herodotus has god forewarning the event, but no level playing field.

οὐ συμμείξειν . . . πολλὸν ἐλασσώσεσθαι (ἐλασσωθήσεσθαι, Legrand, Nenci and Rosén): the tyrants' approaches show that the Persians do not want to fight; but if they do. . . . A nice piece of rhetoric, with the one phrase balancing the other. If Dionysius actually said something like this, it was an inspired piece of oratory.

12.1 ἀνάγων . . . ἐπὶ κέρας . . . διέκπλοον ποιεύμενος . . . Since the Trireme Project, we better understand the skills needed to row a trireme for battle. The sources have coalesced the two stages of the training which Dionysius sought to give, as more fully discussed in Appx 2 paras 9–16: first getting his crews, with differing experience, to row a trireme properly, each man keeping time with his own bank of oars and not fouling the other banks; and then to learn to turn quickly and efficiently, the first manoeuvre in the diekplous, important for attack and defence. Both need effort. The expression ἐπὶ κέρας (ἐπὶ κέρως, Thuc 6.32.2, 50.4, Xen *Hell* 6.2.30, etc) is nothing to do with the diekplous, and means raising anchor and putting to sea, one ship following one another in line ahead: Lazenby (1987), esp 172–3; that reflects the first stage of the training, rowing in a straight line. It is, incidentally, unlikely that he got the whole fleet to do this at the same time; with only a half a ship's length between each trireme, 35 m long (Appx 2 n. 21), even 300 would stretch for some 15½ km, quite unmanageable even with a system of subordinate commanders (perhaps hinted at in the στρατηγοί of §13.1) and signalling; cf on ἔχεσκε, infra. Tradition particularly recalled the second stage, the turning manoeuvre (Appx 2 paras 12–13), taught by a harsh disciplinarian.

ἐπιβάτας This suggests that poleis other than Chios, §15.1, also sent soldiers. In view of the available manpower (see on §8.1) we should not assume that every polis did or could. For soldiers in a sea fight see Appx 2 para 11. To translate "marines" (Powell sv) imports a modern concept. Having the soldiers at the ready (ὁπλίσειε) was sensible, to ensure that they could access their reserves of missiles quickly in the comparatively narrow confines of a trireme deck, and at whichever side of the ship they were needed. Lazenby (1987) 175

points out that they could help protect their ship as it sailed past an enemy. The Chians' 40 men would add some 7–8% to the total weight for the rowers to deal with (empty ship, c22 tonnes; laden with equipment and assuming 180 crew, c44 tonnes; 40 passengers, c3 tonnes: based on Shaw (1993) 78 (Coates)); a further reason to get the crews to practice.

ἔχεσκε ἐπ' αγκυρέων . . . πόνον Anchoring the triremes and not pulling them up on to the beach was sensible (cf Harrison (1999)), and we cannot assume that the bays on Lade were large enough to beach all 300 plus ships (cf on ἐτάσσοντο, §8.1). But the text indicates that the men were kept on board when they expected to be ashore. One explanation might be the sheer numbers: if all 300 ships put to sea together, it would be an unmanageable line (supra); perhaps Dionysius sent out small squadrons one at a time, but kept the others ready to follow. Some would have long waits and object to being stuck on their boats, in the hot and cramped conditions known from the Trireme Project. Also, once they had finished rowing, they would expect to come ashore to eat and sleep (Gomme (1933); van Wees (2004) 218), and relieve themselves. Or he might have kept them on board to practice handling the oars, e.g. so as not to foul each other, or to respond to commands (cf Appx 2 paras 12–13). He may have put too much pressure on the men; but he did not know how long he had before a battle took place, and one or two isolated incidents may have become the norm in the tradition. Even so, it is possible that he was too enthusiastic and undiplomatic in his leadership.

12.2 ἡμερέων ἑπτά Seven is a conventional number especially for periods of time, and is probably how the sources expressed the number of days: Dover (1998) 224, preferable to Fehling's literary artefact, (1989) 216, 225. Even if not mathematically precise, it must reflect training for several days. We may also ask what were the Persians doing: were they too exercising in their ships, and could the Greeks see them?

ἀπαθέες . . . πόνων τοιούτων τετρυμένοι τε ταλαιπωρίῃσί τε καὶ ἡλίῳ Whether or not Dionysius' speech, where both ταλαιπωρίας and πόνος occur, was worded to reflect the outcome (see on §11.2), §11.2 it must depend on the self-serving sources seeking to justify their desertion (introductory note); but may also be affected by Herodotus'

own views: see on δρηπέτῃσι, §11.2. Thus we need not understand ἡλίῳ as evidence of high summer; it is consistent with an August-September date (Appx 1 para 9).

12.3 τίνα δαιμόνων . . . For the format of the Ionians' grumble, presented as a speech, with its choices of alternatives, see introductory note. This one begins with a question, common in exhortatory or advisory speeches: so §§85.2, 97.2; 3.73.1, 151.2, 7.50.2, etc; stylistically they reflect or imitate the use of questions in Homer: Lang (1984) 42–51, 159 n. 8. The dramatic irony is intense, in view of the outcome: they are punished and remain subjects of Persia. As noted at p. 52 n. 181, sailors could be politically active, and, by implication, not easy to discipline; it may be those whose normal trade was seafaring who started the "revolt". For the connotation of δαίμων, a lesser god, see Harrison (2000) 164–6. The florid language: ἀναπίμπλαμεν, "endure evils"; ἐκπλώσαντες, "taking leave of our senses"; ἀλαζόνι, "rogue"; λύμῃσι ἀνηκέστοισι, "intolerable hardships", perhaps exaggeration (the illness), the false logic (slavery under the Persians is better, as well as the fivefold fleet of §13.1), and the sneer that Phocaea only sent three ships, probably reflect the self-serving Samian tradition, blaming "the Ionians" for these sentiments; but it could be the Ionians, saying that this is what the Samians were saying. In fact it is possible that over half the force stayed and fought: see on οἱ πλεῦνες, §14.3.

νούσους . . . πείθεσθαι In the context as a whole (previous note) this reads like an exaggeration; but it could have a factual basis. A large number of men encamped in a fairly small area would be susceptible to an illness such as dysentery; while, as we know from discussions of fevers in the Hippocratic corpus (e.g. *Morb Pop* I 2, 3, 5, and esp 24–5; cf Jouanna (1999) 338–9), malarial diseases were endemic in the Greek world; cf the Athenians in 413, Thuc 7.47.2.

12.4 σκηνάς It is not credible that it was only after 7 days that they erected their tents. They were already going ashore to eat and sleep (cf on ἔχεσκε, §12.1). It really underlines the imperfects ἐσκιητροφέοντο and ἐθέλεσεκαν: a period of doing nothing for several days (cf on §14.1), lounging in the shade of their tents. Hence οἷα στρατίη, "like an army", like soldiers waiting for battle to begin, not behaving as sailors should.

13.1 μαθόντες δὲ ταῦτα . . . The grammar is difficult: οἱ στρατηγοί strictly have no verb, but are taken up by οἱ Σάμιοι; κείνους . . . τοὺς λόγους hangs until taken up by ἐδέκοντο τοὺς λόγους; but the general sense is clear, seeking to justify what the Samians eventually do. Herodotus wanted to distance himself from this Samian account, and the text perhaps represents the draft of a difficult passage which he forgot to correct. He indicated his own feelings about the story with the ironic δή and the sarcastic γε after εὖ, and the use of προφάσιος at the beginning of the next sentence (Lateiner (1982a) 153–4). Lateiner 158 suggests that the Samian attitude was partly motivated by trade rivalry with Miletus.

Αἰάκης It is typically Herodotean not to have named Aeaces at §9 as one of the tyrants with the Persians, but to do so now, and to add a footnote about him at §13.2 (see *ad loc*).

τὴν Ἰώνων συμμαχίην Cf συμμαχικοῦ, §9.3; see pp. 44, 61.

ἀδύνατα . . . ὑπερβαλέσθαι . . . πενταπλήσιον The basic sentiment recalls Aristagoras at 5.124.1 (p. 62), the coward who thought that he could not beat Darius; and also the threat by Mardonius through the mouth of Alexander to send an even larger force if the Athenians defeated him now, 8.144.3 (πολλαπλησίη). But it is emotional rhetoric and excuse and just as illogical. The Persians had large resources, but five times their muster, 600, was surely beyond them (Xerxes' 480 armada was put at 1207 triremes, of which 377 were from Ionia and Caria: 7.89, 93).

13.2 προφάσιος Herodotus regularly uses πρόφασις to mean an excuse or an ostensible motive or reason: see p. 36, where n. 118 lists the other cases in book 6.

χρηστούς Good with moral overtones, "brave": cf 5.109.3, where the Ionians promise the Cypriots to be χρηστοί with the connotation of doing their duty; 9.27. The MSS variants ἀρνευμένους (OCT, Rosén) and οὐ βουλομένους (Legrand, Nenci) do not affect the meaning.

Αἰάκης . . . Αἰάκεος When Herodotus identifies someone with three generations, it is always to clarify or stress the stemma: there are

four other cases in book 6: Miltiades, §§34.1, 103.1; Leotychidas, §65.1; Percalus, §65.2; Cleisthenes of Sicyon, §126.1 (other Greeks, 9.26.5, 64.1, 76.2; non-Greeks, 1.35.3, 103.1, 209.2; 2.1.1; 3.88, 160.2; 4.5.1–2, 45.3). Here, he might have thought that his audience could confuse Aeaces with his grandfather, brother of Polycrates; it could also stress that the Samian tyranny had become hereditary. But at §§13.1 and 25.1, when he is restored, he just calls Aeaces the son of Syloson; he is "of Samos" when listed with other tyrants at the Danube bridge, p. 49. He had succeeded his father between 518–17, when the latter was restored (cf on παρὰ βασιλέα, §24.2) and 513: see Shipley (1987) 68, 103–4, 107.

14.1 τότε ὦν . . . The transition in the narrative is awkward and contains lacunae, perhaps for similar reasons to §13.1; Herodotus wanted to reconcile sources, some having to admit desertion, others who could boast of their bravery; many of both were probably family or personal friends, or at least *xenoi*: cf on οὐκ ἔχω, infra. In the narrative, the sequence is: the Ionian "strike", lasting several days (so the imperfects in §12.4); the Samian decision not to fight, but remaining at Lade; all contingents apparently lining up as for battle; and only then the desertions beginning. Although Herodotus does not say so, presumably this was the day on which the Persians sailed out (from the bay of Myus?—see on τὴν Μιλησίην, §9.1). See also next note, and (for the deserters) on οἱ πλεῦνες, §14.3.

ἀντῆγον . . . ἐπὶ κέρας For the phrase see on §12.1. Here it should mean that the Ionians weighed anchor and sailed out one after the other to line up opposite the Persians. Whether they in fact did it so neatly is another matter. They would face the Persians in line abreast: see Appx 2 para 12. It is likely that the line up was in the order given in §8: cf on ἐτάσσοντο, §8.1. Of course, ἐπὶ κέρας would also fit any ships which never joined the line but sailed away before or as the fighting began.

It is unclear whether the two lines were north or south of Lade, though the Greeks would be nearer to it. If to the north (and, as noted on ἐτάσσοντο, §8.1, more ships were likely to be moored on the north side), the Greeks would be facing Samos and Mycale. That is assumed in the map in Müller (1997) 549, and is consistent with the Persians mostly arriving from the bay of Myus. The Persians

would probably choose it because it prevented their ships being trapped between the south of Lade and the mainland. That afterwards the disabled Chian ships were able to reach Mycale suggests that the battle had ranged well north of Lade. In favour of the south, it would make it easier for the various contingents to desert: they would not have to sail past the end of the Persian line.

We should probably not imagine a single line of ships facing each other; more likely there would be a double row. They would need a substantial distance between each ship to avoid fouling the oars of its neighbours: Shaw (1993) 104 argues for at least a ship's length (35 m: Appx 2 n. 21) between hulls. No doubt the more experienced Persians set the standard. The trireme replica has a beam of 5.45 m (Appx 2 para 6); with oars, whose length is known, in their working position it is 11 m wide (Morrison *et al* (2000) 103, 272). While the Persians' Phoenician triremes, and those which the Ionians had taken at Myus, were probably wider (Appx 2 para 5), given the realities of shipbuilding this could be by no more than a metre. If we reduce Shaw's ideal to just 15 m between the oars of one ship and the next, a single line of only 300 ships would stretch for some 8 km. Müller's map, supra, offers a line which scales to 5.25 km; this is consistent with a double line of ships some 25–35 m apart; a shorter line would ease problems of signalling and communication (noted at Artemisium, 8.11.1).

οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως συγγράψαι Herodotus often gives few details of battles: Immerwahr (1966) 68–9, 71–2, 239–241; for Lade, 246–8. He uses virtually the same phrase for Salamis, 8.87.1, for which see, e.g. H&W II 378. While in general that may reflect what his sources could tell him, as well as the dichotomy between what interests us and what he thought worth mentioning, here he had the diplomatic problem of melding accounts from both deserters and stayers: introductory note. On one point he is clear: everyone blamed somebody else: ἀλλήλους γὰρ καταιτιῶνται.

14.2 λέγονται While Herodotus commonly uses λέγεται to report but not vouch for his information (p. 23), he has made it clear in §13 that the Samian generals had already decided to desert, so here the word is perhaps part of his diplomacy (cf previous note).

ἀειράμενοι (ἀράμενοι Legrand, with no difference in meaning). In the later fifth century, it was customary to leave masts and sails on

shore before a battle (e.g. Thuc 7.24.2; Xen *Hell* 2.1.29, 6.2.27, where the point is explicit; generally Morrison *et al* (2000) 43, 86; Shaw (1993) 18 (Morrison)). It cleared the centre gangway, so giving the keleustes a clear run up and down for giving orders, and also reduced weight. But given the Greeks' limited experience of fighting with triremes at the time of Lade (Appx 2 para 11), we cannot be sure whether this was already the practice. Thus many ships, not just those who intended to defect, may have had their sails on board. Herodotus does not say if the sails were left on shore at Artemisium or Salamis; the anecdote about Adeimantus at Salamis, 8.94, is ambiguous. He intended to desert and had his sails on board; but the other Corinthian ships had intended to fight, and only decided to go when they saw their admiral deserting; prima facie this suggests that they would have fought with the sails still on their ships.

14.3 στήλῃ This would be seen by Herodotus when living on Samos; perhaps erected at the initiative of some of the men's families, or of a "patriotic" party; perhaps, as suggested by S. West (1985) 283, by those responsible for the desertion who later became embarrassed by it and sought to stress the patriotism of those who had stayed to fight. There could be no more public location than the agora

πατρόθεν Patronymics specifically identify the man in question; on such a stele, they also denote that each has brought honour to his family as well as himself. Similar inscriptions have been found: Rood (1998) with nn. 23–25, though the Athenian and Argive mid fifth century casualty lists (ML 33, 35, 48) do not have patronymics.

Λέσβιοι As noted on συλλέξαντες, §9.2, it is unclear if the Persians had a man to send to the Lesbians to invite them to surrender. The text implies that they simply decided to desert on the spur of the moment (from "pure surprise and fear", Lateiner (1982a) 159). It did not save them from reprisals: §31. It is equally unclear if the contingents from the smaller poleis who deserted did so because of the pressures of their ex-tyrants' messages or out of fear and a belief that they could not win.

οἱ πλεῦνες "The majority" (Powell sv πλέων II). The point is repeated in different words in §15.2 (πολλοὺς τῶν συμμάχων . . . ὀλίγων συμμάχων). As with οὐκ . . . ἀτρεκέως, §14.1, here too diplomacy prevents

him saying who deserted and who stayed. Herodotus may have meant that more contingents left than stayed; it is feasible that more than 50% of the ships remained. Using his figures, there were 100 from Chios, 11 from Samos, and 3 from Phocaea. It is a fair inference that the 80 from Miletus stayed: the battle was just outside their city. If so, that is at least 194 ships, which is 55% of 353. If we round down the large numbers (cf on Μιλήσιοι, §8.1), the percentage is similar. If the Milesians also mostly left, those who remained would be seriously outnumbered, which could be read into ὀλίγων συμμάχων; but, while an argument *ab silentio*, if they did desert it might have been mentioned, e.g. when Miletus fell, §18.

15.1 τῶν δὲ παραμεινάντων See previous note. §§15 and 16.1 clearly has substantial Chian input (cf on οὐκ ἔχω, §14.1). The language is full of expressions stressing their bravery: περιέφθησαν τρηχύτατα, ἔργα λαμπρά, οὐκ ἐθελοκακέοντες (a favourite word of Herodotus, not found again until Polybius); in §15.2, not like the προδίδοντας . . . τοῖς κακοῖσι; they persevered, as shown by the continuous present participle and imperfect of διεκπλέοντες ἐναυμάχεον. Despite their ultimate defeat they were able to capture many of the enemy (ἑλόντες . . . συχνάς). The verb περιέπω, to handle or treat, is also common in Herodotus (see Powell sv; very often with τρηχέως, so §44.2) and found in Xenophon, but otherwise late; the passive is rare outside Herodotus.

λογάδας "Picked men". Herodotus has mentioned soldiers (ἐπιβάτας) generally at §12.1, but specifically names Chios. Given its population, she would be stretched to man Herodotus' "100" triremes with 40 soldiers on each one, but could do it if we round down that number (cf on Μιλήσιοι, §8.1), and assume that not every last one had soldiers. Mentioning that the solders were ἀστοί perhaps stresses that they were not mercenaries (nor, perhaps, slaves). The ability to carry up to 40 men is good evidence that the triremes were Persian ones captured at Myus: Appx 2 para 6.

15.2 πολλοὺς τῶν συμμάχων . . . ὀλίγων συμμάχων This takes up οἱ πλεῦνες, §14.3: see *ad loc.* For the language stressing the Chians' bravery, see on §15.1. For the Ionians' "alliance" see on συμμαχικοῦ, §9.3.

διεκπλέοντες ἐναυμάχεον Herodotus' account of the battle is compressed, but coupled with the mention of soldiers in §15.1, it is reasonable to infer that the sources recalled two things: shooting at the enemy, and using their ships to ram enemy ships. The Chians were perhaps saying: not only did we stay, but we learnt and used what Dionysius had taught us. In turn, by reporting this, Herodotus might be implying that Dionysius was right; if only the Ionians had been more resolute, they could have won (cf on δρηπέτῃσι, §11).

16.1 ἀδύνατοι . . . ὑπὸ τραυμάτων It seems clear that τραυμάτων here means damage to the ships, not injuries to men who rowed them.

καταφυγγάνουσι . . . Μυκάλην The nearest part of the then south coast of Mycale from Lade was about 7–8 km (map 2). But as the battle cannot have been static, and these Chian ships are described as disabled, it suggests that the fighting had spread over a considerable area north of Lade. φυγγάνω and compounds, only here in Herodotus, are uncommon in classical literature outside Hippocrates (Aesch *PV* 513, 525; Soph *El* 131; Aesch *Ctes* 3.208; Dem 23.74); the a MSS read καταφεύγουσι.

ἐποκείλαντες (ἐπ-)οκέλλω (ἐξοκέλλω at 7.182.1) is the technical term for beaching a ship to abandon it (Morrison and Williams (1968) 135 with n. 68): the compound is only in other classical writers at Thuc 8.102.3 and Arist *Mir Aus* 844a30; then from Polybius on. The trireme was a heavy ship, c22 tonnes unladen (see on ἐπιβάτας, §12.1): cf Harrison (1999) (beaching at 170); but all the Chians would need to do here was to row them onto the shore.

16.2 Ἐφεσίην "Ephesian territory"; cf Μιλησίην, §9.1. It is not clear how far south it extended. North-east of the Panionion was the Batinetis. Its uplands were divided between Samos and Priene, not always amicably (Appx 11 sec 1, esp notes 7–8); it is probable that the part nearer the coast was largely Samos'. Ephesian territory would begin north of that, except for that which belonged to Pygela. The nearest city to where the Chians landed was Priene, but they would be unwilling to go there if the Persians were using the area. For instance, there may have been a Persian camp between them and Priene, e.g. on the plain near Naulochos (modern Atburgaz),

where the Persians did camp in 479 (9.97; photograph, Müller (1997) 614). Ephesus would seem safer, though about 50 km away; it was also nearer home. They first needed to cross Mycale (map 2; more detailed map, Müller (1997) 607, with photographs illustrating its height and terrain, 608–9, 612, 614), but there was a pass close to where they beached their ships, from modern Doğanbey (photographs, Müller 632–3). They are described as arriving at Ephesus late at night. While κομιζόμενοι might suggest continuous travelling, they would be weary after the sea-fight, and perhaps a rowing spurt to escape the pursuing enemy, and then the land journey; some may have been wounded. They would make only slow progress over the higher ground. While it is possible that they got ashore early enough in the day to arrive at Ephesus later the same night, they could well have taken two days.

ἐσέβαλον The whole account reads as from Ephesian sources, seeking to exculpate themselves: ἐσέβαλον twice, "invade", στρατόν, κλῶπας, and the references to night and women. Ephesus, probably lukewarm to the revolt, had almost certainly come to terms with the Persians in spring 498: p. 61. They must have heard that the opposing fleets were assembling, though if the battle had only taken place that morning (see previous note), news of it might not yet have reached them. If the Chians had been foraging for food en route, news of that might have reached the city before they did; alternatively, they could have arrived desperately hungry and tried to take food from the festivities. But even allowing for the night and the women, and the possibility that the Ephesians had genuinely not heard about the battle, it still reads like an ex post facto excuse for Greeks killing Greeks. The Ephesians do not offer the excuse that they thought that the κλῶπας were Persians or Phoenicians. See also infra on ἔκτεινον.

Θεσμοφορίων If we knew when the Thesmophoria was celebrated at Ephesus it would fix the date of Lade and help on the chronology of the revolt. It was widely celebrated in the Greek world: Farnell III (1907) lists some 32 places in notes 76–107 to Chap II. It was a women's festival to ensure fertility for crops and themselves (*ibid* 91); the sanctuaries were often outside the city, as at Paros (see on αἰχμάλωτον, §134.1; generally Burkert (1985) 242 with note 3, whose list overlooks Ephesus); the temple on Aegina, §91, may not have

been where the festival was celebrated. For the festival generally see Burkert 242–6; Farnell 75–81; Parke (1977) 82–8; Parker (1996) 81–3, stressing the separation of the sexes; cf on εἴτε, §134.2. We know the dates for Attica, where it was celebrated just before the autumn sowing, on 11th–13th Pyanopsion (the fourth month, October-November); and Delos, where it was celebrated in the second month, Metageitnion, and so August-September (*IG* XI 2.203; Samuel (1972) 99). The month Thesmophorios is recorded in three *poleis*, and in two it is in the autumn: Rhodes, where it was the fourth month, and Lato, Crete, where it was the fifth; for Scepsis we only have the name (Samuel (1972) 108–9, 132, 134–5). There are two possible exceptions. Xen *Hell* 5.2.29 speaks of an incident at Thebes at the time of the festival "θέρους δὲ ὄντος"; but Xenophon does not use φθινόπωρον, so he might have meant late summer or early autumn on our terms (the accounts of the incident in Plut *Ages* 23–4 and *Pelop* 5 do not indicate the time of year). The incident at Acragas in Polyaen *Strat* 5.1 took place at the Thesmophoria; one might argue from the context that it was earlier rather than later in the year. On balance, we may infer that it was an autumn festival at Ephesus (and generally) because (a) of its very nature, an agrarian festival for the fertility of the crops about to be sown; (b) where we have evidence, it was in the autumn months; (c) it was unlikely to be in spring, because Ionia shared the month and spring festival of Anthesteria with Athens. In all the circumstances, it is a reasonable inference that Lade and the Ephesian Thesmophoria were in the second month, August-September, as proposed in Appx 1 para 9: it is consistent with the timing for the movement of the Persian forces and the period between their arrival and Lade, and later in the year is unlikely; it is also consistent with the evidence from Delos. If we only had to consider the festival, we could not rule out the fourth month, especially as it was not needed at Ephesus for the Apatouria (1.147.2), celebrated at Athens and elsewhere in Ionia later in Pyanopsion (Mikalson (1975) 79; cf Burkert 237, 255). Either view leaves the third month for the festival of Eleusinian Demeter. At Ephesus, the family of her Codrid founder traditionally provided the basileus (p. 50 n. 173), and from the Codrid connection we could infer that she followed Athens, where it was in Boedromion.

ἐξεβοήθεον . . . ἔκτεινον In Herodotus, as in Thucydides, the imperfect of βοηθέω and compounds usually connotes men arriving over

a period, however short, not together: so §§23.3, §77.1, 102, 108.4, 116. The aorist, as at 3.146.4, 7.165, 9.23.2 (where contrast the imperfect at 9.23.1) refers to a fleet or a commander or body of men arriving together. So Thuc: 1.74.2 (imperfect), 1.73.3 (aorist), etc. The imperfect ἔκτεινον, "started killing", perhaps reflects a tradition which left open the implication that when the Ephesians found out who the men were, they stopped, and some Chians survived.

17 ἕλων τρεῖς What were Herodotus' source(s) for this anecdote: perhaps he picked it up in Thurii rather than Ionia; we can hear the sources talking in εὖ εἰδώς etc, his assumption as to the future of Phocaea, and ὡς εἶχε, "just as he was". Dionysius' original ships may have been of Phoenician design from Myus, or later ones built to the same design (cf on Μιλήσιοι, §8.1); perhaps they had been damaged, and he seized three good ones. In any case, he would want to sail into Phoenician waters with minimal risk of challenge.

γαύλους "buckets" (§119.3); the usual word for Phoenician merchantmen, 3.136.1, 137.4, 8.97.1: perhaps a nickname. Given the realities of shipbuilding and seaworthiness, they are unlikely to have been significantly different in size to Greek sailing ships used in trade, the στρογγυλὴ ναῦς of 1.163.2, Thuc 2.97.1. We have one or two illustrations of the latter, e.g. Morrison and Williams (1968) Arch 85, and archaeological evidence. The Gela wreck, dating from c500 and arguably Greek, is 17.4 m × 6.4 m: Parker (1992) no 441, *AR* 42 (1995–6) 98. Those off the French coast, Parker nos 183, c540, and 106, c540–35, with cargoes of Etruscan and other amphorae appear to be of similar dimensions (the timbers do not survive); the nationality of the ships cannot be determined. The Cyrene wreck, Parker no 563, was smaller, 39' × 16½' (11.89 × 5 m). All were wider, at least in proportion to their length, than triremes and galleys generally, which were probably some 4–6 m wide: 5.45 m for an Athenian trireme (Appx 2 para 6); 4–5 m for a penteconter (4 m, Casson (1995) 55; Wallinga (1993) 48, noting Viking ships, proposes up to 5 m).

ληιστής For the quasi-respectability of this profession, when carried out by a man of high social status, see p. 72 with n. 234; cf Histiaeus at Byzantium, §5.3. Herodotus or his sources did not know where Dionysius based himself.

§§18–21 *The Persians successfully besiege Miletus, plunder the temple at Didyma, and deport the Milesians to the Persian Gulf. The Sybarites, friends of Miletus, do not react; at Athens, Phrynichus' tragedy based on the events is badly received and he is fined.*

Except for the Phrynichus anecdote, which is presumably Athenian, Herodotus will have learnt most of this as a youngster: see note to §§6–17.

18 ἔπειτε . . . ἐνίκων . . . πολιορκέοντες ἐκ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης Taking §§6 and 9.1 together, Herodotus has the army arriving in the vicinity of Miletus at the same time as the fleet. He now states that the siege did not begin until after Lade. This makes sense: the Persians would wait and see if they won at sea, and this persuaded the Greeks to surrender. Also, the city was built on a peninsula running north and south, and had four harbours; it was already mostly if not completely walled (the westernmost leg is uncertain, but the high ground associated with Kalabaktepe comes close to the coast there): Gorman (2001) 166–7, and map 5, p. 284; Greaves (2002) 86–7; 83 fig 3.5. An army could only block it on the landward side, the south; a sea blockade was essential for a successful siege. That could only be implemented after defeating the Greek fleet. It probably began in autumn 495 and ended in summer 494, though some argue for a short siege in the latter part of 494: Appx 1 paras 8–14. For possible refugees at this stage see on μοῦνοι, §22.2.

ὑπορύσσοντες τὰ τείχεα καὶ παντοίας μηχανάς The Persians already had considerable experience of sieges, including the assimilation of Assyrian and Babylonian experience (Kern (1999) 43–58, including drawings of Assyrian siege machines; for Persian sieges, 58–61). Even so, they are said to have needed 20 months to reduce Babylon, using μηχαναί: 3.152, and had been unsuccessful at Naxos (5.34, p. 53). But they had recently successfully besieged several cities in Cyprus (5.115); at Paphos archaeology has recovered their ramp and Paphian attempts to destroy it (Tozzi (1978) 76; Kern 60–1), though Soli took 4 months, despite mining the walls, 5.115.2. A ramp was used by Harpagos against at least Phocaea in the aftermath of Cyrus' conquest of Lydia, 1.162. Sapping required several skills: structures to protect the diggers from missiles from the walls above, replacing the excavated earth with props, and then firing them, so as to make

a section of wall collapse but without bringing it down on the sappers themselves (Kern 17, 51). Siege machinery at this date comprised basically towers, from which archers and slingers might fire, and battering rams, often used from ramps; again, one of the necessary skills was to provide a structure, wattle shields for example, to protect the men from hostile fire, when both building the ramp and operating the machine (Kern, esp 51, 53). Their ability to harness their considerable resources and skills did not rule out the possibility of surrender by treachery (as at Eretria, §101) or starvation. For the more limited Greek experience of siegecraft at this period see Appx 15 n. 8.

κατ' ἄκρης To capture the city "citadel and all"; possibly a standard expression: Herodotus puts it into Cleomenes' mouth at §82.2. It is perhaps too subtle to see a dig at the Ionians who had failed to take the citadel at Sardis, 5.100. Archaeology shows how extensive was the destruction of 494: Greaves (2002) 82–6; Gorman (2001) 143–5; 196–206.

ἕκτῳ ἔτεϊ 494: Appx 1 para 1: cf supra on ἔπειτε.

γενομένῳ Herodotus regularly uses γίνομαι for the recipient of an oracle (Powell sv I 6); but here, he means that it referred to Miletus, not that she was the consultant. Cf next note.

19.1 χρεωμένοισι γὰρ 'Αργείοισι . . . παρενθήκην So far as Herodotus was concerned, this was a genuine oracle given on a consultation by Argos, and he notes without comment the addition of an appendix to a non-consulting party, though an appendix is unique in surviving oracles. At 1.186.1 and 7.5.2 παρενθήκη means "addition"; at 7.171.1 he uses it for one of his own digressions; it does not occur again until Pausanias and Plutarch. The problems of the oracle are discussed in Appx 6. No solution is completely satisfactory, but that proposed here is that Argos did consult, either when she heard of Cleomenes' intended attack, or, more probably, because Aristagoras, en route to Athens from Sparta, asked her also for troops for Ionia; and the whole response is authentic, a warning not to help him.

19.2 τὸ μέν νυν . . . μνησθήσομαι At §77.2; as pointed out in Appx 6 para 2, it is a matter of style and not substance that Herodotus

splits the oracle into two. Herodotus regularly cross-references his work: §39.1 to §103 and, e.g., 2.38.2 to 3.28.2; cf Powell sv λόγος 4e. It supports the argument that he had an overall scheme in mind for his work (pp. 10–11), and also that he could manage the difficulties of handling numerous papyrus rolls; that he was also human is shown by three places where he promises a forward reference but does not give it (1.106.2, 1.184, 7.213.3), unless there were sections that he wrote which we have lost (cf Powell (1939) 18)).

καὶ τότε δή . . . This phrase could not begin an oracle; thus if these four lines are not the appendix which Herodotus says, they must have originally have followed some other text: see Appx 6 para 5. They clearly say that Miletus will be defeated (hence Argos should not get involved there: cf on §19.1). Behind it, we may detect two related aspects of Delphic policy. One, as discussed by Parke and Wormell (1956) I 141, 160–78, especially 160–1, is that Delphi disapproved of the Ionian revolt, in line with a consistent policy from the time of Cyrus' defeat of Croesus of advising against resisting the Persians. This is most clearly seen in the oracles given out in 480–479 (*ib* 165–78: Hdt 7.140, 148, 163, 169, 178, 200); the only earlier one we have, apart from here, is that to Cnidos in the 540s, 1.174.4. The policy was probably pragmatic rather than pro-Persian: Delphi knew of the immense resources which the king had, and foresaw that the revolt which Miletus had started would fail, probably with bad consequences for the Ionians. The Persians apparently took note of this policy, and did not burn Delphi in 480 as they did many other Greek temples (see on §96). The second strand is that Delphi probably realised that the king had ambitions to expand his empire westwards (cf note to §§42–5), and wanted to discourage mainlanders from doing anything which might give him an excuse to implement that.

Like the Argive part, §77.2, it is full of Homeric words and echoes of Homeric phrases, e.g. κακῶν ἐπιμήχανε ἔργων (ἐπιμήχανε is a hapax, though ἐπιμηχανάομαι is in Herodotus, Xen *Cyr* 8.8.16 and common later): see Piérart (2003) 287, and Appx 6 nn. 3–4. By "evil deeds" Delphi could be saying that Miletus had involved two states in mainland Greece; but when the oracle can be seen to have been fulfilled, it could also be understood as the punishment she will receive for revolting. However, deeper meanings have been sought. Immerwahr (1966) 236 with n. 139 says that by imputing moral

defects, Delphi can justify Miletus' destruction and the subjection of Greeks to Persians; but Greeks in Asia were already subjected. Bury (1902) suggested that the "evil deeds" were the possibility that Miletus would accede to Hecataeus' suggestion of using Didyma's (and so Apollo's) treasury to pay for the resistance to Persia (5.36.3: though Hecataeus had limited his advice to the treasure deposited by Croesus, p. 53). Other "evil deeds" may be discounted: we have no evidence of a reputation for Miletus being dishonest in her trading (cf on §21.1); Delphi could not disapprove of whatever changes in government had followed Aristagoras' removal of the tyrants. It ought not to refer to Miletus consulting Didyma, not Delphi; there is no evidence of Delphic hostility to other oracles of Apollo (Parke and Wormell (1956) I 367–9)

Persians could be described as long-haired, κομήταις; so Aeschylus' epitaph in his Life, Schol Aesch *PV* (in OCT), referred to in Appx 17 A1; vv 3–4 also Athen 14.627a:

Αἰσχύλον Εὐφορίωνος Ἀθηναῖον τόδε κεύθει
  μνῆμα καταφθίμενον πυραφόροιο πέλας·
ἀλκὴν δ' εὐδόκιμον Μαραθώνιον ἄλσος ἂν εἴποι,
  καὶ βαθυχαιτήεις Μῆδος ἐπιστάμενος

For the name Didyma see on ἱρόν, §19.3. By νηοῦ ἡμετέρου Delphi makes a claim to be senior, not to other Apollo cults, but to other Apollo oracles, of which several were in Asia Minor: Parke (1985a); Gryneia is noted at p. 43. Although Didyma diverted considerable wealth from Delphi (cf on §19.3) and in that sense was a competitor, ἄλλοισι μελήσει suggests that Delphi did not want Didyma destroyed, and probably did not foresee it.

19.3 ἄνδρες . . . οἱ πλέονες ἐκτείνοντο The Persians perhaps singled out Miletus for more punishment that other Ionian cities, §§31–32: she had not only started the revolt, but also broken the trust of their special relationship, going back to her prompt acceptance of Cyrus' rule after the conquest of Lydia (p. 46). In his list of punishments, Herodotus does not mention burning the polis (as he does with the rest of Ionia, §32), though that is well established by archaeology (see on κατ' ἄκρης, §18). In the Behistun inscription Darius refers to the rebel leader Nidintu-Bel deceiving the people, *DB* I 79–80, and he only punishes the leaders and their "foremost followers" (p. 65 n. 215), not the people. After recovering Media from the rebel

Gaumata, he described at length restoring the land and their property to the people: *DB* I 61–70. The evidence of Miletus, Ionia (§§31–2) and Eretria (§103.3), as well as Babylon, 3.159, suggests a different picture. Also, with Aristagoras dead and Histiaeus not yet caught, there was no leader to crucify, and the Persians would want to demonstrate their power, over people as well as land. But they had a practical interest in not inflicting total devastation on defeated subjects; they required stability to ensure that the land continued to be cultivated and trade resumed, if only so that tribute could continue to be paid: (Starr 1975) 82; cf *DB* I 61–71 supra; Xen *Cyr* 3.2.12–24, 4.4.5–12, 5.4.24–5, 7.5.36); we see it in action next year with Artaphrenes, §42 (cf on §42.2 and Appx 11 sec 2). Also, agriculture figured prominently in Zoroastrianism: *CHI* 662–3 (Schwarz).

Despite οἱ πλέονες, most of the population was not eliminated. Miletus had an extensive χώρα (cf on τὰ περὶ τὴν πόλιν, §20), and a total population in the region of 50,000 to 60,000 (see on Μιλήσιοι, §8.1). Of these, up to 20,000 would live in the city. It covered c110 ha (270 acre: Gorman (2001) 167). At 125 people per ha (50 per acre), as proposed for Argos by Tomlinson (1972) 18, this would be 13,750; Greaves (2002) 103 suggests up to 20,000, based on 4,000 houses and 5 per household. Hoepfner and Schwander (1986) 12 offer 15–20,000 for the reconstructed city. Even discounting a few city dwellers who had emigrated to Sicily, §22, and those who would probably have been able to escape into the countryside, the logistics of killing and enslaving even 10,000 city dwellers would be formidable. It is argued that the reconstruction of the city only began after 479, because no sherds dateable to 494–479 have been found (Gorman (2001) 146; Greaves (2002) 132–3). But it is not hard to envisage survivors building temporary shacks on the ruins. Further, the inscription cited p. 63 n. 209 shows that her leading families continued to supply the head priest for the cult of Apollo Delphinios, further noted on ἱρόν, infra, though Gorman (2001) 114 queries whether the cult was in abeyance immediately after 494. Life must have continued in the countryside; only 15 years later, Milesians were conscripted into the Persian forces at Mycale (479: 9.99.3, 104), in the event turning on the retreating Persians and helping to kill them. A generation later, Miletus paid 5 talents to the Delian league, second in Ionia only to Ephesus (6 talents). It is doubtful if the economic prosperity of Ionia as a whole was less in the fifth as compared to the sixth century. Cook (1961b) argued that it was, and that this

was due to loss of land to the Persians. But this paints too gloomy a picture; at the least what evidence we have for economic activity in Ionia, including the levels of tribute to the Delian league, does not suggest that it differed from elsewhere in the Greek world: Ste Croix *OPW* 312–13; Meiggs *AE* 263–71; Osborne (1999); cf on §32. At this date, the killing of prisoners would be seen as barbarian, not Greek practice. DS 12.10.1 records it at the destruction of Sybaris (§21.1); it is next known for the Athenian crew killed at Histiaea in 446, per Plut *Per* 23.4; only thereafter does it become common: Pritchett *GSW* V 205–223 (list, 218–19).

ἀνδραπόδων λόγῳ As noted supra, there is a question as to how many persons were involved. The use of λόγῳ, reckoned or treated as slaves, might suggest that they were not immediately sold into slavery (for the usage cf 3.125.3; §23.6; 7.222; Powell sv 5f), but could be ransomed by their families; Pritchett *GSW* V separately lists enslavement, 223–245, and ransoming, 245–283, 284–290. Ransoming, incidentally, would make good some of the arrears of tribute from 499.

ἱρὸν δὲ τὸ ἐν Διδύμοισι Only here does Herodotus call it Didyma: elsewhere it is (αἱ) Βραγχίδαι (e.g. when Hecataeus suggested using her treasury, noted on καὶ τότε, §19.2). Elsewhere we find both, e.g. Strabo 14.1.5 (τὸ μαντεῖον τοῦ Διδυμέως Ἀπόλλωνος τὸ ἐν Βραγχίδαις), 17.1.43; Paus 1.16.3 etc (Branchidae); 2.10.5 etc (Didyma). The priests at Didyma were called (οἱ) Βραγχίδαι at Hdt 1.158.1 (cf DS 17 Proem); they were drawn from a clan or family who came to claim descent from one Branchos, and had hereditary control of the priesthood. Either they took their name from the locality (Fontenrose (1988a) 3 n. 2; cf Ehrhardt (1998) 16); or they were powerful enough to give their name to it (Parke (1985b) 59–60; Hammond (1998) 339). Both Didyma and Branchos suggest a Carian name: Fontenrose 3–4; Greaves (2002) 110. It was a very old oracle, consulted from the early seventh century by Aeolians and Ionians and Carians, as well as Croesus, 1.46, 92, and Neco king of Egypt, 2.159: see Fontenrose 9, 104–5; R1–3, 179–81; R34–40, 210–15; Greaves 124–7. For Miletus specifically see Appx 6 para 6. Within the sacred precinct, Herodotus has both a temple, νηὸς, and a building to do with the oracle, χρηστήριον. Only the temple is known from excavation; it dates from the mid sixth century, replacing an earlier mud brick building (Greaves 111–13; cf Fontenrose 8–11, 31–4). Prima

facie we would assume that this was where the consultation took place, though we know nothing about the mechanics of it (Greaves 115–16; Fontenrose 77–8). The χρηστήριον may have been of mud brick or wood; perhaps an office for archives and/or issuing written texts of responses, the predecessor of the *chresmographeion* known from second century inscriptions (*DI* 31.5–7, 32.7–9), which itself was perhaps the same as the *manteion* noted by Strabo 14.1.5 (Fontenrose 31, 43, 78–80).

It is often said that Miletus controlled Didyma, and Didyma, in turn, supported Milesian policy, e.g. Fontenrose 210, Morgan (1990b) 18, 24; but Parke (1985a) 18–21, cf (1985b) 60–1, argued on rather slender evidence that she functioned independently of Miletus and indeed disapproved of the revolt. See also Greaves 117–24. Apollo was the city god of Miletus; there was a Sacred Way 16.4 km long, at least partly paved, which ran from Miletus to the harbour at Panormos and then on to Didyma, a walk of some 5 hours (map 2; Greaves 11, 117, 118 fig 3.15; Fontenrose 28–9 and his map 2). We have detailed prescriptions for an annual ceremony for the inauguration of the new *aisymnetes* of the *Molpoi*, involving a procession from Miletus to Didyma, *IMilet* I 3.133 (mid fifth century, but reflecting a ritual antedating 494). The *aisymnetes*, later called *stephanephoros*, was the head of the cult of Apollo Delphinios in Miletus itself, and also her eponymous archon; often a member of Aristagoras' family (p. 63 n. 209). The *Molpoi* were a guild of singers in Miletus associated with that cult. See the full discussion in Gorman (2001) 94–9, 168–72, 176–86. At the least there was a close connection between some aspects of Milesian public life and the oracle.

For the Persian attitude to punishing the gods of peoples who revolted, see on ἐνεπίμπρασαν, §32; the fact that Apollo was respected on other occasions, e.g. at §97 (see on οἱ δύο, §97.2), or Delphi in 480 (cf on καὶ τότε, §19.2) is neither here nor there. In any case, there was the opportunity to seize its treasure (συληθέντα, and cf Croesus' gifts, 1.92.2, noted on πολλάκις, infra). Here, the Persians could assert that Miletus would not have revolted if Didyma had not let her (whatever the reality), as well, perhaps, as revenge for the burnt temple at Sardis (see on οὔτε, §9.3). There is some confirmation of the looting: a huge inscribed astragalos or knucklebone of bronze from there was found at Susa (Greaves (2002) 35, noting its weight, 93.7 kg, 132; Fontenrose 12 n. 17); and in c300, Seleucus I returned a bronze statue of Apollo to Didyma from

Ecbatana, though our source, Paus 1.16.3 = 8.46.3, attributes its removal to Xerxes (infra). That it was by Kanachos of Sicyon, referred to Paus 2.10.5, cf 9.10.2, is assumed by Greaves 115 and Fontenrose 11, 116 n. 16. Despite the destruction and looting, worship of Apollo continued at Didyma, as evidenced by *IMilet* I 3.133 cited supra: Greaves 115, Fontenrose 14; Morgan 28. But the oracle itself ceased to function for some 160 years, and we hear no more of the priestly clan, the Branchidae, except in connection with the Alexander story (infra); Morgan thinks that the Molpoi replaced them. Alexander restored the oracle between 334 and 331: it is recorded as issuing oracles confirming his descent from Zeus: see Parke 62–3; Fontenrose 181, R4); and we have good evidence from inscriptions for priests and other officials under the new régime (Fontenrose 46–62; Greaves 134–6).

Later sources said that Didyma was sacked by Xerxes. The story was that in the course of his march across Sogdiana in 329, Alexander sacked a city inhabited by the descendants of the Branchidae, settled there by Xerxes, and killed them all, because the Branchidae had betrayed the temple to Xerxes, who then burnt and looted it: Strabo 11.11.4, 14.1.5 and 17.1.43 (the latter = Callisthenes *FGrH* 124 F14a); Plut *De Sera Num* 557b; DS 17 *Proem* 20; Q Curt 7.5.28–35; Ael fr 54 Hersch; Suda sv Βραγχίδαι; Paus 1.16.3, supra. It is not in Plut *Alex* or Arrian. Modern Alexander historians both accept (e.g. Bosworth (1988) 108–9; Parke (1985b)) and reject it (Lane Fox (1973) 533 is cautious); Fontenrose 12–13 has a useful bibliography. At this stage, Alexander was sacking various native settlements: Lane Fox 300–1, 302–3. One view is that the story originated in Callisthenes, to justify Alexander sacking a place whose inhabitants claimed Greek descent by ascribing to their ancestors a betrayal of the Greek cause to Xerxes, since Alexander's campaign was presented as revenge for Xerxes' attack on Greece (Fontenrose 12; Parke 62–6). Another is that an account, true or false, of betrayal to and sacking by the Persians later became personalised, by assumption or error, as by Xerxes; so it was Xerxes who was said to have stolen the statue of Apollo, supra. Strabo 14.1.5 is wrong on the face of it: he says that Xerxes burnt this temple and all the others except Ephesus, perhaps from a source which noted that Ephesus had opted out of the revolt early on, p. 61, and attributed to Xerxes what Darius' generals did. Whatever Alexander did in Sogdiana, we should prefer Herodotus for Didyma. Firstly, he was far nearer to the event than Callisthenes

or a later writer. Secondly, Didyma would be a detour on Xerxes' route (for a detachment of his army—we do not have to imagine the king himself going there), which led from Sardis to Abydos (7.26, 32–3; 8.117, 9.108). Herodotus' detailed account of Xerxes' expedition does not hint at any such diversion. That leaves the question, what happened to the Branchidae in 494? Fontenrose 12 proposes that they had been killed at the end of the siege, or included in the deportees (infra), or simply scattered and lost their identity as members of the priestly family; Parke 61, 64, argues that they were resettled, not in Ampe but in Sogdiana, and their descendants massacred by Alexander.

πολλάκις He mentions gifts, as opposed to consultations, from Croesus, 1.92.2, 5.36.3 (Hecataeus' advice noted on καὶ τότε, §19.2), and Neco king of Egypt, 2.159.3.

20 οἱ ζωγρηθέντες As with those killed and enslaved, the recovery of Miletus suggests that numbers must have been modest (see on ἄνδρες and ἀνδραπόδων, §19.3); we can only guess whether the deportees included women and children, and whether they just came from the city or included some dispossessed from country areas. The Persians had experience of deportations (see on ἔλεγε, §3), but they were also practical, and would have regard to the logistics of moving such a group. If the evidence that 780 Eretrians were deported in 490 is reliable (see on σταθμῷ, §119.2), we could envisage perhaps up to 1,000 from Miletus now. The journey to Susa alone was c2700 km from Sardis; alternatively, they might have been taken by sea either to Cilicia, whence the overland journey via Arbela to Susa was c1700 km, or to the Levant, whence a road ran north-east to join the road from Tarsus to Arbela at Zeugma, a longer overland trek: see the maps noted in Appx 4 n. 3.

κακὸν οὐδέν Herodotus uses the same phrase of the captured Eretrians, §119.2 and also Metiochos, §41.4, and implies it for the resettled Barcaeans, 4.204. This benevolence may be regarded as practical: the Persians required them to settle down and cultivate the land, as they did with conquered peoples generally: cf on §19.3.

Ἐρυθρῇ καλεομένῃ θαλάσσῃ, ἐν Ἄμπῃ πόλι The Red Sea for Greeks meant the Indian Ocean, including the Persian Gulf; 22 times in

Herodotus alone, usually with καλεομένῃ added; so Aesch fr 192 Radt (Strabo 1.2.27), Ar *Eq* 1088, Arist *De Mundo* 393b4 (our Red Sea was the Ἀράβιος κόλπος, 8 times in Herodotus). Here it means just the Persian Gulf, as at 1.150 and 3.93. The site of Ampe is controversial (other references merely cite Herodotus, Herod *De Pros Cath* 3.1.338 and Steph Byz sv, who intriguingly adds that the ethnic is Ἀμπαῖος). The Euphrates and Tigris then flowed separately into the Persian Gulf: see Nearchos' report of the area in Arr *Ind* 41–2 and Strabo 15.3.5. The Tigris flowed into a lake at a point some distance north of the modern coast-line. Two other rivers giving access to Susa also flowed into it, the Eulaeus or Choaspes, and the Pasitigris. Both rivers and coastline have changed substantially: see Brunt, vol 2, Appx XXVI; for the care needed in using Arrian's distances Appx XXV paras 6–8. Müller (1997) 229 offers Ahvâz, now some 100 km from the sea, for Ampe; but even then it was some 30 km up the Pasitigris. Arrian *Ind* 42.5 mentions a village Aginis on the lake at the mouth of the Pasitigris. Although he does not hint that its inhabitants had Greek ancestors, it has been proposed as Ampe (*RE* svv, noting Pliny's Aple, *NH* 6.31.134, and the hazards of MS copying an unusual place name to explain the variant spellings; most recently by Briant (1996) 395, 782, 1055). Pliny 6.32.159 has "Ampelome, colonia Milesiorum", but all the other tribes and places in 6.32.157–9 which can be identified are in western Arabia and the Yemen (e.g. Athenae = Aden; see Directory to Barrington 4); either he erroneously moved Ampe some 1,500 km to the south-west, or he confused an Arabian town with Herodotus' Ampe. As a further complication, despite the mention here of the Tigris, and Arrian, some place Aginis/Ampe on the Euphrates, at Tell al-Lahm (e.g. Barrington 93, Directory, Unlocated Toponyms). The location, wherever it was, may be significant: *CHI* (J M Cook) 222 suggests that Darius deliberately relocated Ionians (and Carians) to this area to service his navy in the Persian gulf.

τὰ περὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸ πέδιον . . . τὰ δὲ ὑπεράκρια Miletus had an extensive χώρα: Greaves (2002) 1–4; Gorman (2001) 43–6; Hansen and Nielsen (2004) 1082–4. Apart from probable holdings on Mycale (e.g. the cult site at Thebai) and the Meander valley (Strabo 14.1.40), and adjacent islands, e.g. Leros, it extended from the city along the southern coast of the bay of Latmos, now lake Bafa, and then south

along Mt Grion, where it included Pedasa (infra), to Teichioussa (Thuc 8.26.3). To the north east it was bounded by the land of the Carian city of Heracleia and Mt Latmos. See map 2. It was some 400 km². The lower ground lay in the south and south east, and Greaves 97 concludes that Milesian agriculture was more important to her prosperity than wool (see on μάλιστα, §21.1, for Milesian wool) and pottery. Herodotus writes as if the whole area was distributed between Persians, probably newcomers rather than existing landowners who were given more land, and Pedasians. That may be too broad a brush: when Artaphrenes reassessed the tribute the following year, §42.2, the result was said to be much the same as before (Appx 11 sec 2); her recovery even by 479 has been noted on §19.3. If we wanted to find a distinction between the Persians εἶχον and the Pedasians ἐκτῆσθαι, we might think that in the cultivable areas, the Milesian owners were left undisturbed, but now had to pay rent to Persian landlords; whereas upland sheep-farmers in the Pedasa area lost their grazing rights.

Pedasa or Pidasa was c30 km south-east of Miletus, on the eastern slopes of Mt Grion, near the pass leading from lake Bafa to Iasos; it appears in the *ATL* as one of the contributories in the Carian district: Cook (1961a) 91–6, with map; Müller (1997) 368–73; Barrington 61. In c180 it became a sympolity with Miletus (*IMilet* I 3.180; the inhabitants are spelt Πιδασεῖς, perhaps reflecting a shift in the pronunciation of η to ι). It should not be confused with the Pedesa or Pedasos near Halicarnassus (1.175, 8.104; for the Pedasos of 5.121 see on αὐτίκα, §25.2). Apart from a citation of the passage, Eust *Od* 1.352 *ad* 9.400, ὑπεράκρια is a hapax (strictly "areas beyond the hills", but here the context suggests just "hill country"), and (unlike οἱ Πάραλοι/Παράλιοι) οἱ ὑπεράκριοι (1.59.3) is also rare (DH *AR* 1.13.3, Schol Dem 21.497; cf Ael *NA* 14.16).

21.1 τὴν ὁμοίην Herodotus uses this or a similar expression elsewhere: 4.119.3, §62.1, 2, 9.7a1, 78.3 (at 1.18.3 he uses the neuter τὸ ὅμοιον); Greek could use a feminine accusative adjective, leaving a suitable noun to be understood: παῖσαν διπλῆν, Soph *El* 1415; Aesch *Ag* 1345; the nominative ἡ ξηρά (sc γή) at Gen 1.9. Here, it is, e.g. χάριν (Macan), or δόσιν or δωτίνην (Abicht, citing §62.1). The story would appeal to Herodotus: each city suffers a change of fortune (Lateiner (1982b)).

Λᾶον . . . Σκίδρον Laos and Scydros were dependencies of Sybaris; Laos lay on the west coast of Italy, at the mouth of the river still called Lao (between modern Scalea and Cirella); Scydros was further north. It may well be that Herodotus' picture is too restrictive: having regard to the likely population of Sybaris and the small size of Laos and probably Scydros, some Sybarites may have emigrated to their colony Poseidonia, and others just down the coast to Sybaris on the Traeis (Dunbabin (1948) 365). See also next note, and Nenci *ad loc.*

Συβάριος . . . ἁλούσης ὑπὸ Κροτωνιητέων Sybaris and Croton had been founded in c720–700, when Greek colonies were being founded all over S Italy (Dunbabin (1948) 18–47). Recent excavation has questioned the accuracy of Strabo 6.1.12, 13, that they were Achaean colonies, Sybaris jointly with Troezen (*AR* 48 (2001–2) 137). They prospered greatly, and Sybaris became a by-word for wealth (so the stories about the Sybarite Smindyrides, §127.1; Ar *Vesp* 1259, 1427, 1438; fr 236 K-A; it generated the verb συβαρίζω). Both cities made convenient termini for ships from the eastern Mediterranean, and goods to or from the west coast of Italy could be moved overland, only some 50 km in the case of Sybaris (rather longer for Croton). It is no coincidence that Laos (supra) was at the other end of this land route. Despite the greater costs of land as opposed to sea transport, it saved both time and the hazards of the further voyage round the toe of Italy and through the straits of Messina (cf Dunbabin 24, 206); whether or not those hazards included positive obstruction from other traders, e.g. Chalcidians, as suggested by H&W *ad loc.* Also, perhaps uniquely amongst Greek states, Sybaris was on good terms with the Etruscans (Timaeus *FGrH* 566 F50 = Athen 12.519b). The present war, in 510 (Rutter (1973) 169), was one of a number of clashes between the Greeks in Italy in the second half of the sixth century, noted *HG* 200. Each city claimed to be in the right: 5.44–5; DS 12.9–10 describes the war, adding that Sybaris was plundered and laid waste, and, as noted on §19.3, that the prisoners were killed. See Dunbabin 362–5. Although Herodotus went to live there, probably when it was refounded as Thurii in 443, he does not mention this, nor earlier attempts at refounding. It fell outside the basic period of his *Histories* (cf p. 29 with n. 94); but Thurii was potentially controversial, partly because it was an important element in an attempt

by Pericles to promulgate a pan-Hellenic policy with Athens as the leader, and partly because it involved the expulsion of the Sybarites. The topic largely depends on unravelling DS 11.90 and 12.10: see Ehrenberg (1965) 298–301 (dates), 301–315 (Pericles); Rutter (1973) 174–5 (dates); Perlman (1976) 6–17, esp 13–16 (Pericles); from a numismatic perspective, Kraay (1976) 165–7 (including Laos); Jenkins (1990) 38–41. Hansen and Nielsen (2004) 297–8 usefully deal with the refoundings between 510 and 443.

ἀπεκείραντο τὰς κεφαλάς A normal mourning ritual: see on §58, including on ἐπεάν.

μάλιστα Miletus was a major trading city (see Gorman (2001) 47–59 cited at p. 41 n. 139; so Greaves (2002) 96–7), but much of it was in the Black Sea. However μάλιστα, coupled with the Timaeus passage cited supra, indicates significant trade with Sybaris. As Timaeus particularly mentions Milesian woollen cloaks, it is probable that wool products featured prominently (for their blankets cf Ar *Ran* 554, Critias 88 B2 DK, Eubulos fr 89 K-A). For τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν see p. 25.

ἐξεινώθησαν Traditionally, ξενία was an aristocratic network of connections which facilitated travel, including, no doubt, that of Herodotus himself (for it persisting in this sense cf Austin (1990)); it came to include the travel involved in trading, as the aristocrats turned to that (Appx 2 n. 3). The present passage, taken with §86α5 (see on τὰ σύμβολα) and 3.138.2, where Herodotus implies a similar situation between Cnidos and Tarentum, suggests that it was spreading down the social scale: cf Herman (1987) 34–5, 61–3. From another perspective, the aristocratic exchange of goods, where their deemed value may be perceived as a function of the donor's τιμή, has been superseded by the practicalities of trading. In a world without banker's drafts and hotels, ship's captains and merchants from the one city needed practical arrangements in the other for making payments and obtaining lodgings, perhaps also for men to act as port agents and arrange loads; a *xenia* relationship solved that. Mitchell (1997) 13 suggests that *xenia* involved more than hospitality, and the Milesians showed political support for the Sybarites. The Lemnian relative of the Sicyonian in Menander's *Synaristosae* (recoverable from Plaut

Cist 100) would be plausible to the audience as a girl born of a liaison during such a stopover. No doubt there were also those who provided lodgings for the crews. Gould (1989) 42–7, although not referring to this passage, argues that much of Herodotus' narrative is shaped by individuals or groups discharging their part of the reciprocal obligations in relationships such as *xenia* or kinship; so Herodotus was perhaps here suggesting that men with the obligations of *xenia* should behave as the Milesians had done. If so, he is being unfair to the Sybarites of 494. Their trading links with Miletus had ended, and they were largely living in exile. We are not told what alternative trading arrangements Miletus made after 510.

21.2 ὑπεραχθεσθέντες Others record the anecdote, without adding anything: Callisthenes *FGrH* 124 F30 = Strabo 14.1.7; Plut *Praec Ger* 814b; Long *Subl* 24; Aelian *VH* 13.17, etc.

Φρυνίχῳ . . . Μιλήτου ἅλωσιν No fragments survive; but in a play about the fall of Miletus, we might infer that the chorus were captive Milesian women, who sang of losing their freedom and being taken away into slavery, perhaps contrasting the freedom of mainland Hellenes (or Ionians, i.e. Athenians). There are four problems. (1) Who was Phrynichus (*TGrF* 3)? The Suda sv offers (a) the son of Polyphradmon or Minyros or Chorocles, a pupil of Thespis, the first to introduce female characters, who won in the 67th Olympiad (512/09); his output included "Dikaioi or Persae or Synthokoi"; and (b) son of Melanthos; fined 1000 drachmae for his "Capture of Miletus". It is often thought that the Suda's sources were confused, and "our" Phrynichus was (a) (e.g. Roisman (1988) 21; he has a good bibliography on Phrynichus). Roisman 20–23 reviews what we know of his output generally. (2) The note to *TGrF* 3 F4a-b suggests that Μιλήτου ἅλωσιν was the plot of Phrynichus' play, and its title was *Persae*; one argument is that the hypothesis to Aeschylus' *Persae* says that it was derived from Phrynichus' *Phoenissae*; if so, we need a different plot for the latter's *Persae*. That stretches Herodotus' language and is doubted by Roisman 21–2. (3) It seems clear that Herodotus believed that the play was performed shortly after the fall of Miletus. If so, the οἰκήια κακά could be remorse that they had not done more to help the Milesians after 498. This date seems preferable to a later one (infra); c493 is an obvious time for such a

play. Also, plays which dealt with actual events seem to have fallen out of favour quite early. To one or other Phrynichus are ascribed a *Phoenissae, Persae* and *Capture of Miletus*, and there is Aeschylus' *Persae*. There were perhaps two others. It is not agreed if a tragedy about Gyges can be securely dated to the first half fifth century or is hellenistic (Ehrenberg (1954) 17–18 cites the authorities for both views; Saïd (2002) 133–4 leaves the date open); Page (1962), who supports the early date, argued from an illustration on a mid fifth century hydria that there was a further tragedy about Croesus' downfall.

(4) There is also a question as to whether the fine is connected to Athenian relations with and perception of Persia between 510 and 490. The giving of earth and water by an Athenian delegation in c508, 5.73, had been controversial (Berthold (2002) 260–2, 266–7; cf on §48.2); Persia may have been perceived as unfriendly after Hippias went to live under their protection. But a member of Hippias' family, Hipparchos, had been archon in 496 (Develin (1989) 54). It is suggested that Themistocles, in particular, thought that Persia intended to invade Greece, and wanted the Athenians to believe that this was a serious threat. He had been archon in 493, and had proposed building walls from the city to the Piraeus; it is also argued that he had chosen this play for the same reason. This derives from Plut *Them* 5.5, which says that Themistocles was choregos for a Phrynichus play in 476, dateable from the archon's name. The argument assumes either that Plutarch was wrong in his date, or that Themistocles was choregos for Phrynichus more than once; and that he chose this play in 493 to make the Athenians aware of the dangers of Persian aggression (Roisman 15–16). It is now generally accepted that he was archon in 493 (Develin 55; despite suggestions, e.g. Bicknell (1970) 437 and *HCT* 1 261–2, that this was another Themistocles). Roisman 17–20, however, argues that the play was produced in or shortly after 479, because οἰκήια κακά elsewhere in Herodotus means one's own woes (1.45.2, 3.14.10, 7.152.2), and what made the Athenians weep was the recollection of the recent destruction of their own city in 480–79.

χιλίῃσι δραχμῇσι See on πεντήκοντα, §136.3 for expressing this in modern terms. For whether Ἀθηναῖοι means the assembly rather than a court, see on §104.2(b) and (c).

§§22–4 *A group of Samian aristocrats do not wait for their tyrant Aeaces to return, but accept an invitation from Zancle to emigrate to Cale Acte in Sicily, together with some Milesians. However, Scythes, ruler of Zancle, was absent campaigning; Anaxilas, tyrant of Rhegion, persuaded them to take control of Zancle itself. The Zancleans ask for help from Hippocrates, the ruler of Gela; but he confirms the Samian occupation of Zancle and arrests Scythes. The latter escapes to Persia, where he is well received.*

Herodotus probably learnt the core of this narrative as a teenager on Samos, perhaps from relatives of those who emigrated (cf on ἐκ τῶν στρατηγῶν, §22.1). He may, perhaps, have picked up further detail after settling in Thurii. In either case it is odd that he leaves the Samians at Zancle and does not mention their expulsion by Anaxilas (infra).

Some of the Sicilian politics which lie behind §§22–24 remain obscure. For the general political upheavals in Sicily at this time, see Dunbabin (1948) 378–81; for the specifics of this and related episodes, Dunbabin 384–97, Finley (1979) 45–50. The Samians seem to have found themselves unwittingly involved in two or three different power struggles: by Hippocrates of Gela to control Sicily, by him or Scythes to expand into Sicel territory, and by Anaxilas of Rhegion to control Zancle. Hippocrates, tyrant of Gela, came to control several other cities (7.154–5). This probably included Zancle. Scythes is called βασιλεύς and μούναρχος of Zancle, §§23.1, 24.1, and Hippocrates' σύμμαχος at §23.3; but Dunbabin 381, 384–5 offers strong arguments for his rule being subordinate to Hippocrates. At all events, Hippocrates and/or Scythes wanted to extend Greek influence into Sicel territory in the north of the island, and, aware of unsettled conditions in Ionia, saw that as a source of manpower. On the mainland opposite Anaxilas had recently become tyrant of Rhegion. His ambition was also to control Zancle; he saw a power vacuum while the Zancleans were away campaigning against the Sicels, and sought to advance his interests by getting the Samians settled there. Hippocrates intervened and kept Anaxilas at bay, but accepted the status quo by allowing the Samians to remain and removing Scythes from office. Samian control of Zancle is evidenced by a distinctive coinage depicting a galley and lion's scalp or head, with mint marks for 5 years: Robinson (1946); Jenkins (1990) 44; illustrated *ibid*, no 104, Morrison and Williams (1968) Arch 89, Vallet (1958) Plate XIX nos 1–2.

In c491, Hippocrates died, and in c489 Anaxilas was able to take over Zancle. He expelled the Samians (no source tells us where they went) and renamed it Messene, after his homeland, per Thuc 6.4.6. He is referred to as tyrant of both cities: 7.164, Thuc 6.4.5–6, DS 11.48.2; a new coinage for Messene now starts (Robinson 13, 19; Jenkins, *loc cit*). See also on §23.2. Hippocrates was succeeded by his commander Gelon, who soon became tyrant of Syracuse, handing Gela over to his brother Hieron. Cadmus, probably the son of our Scythes (see on §23.1), came to rule Zancle-Messene, but it is unclear, partly because of differing readings in the MSS at 7.164, whether this was with the assent of the Samians and before their expulsion, and he was deputy to Hippocrates (so Vallet (1958) 341–2); or between the death of Hippocrates and the arrival of Anaxilas; or later as deputy to Anaxilas. We hear of Cadmus being sent on a mission to Delphi in 480 by Gelon (7.164), but it is unclear whether he was still ruling Messene or had been ousted and had gone to Gelon at Syracuse. Hieron succeeded Gelon in 478 and gradually increased his control over Sicily; although Anaxilas was able to retain Zancle until his death in 476; but this was with the assent of Hieron, to whom he found it advisable to give his daughter as third wife. We cannot use the events of §§22–24 to help date Lade, or the siege of Miletus: see Appx 1 paras 11–12.

22.1 τοῖσί τι ἔχουσι There is a consistent theme in Greek politics from at least the seventh century of tension between the landowners and the "have-nots". The former emerge at the beginning of the archaic period as those who have successfully survived the population implosion of the Dark Ages, no doubt acquiring further land where the families of earlier owners had died out, and typically holding political power (cf Rhodes (1986) 18–19; so Solon's reforms, or Tyrt fr 1 West = Arist *Pol* 1306b36–40). They typically had self-congratulatory names indicating family strength or economic power, e.g. ἀγαθοί or βέλτιστοι; there is a full list in Glotz (1929) 64–5. Those on Samos, like at Syracuse, were called γεω- or γαμόροι, "land-sharers" (7.155.2; Thuc 8.21); at Chalcis, ἱπποβόται, "horse rearers", §100.1. Herodotus uses the probably colloquial οἱ παχέες (cf Ar *Pax* 639; *Eq* 1139; *Vesp* 287), "fatties", for the Naxians and Aeginetans (and those at Sicilian Megara, 7.156.2); and actually to explain the meaning of ἱπποβόται at 5.77.2. Their economic power is implicit in the numerous references to rearing race-horses, discussed in Appx 9.

We see similar tensions in the exiled aristocrats from Naxos, 5.30.1 (p. 52), and on Aegina, §§88–91.1. From earlier periods it lies behind the curse of the Alcmaeonids, for which see note to §§121–4, and in the relations between the Pisistratids and other aristocrats, for which see note to §§34–41. Μήδους for Persians is stylistic only: see on τοὺς τυράννους, §9.1.

ἐκ τῶν στρατηγῶν . . . δουλεύειν In addition to the politics (previous note), there was probably also genuine anti-Persian sentiment. The *geomoroi* had supplied the oligarchic government of Samos until about 100 years earlier: Shipley (1987) 39–41, 49, 52–4; since c595 they had been displaced by the tyranny of the Syloson family (possible stemma, Shipley 68). No doubt some of them made an accommodation with Syloson and his descendants; but earlier groups of aristocrats going into exile are noted at Shipley 91, 106. Since 499, they had probably been able to regain the reins of power, and adopted an anti-Persian stance: Shipley 107–8; Mitchell (1975) 88. But the defection of some of the leaders at Lade under pressure from Aeaces (§§13–14) had led to a split: the monument of §14 evidences that. The families of the emigrants would be among Herodotus' sources (introductory note); they could stress their relatives' motive as patriotic unwillingness again to become slaves (δουλεύειν) of the Persians under their puppet Aeaces; but a further motive would be their potential loss of political power on Aeaces' return. The apparent ease with which a section of the population could move itself by boat, including wives and children and possessions, is met again in relation to Byzantines, §33.2: cf the Phocaeans (1.164, 165) and the Teans (1.168): see Demand (1988). We cannot be sure that they actually sailed before Aeaces returned: see on μοῦνοι, §22.2, and cf Appx 1 paras 11–12.

22.2 Ζαγκλαῖοι . . . πέμποντες ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίην Zancle, possibly initially an outpost established by Cumae to protect shipping through the Straits of Messina, was founded as a colony by her and Chalcis in the eighth century: Vallet (1958) 59–66, discussing the evidence, including Thuc 6.4.5 and Strabo 6.2.3; ζάγκλον was said to be the Sicilian word for sickle, and the harbour is sickle shaped (Thuc *loc cit*; Vallet Pl I). References such as Callim *Aet* fr 43 and Nicander fr 21 G-P to Zancle/zanclon are pure aetiology to fit a version of the legend of Zeus castrating Cronos in which the sickle is buried in

Sicily (see Thomas on Virg *Georg* 2.406). For the background to the invitation, and whether by Scythes or Hippocrates, see introductory note; by making it come from "Zancleans" it was being expressed as not from a tyrant. Despite τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον, it may have been sent earlier, e.g. when news of the large Persian expedition reached the west, and it was thought that the Ionians were likely to be defeated. Indeed, if it was only sent after news of Lade reached Zancle, there would scarcely be time for the invitation be sent and the decision taken to leave before Aeaces was restored (cf Dunbabin (1948) 391).

Καλὴν ἀκτήν A Sicel city, now Caronia Marina; it is one of the few harbours on the north coast of Sicily. There were no Greek settlements between Himera (§24.1), c55 km to the west, and Tyndaris, c55 km to the east. It was to be taken over by the Sicel leader Ducetius in c440, and it prospered (Finley (1979) 50, 63–4). It is normally spelt as two words (DS 12.8.2, 3; Athen 6.272f, 11.466a; Steph Byz sv; Legrand and Nenci print Ἀκτή); but it was clearly pronounced as one word: DS 12.29.1 called the inhabitants Καλακτίνοι, while Cicero and Ptolemy spell it as one: Calacta, *Verr* 2.3.101, Καλάκτα, *Geog* 3.4.2.

μοῦνοι . . . σὺν δέ σφι Μιλησίων Thuc 6.4.6, summarising the episode, says that there were "Samians and other Ionians", so that it is possible that there were a few people from poleis other than Miletus. In the rest of the narrative Herodotus calls them Samians. It is probably reading too much into the incident to argue that the invitation was sent primarily to Samos because of her trading links with Chalcis, the part founder of Zancle (supra); or that it is odd that the Dorian Hippocrates or the probably Dorian Scythes (see on §24.2) should invite Ionians. As to the Milesians, as noted in Appx 1 para 11, if they came from the city, we must imagine them escaping before the siege closed it off; but if they came from the Milesian *chora*, they would probably be able to get away, e.g. via Heracleia, at any time. The Persians would presumably not be bothered by "civilian" ships making for Samos. It is probable from the way that the Samians settled in at Zancle that many of them took (or sent for) their wives and children. Numbers are speculative, but a typical galley with between 15 and 25 rowers per side could carry some 40–60 passengers, plus some quantities of possessions; so including the men

rowing just 10 ships might move between 700 and 1,100 persons: Appx 2 para 8. There were probably at least 300 families: cf on τριηκοσίους, §23.6.

23.1 Λοκροῖσι Any city in the area was a natural landfall after sailing from Asia Minor; in any case the Samians would want to get fresh supplies and perhaps information as to friendly or unfriendly harbours for the rest of their intended voyage to Cale Acte; they perhaps overwintered here (see Appx 1 para 12). Cale Acte was still some 290 km (c156 nautical miles) away, and so perhaps some 7 to 10 days sailing for a flotilla, especially if there were families (Appx 4 para 1 for sailing times); even to Zancle they would still require some 3–4 days, c70 nautical miles (c130 km). See also on §23.2.

Σκύθης The "mysterious" Scythes (Finley (1979) 49) is βασιλεύς here, μούναρχος at §24.1. It is unclear how he rose to, or was placed in, power in Zancle, though he seems to have been subordinate to Hippocrates (introductory note). It is likely that he was the Scythes tyrant of Cos of 7.163 whose son Cadmus subsequently himself took over Zancle (7.164; Dunbabin (1948) 384, 392); especially as μόναρχος was the Coan word for their chief magistrate, lacking the pejorative overtones of the word elsewhere (Carlier (1984) 422–3; 469–70). See further on §24.2.

πόλιν Unnamed, so arguably a place en route to Cale Acte, and evidence that Scythes' ambition was a general expansion into Sicel territory.

23.2 Ἀναξίλεως The son of Kretines, 7.165; Dunbabin (1948) 387, noting, *inter alia*, Thuc 6.4.6, calls him a member of the local Messenian local aristocracy. DS 11.48.2 has him dying in the archonship of Phaedon, 476, after a reign of 18 years, which could be right: he came to power in 494 or 493, and contacted the Samians shortly afterwards; for the chronology see Appx 1 paras 11–12; Vallet (1958) 336. For DS wrongly putting Leotychidas' death in the same year, see on ἐτελεύτησε, §71.1. Rhegion was a colony of Chalcis, perhaps on the initiative of Zancle, to ensure a friendly polis on the opposite shore (one tradition has the oikist from Zancle: Strabo 6.1.6), at a time when a famine or other problem caused Chalcis to want to send out a colony: see the discussions of the various accounts,

including Paus 4.23.4–10, in Malkin (1987) 31–7; Vallet (1958) 66–80 (the foundation oracle attributed to her is noted on ἡ θήλεια, §77.2). Pausanias is confused both for Zancle (Vallet 63–4) and Rhegion (*ib* 72–4). There was also a Messenian element. Pausanias dates the end of the second Messenian war to the first year of the 28th Olympiad (668); their leader Manticlos then proposed emigration to Sardinia, when an invitation from Anaxilas arrived to go to Rhegion. However, Pausanias goes on that after they arrived, Anaxilas conquered Zancle and renamed it, which he puts in the 29th Olympiad, adding "when Miltiades was archon" (524: see note to §§34–41). It is possible that he or his source confused two Anaxilas; but there may have been a further influx of Messenians in about 490: see Vallet 77–9, 344–6, noting, *inter alia*, the wording of Thuc 6.4.5–6 and Strabo 6.1.6, and the possibility that there had been a helot revolt in 490, for which see Appx 14 para 9. Vallet 77 with 316–17, 336, suggests that our Anaxilas had been able to come to power and suppress the local Chalcidian aristocracy (cf Arist *Pol* 1316a25–39) by relying on the popular, Messenian element in the population (the tensions between Dorian and non-Dorians in Argos, Appx 15 paras 13–21, were perhaps not dissimilar). It is possible that he got more Messenians to come in 490–89, whether or not a revolt had just been suppressed; it offers an alternative explanation for renaming Zancle. Shaw (2003) 102–111 argues that there was only one Anaxilas, and one influx of Messenians, in c490, to which Pausanias' 29th Olympiad refers. See also p. 66 n. 218. The διάφορος between Rhegion and Zancle was probably of long standing and related to control of shipping through the Straits of Messina. Anaxilas saw how he could use the Samians to further his ambitions across the straits, which he finally achieved in c489: cf introductory note.

The story might have extra point in Herodotus' time. Rhegion and Locri were neighbours and traditionally on good terms; but in c476 Anaxilas attacked Locri, possibly because Locri was encroaching on Rheginian territory: see Dunbabin (1948) 169, 369. Although Hieron composed that quarrel, hostility may have persisted, and partially explains how the two cities, with others, were to be involved in the further fighting in 426–5 (Thuc 3.86 with Hornblower *ad loc*; 4.1, 26).

ἔρημον ἄνδρων Presumably to be read literally; it was the men who were away fighting under Scythes, §23.1.

23.3 πειθομένων . . . σχόντων τὴν Ζάγκλην Herodotus reports without comment that the Samians who had left Samos rather than deal with one tyrant acted on the advice of another; then, having been invited by "Zancleans", they repaid them by occupying their city. Possibly some details have been lost, e.g. a suggestion by Anaxilas that the land at Cale Acte was poor, or that the Sicels were resisting and Cale Acte was unlikely to be conquered (as turned out to the case). We can only guess at the practicalities: how many houses they occupied, and what happened to the Zanclean old men, women and children. A similar point perhaps arises on, e.g., the occupation of Smyrna by the Colophonians some generations before, 1.150.1. For the imperfect ἐβοήθεον see on ἐξεβοήθεον, §16.2.

σύμμαχος Whether this was a genuine alliance of equals, or rather an arrangement between principal and subordinate, is a question (introductory note and on Σκύθης, §23.1).

23.4 ὡς ἀποβάλοντα . . . πεδήσας We can read this in at least three ways. If the idea of expanding into Sicel territory, and the invitation to the Samians, was that of the ambitious Hippocrates, already in control of Zancle, then behind this incident must lie some wider dissatisfaction with Scythes' behaviour. If the idea was Scythes', then Hippocrates perhaps judged the expansion unwise, for instance unlikely to succeed (cf on §23.3) or not wishing then to antagonise the Sicels; either way he accepted the status quo of the Samians, at the same time removing Scythes from office. A third possibility is that Scythes and Zancle had been independent of Hippocrates until now, and this was the occasion on which the latter took control of it (cf on §23.5). On any view, Hippocrates scarcely behaved like a σύμμαχος to the Zancleans or came whole-heartedly βοηθέων; he προέδωκε, betrayed, them.

Πυθογένεα Otherwise unknown, but see on §24.2.

Ἴνυκα Only Herodotus spells the place Ἴνυξ (here and §24.1); Steph Byz sv Ἴνυκον says that Herodotus was wrong (hence some editors, e.g. Nenci, amend). Others were uncertain whether it was feminine or neuter: (ἡ) Ἴνυκος (Herod *Pros Cath* 3.1.153) and (ἡ) Ἰνυκός (Plat *Hipp* 282c, 284b; Philostratus *Vit Soph* 1.495); (τὸ) Ἴνυκον (Steph Byz *loc cit* and sv Καμικός; Herod *Peri Paron* 3.2.88). Paus 7.4.5 and Hesych

sv Ἰνυχῖνος οἶνος have the ambiguous ἐς Ἴνακον and Ἰνάχου. Famous for its wines, it was in the territory of Acragas. In the story of Minos' pursuit of Daedalos to the court of Coccalos in Sicily, most name the place as Camicos, in the territory of Acragas (1.170.1; DS 4.78–79.3, 23.9.5; Strabo 6.2.6, 3.2, etc); but Pausanias (*loc cit*) puts the three men at Inycos/on, and Charax *FGrH* 103 F58 (Steph Byz sv Καμικός) says that it is another name for Camicos.

ὅρκους δοὺς καὶ δεξάμενος One could use an oath to emphasise the truth of a statement, as at §63.2 and §69, and envisaged at §86γ1; but in an essentially oral society, an oath guaranteed that a statement was absolutely binding (Burkert (1985) 250–2); it could also help prove an agreement (*ibid*). Breaking an oath invited divine punishment: at §86, Glaucos is punished for merely intending to swear falsely. Yet imposing an oath by a trick was acceptable, as Ariston does at §62.1. With an agreement, as here, the oaths had to be mutual (so §62.1, and perhaps §74.1; perhaps also in the συνθήκας of §42.1). One party [ἀπο]δίδωσι the oath and the other party λαμβάνει or αἱρεῖ or (as here) δέχεται it—it had to be accepted by the other party for the agreement to be binding on him (e.g. Xen *Hell* 5.1.32). Ariston and Agetos sealed their bargain by "imposing" (ἐπελαύνω) oaths on each other, §62.1, so 1.146.3; Cleomenes "applied" (προσάγω) oaths to those who were to serve him, §74.1. There are other expressions for mutuality: συνομόσαντες 1.176.2; ὀμνύειν ἀλλήλοις Thuc 5.18.9, Xen *Hell* 5.4.55, Dem 48.9. Nor was there a set form for an oath: at §§68–69 it was done by the not uncommon method of touching entrails. By contrast, at 1.165.3 the Phocaeans drop iron into the harbour and swear not to return until it floated to the surface.

23.5 μισθός This tells us a good deal about Hippocrates (cf introductory note). Having betrayed the Zancleans, he now drives a hard bargain with the Samians.

ἐπίπλων . . . ἀνδραπόδων Legalistically, ἔπιπλα was moveable property in the sense of that which could be sold, not being a fixture and being free of pledge or deposit (Poll 10.10; Hesych sv). Practically, it meant furniture (which is its meaning in modern Greek) or household utensils: 1.150.2, 164.3, 7.119.4; Isoc *Euth* 2, Is *Ciron* 35. Arist *Rhet* 1361a12–14 (cf *Pol* 1267b10–12) brackets it with coins, land, cattle and slaves as constituting wealth; at Thuc 3.68.3 it refers to

items of bronze and iron and excludes livestock. However, in a context such as this, it probably comprises anything which could be taken and sold (Walbank on Polyb 31.22.4; cf Pritchett *GSW* V 179–81, 356). The text is usually translated "half of all the movable property and slaves in the town, and all in the open country". Waterfield offers "all the movable property, half the slaves in the town, and all the slaves from the farms"; but this cannot be right: the ὅδε prevents ἐπίπλων depending on μίσθος, and the object of μεταλαβεῖν is τὰ ἡμίσεα. There is a difference between μεταλαβεῖν, to share, and λαγχάνειν, to take everything. The ἀνδράποδα are men who had been captured in war, distinct from the Zanclean citizens next mentioned. We hear little of such slaves in mainland Greece before the fifth century (Appx 15 para 11 and n. 23), but there is a history of expansion and conflict by the Greeks in Sicily, apart from the more recent fighting by Hippocrates (introductory note), though the details are obscure: see, e.g. *CAH* III^2 3 175–86 (Graham). These slaves might have been Sicels or other non-Greeks.

23.6 τοὺς μὲν δὴ . . . Ζαγκλαίων . . . ἐν ἀνδραπόδων λόγῳ This suggests that the Zanclean army had now returned from its campaign, and Hippocrates was apportioning land and houses between them and the Samians; ἀνδραπόδων λόγῳ suggests that they could be ransomed (cf on ἀνδραπόδων, §19.3). Both polis and countryside would have been thinly populated if a fair number of Zancleans had not been able to buy back their freedom, and perhaps their property also. However Thuc 6.4.5–6 says that when the Samians and other Ionians were in turn expelled by Anaxilas when he took over Zancle and renamed it (introductory note), he resettled it with "a mixture of people", so any Zancleans who had been able to stay on now seem to have fared no better then.

τριηκοσίους . . . κατασφάξαι . . . οὐ . . . ἐποιήσαν We might infer that Hippocrates' motive was to prevent them being ransomed; as the élite, they would hope to go on providing the government, or at least fomenting stasis in opposition to the Samians. The Samians may have been reluctant to deal harshly with fellow-aristocrats. But it was also an opportunity to collect ransom for these men also, perhaps for rather more than the going rate (cf on ἔχειν, §79.1). The anecdote suggests that there were perhaps more than 300 Samian families.

24.1 μούναρχος See on Σκύθης, §23.1.

Ἱμέρην Ironically, founded by Zancle, c649 (Dunbabin (1948) 20, 56); with the Myletidae, a Syracusan family group, per Thuc 6.5.1, but by the inhabitants of Mylae per Strabo 6.2.6, probably from a confusion of the names (*HCT ad loc*). Mylae was itself an outpost of Zancle on a peninsula c30 km to the north-west of the city (Thuc 3.90.2; for its status see Nielsen (2002) 59–60; Hansen and Nielsen (2004) 226–7).

24.2 παραιτησάμενος It is not clear why he needed permission to go to Sicily, nor why he wanted to go; but the detail helps to identify him with Scythes tyrant of Cos (cf on Σκύθης, §23.1); if he owed his position to Darius, for which see p. 50 and Austin (1990), it would be prudent to seek permission. Zancle was an Ionian foundation, and Cos was Dorian; but given the reference to his brother Pythogenes, perhaps his family had links with Zancle; if so, the reason for his wanting to leave Cos might have been to secure family property, e.g. on the unexpected death of a cousin and if Pythogenes was too young to take it over. But it might have been political opportunism, e.g. unrest in Zancle of which he wished to take advantage; whether or not his governorship was under Hippocrates or independent of him. When Cadmus resigned at Cos shortly afterwards (introductory note), was that political or personal unpopularity, e.g. as a Persian appointed tyrant, or successor to one; possibly an Ionian ruling a Dorian city; and he too perceiving an opportunity to step into a power vacuum in Zancle, with better prospects than on Cos? This is as good an explanation as the rhetoric offered in Hipp *Presb* (*Ep* 27; note to §§94–101) that, having resisted the Persians on Cos, he went to Sicily to prevent Gelon and his brothers from medising.

παρὰ βασιλέα He does not return to Cos; perhaps so as not to disturb his son's rule. Herodotus has many cases of Greeks (and Persians, e.g. Bubares' son Amyntas given Alabanda, 8.136.1) being well treated by the Persian king; Dem 10.31 speaks of it as a well-known practice. The munificent king is one aspect of the oriental ruler (p. 27), like Croesus enriching Alcmaeon, §125. With the Persian king, it is also an aspect of his empire being his to dispose of (p. 46 n. 163): a "very Persian gift", 9.109.3, on which see Sancisi-Weerdenburg (1988); Whitby (1998b) 220–1. Apart from Scythes here, where ὄλβιος

could mean land or money, there is Democedes (3.130), Gillus (3.138), Mandrocles ("ten of everything", 4.88), Metiochos (§41: estate and a wife), Demaratos (§70: estate), Gongylos (see on §101.2), Hippias (§102); later, Themistocles (revenues of three cities, Thuc 1.137–9); though Xerxes granted only symbolic honours to the Thebans for their support, per DS 17.14.2. Some donees are described as the king's "benefactor" (εὐεργέτης, or the reward is for their εὐεργασία): Syloson, restored to his tyranny (3.139–49); so Aeaces, §25.1; Coes (5.11: tyranny); Histiaeus (a city, 5.11, then "promotion" to Susa, p. 63; cf §30.2); Theomestor (tyranny) and Phylacus (estate), 8.85.3, where Herodotus adds that benefactors were inscribed (ἀνεγράφη), suggesting that a record was kept, and gives the Persian word ὀροσάγγης, the actual Persian apparently being *varusanha, "widely famed" (Schmitt (1967) 131).

πόλιν καλλίστην . . . περιεβεβλέατο Herodotus does not indicate if the Samians were completely free, or continued to be beholden to Hippocrates until his death about three years later. But he was concerned to relate only how the Samians escaped to Sicily, not to continue either their story or that of Zancle. Nenci *ad loc* sees a joking pun with Καλὴ ἄκτη: Zancle was much more καλή than the latter. As at §22.1, using "Medes" is stylistic only.

§§25–30 *The Persians restore Aeaces, and honour their promise before Lade not to burn property on Samos. After the fall of Miletus they re-occupy Caria. Histiaeus returns from Byzantium and settles forcibly at Polichne on Chios. He then tries to extort money from Thasos, but retreats without success when the Persian navy comes into the area. He runs out of supplies on Lesbos and raids the mainland as the corn is ripening. He is captured by a detachment of Persian troops, taken to Sardis, and executed. However his head is sent to Susa, where Darius causes it to be buried with honour.*

§25 continues the narrative of the ending of the revolt from §18; we then jump to §31. For Herodotus it is part of his Samian *logos*; he starts the Histiaeus story at §26.1 with μέν δή . . . δέ (cf Immerwahr (1966) 116). This is logical enough, as Aeaces' return to Samos at §25.1 closes the ring which began at §22.1. The final year or so of Histiaeus' life is another digression. He returned from Byzantium on news of "events at Miletus", §26.1; whatever that means, and how-

ever long the siege was, it was probably during 494. The Phoenician fleet at §28.1 will be part of the naval operations of §§31–3, spring 493; so Thasos was then and Atarneus a couple of months later, as the corn was ripening. The natural inference is that he spent the winter of 494–3 on Chios. For the chronology see Appx 1 para 15. §25 probably derives from what Herodotus learnt as a youngster, Carian history at Halicarnassus, Samian on Samos; most of §§26–30 comes from the Histiaeus biography, for which see p. 63, with further input from Chios for §§26.2–27; for §§29–30 see also on ὁ Ἱστιαῖος, §29.1.

Whatever Histiaeus' motives for returning south, there is no sense that he settled back into a Greek community; more than ever he was a loner, but now his luck was running out. Despite the specious claim that he had "conquered" Chios, §§26.2 and 27.3, he did not return after his unsuccessful raid on Thasos. The Lesbians tolerated rather than welcomed him, and his subsequent swoop on Atarneus was literally fatal.

25.1 Φοίνικες . . . κατῆγον . . . Αἰάκεα This reads as if it happened straight after Lade. We have to fit in the Samian emigrants leaving, and some Milesians being able to join them: see on μοῦνοι, §22.2. For Herodotus calling the Persian navy Phoenician see on Φοίνικες, §6.

ἄξιον . . . μεγάλα κατεργασάμενον The "great and valuable services" (de Sélincourt), if not exaggeration in the tradition, are presumably persuading the Samians to desert at Lade, though he was among the tyrants at the Danube bridge (p. 49); it was his father Syloson who was a "benefactor", noted on παρὰ βασιλέα, §24.2. He seems to have died before 480; Xerxes made Theomestor tyrant after Salamis (8.85.3).

25.2 Σαμίοισι . . . μούνοισι As promised before Lade, §9.3, and to be contrasted with Miletus, §§19.3–20, and the Ionian cities in the following year, §§31–2. But the Persians perhaps had another reason; they may have already decided to make one of their naval bases at Samos: Appx 3 para 2.

αὐτίκα . . . Καρίην Southern Caria was still free. In the second half of 498 (for the dating, Appx 1 paras 3–5) the Persians had crossed

the Meander and beaten the Carians at White Pillars on the Marsyas, perhaps at Gerga (Barrington 61), some 30 km north-east of Labraunda. The Carians withdrew to Labraunda, c60 km from Miletus, c30 km from the eastern frontier of her *chora* (map 1). Despite Ionian, principally Milesian, help, the battle at or near it was lost; but the Carians then scored a success. They learnt of the Persian movements and ambushed them on the "Pedasos road" (5.118–122; cf p. 62). The readings at 5.121 vary, and Πηδάσῳ is a generally accepted amendment; if correct, it should refer to a road running south-west to Pedasos near Halicarnassus, rather than west to the Pedasa of §20, or east to a Pedasos or Pedason some 25 km across mountainous terrain, noted Strabo 13.1.59; though there was more high ground, and therefore opportunities for an ambush, on the latter two, and the first would be consistent with the Persians hoping then to retake Miletus as well, rather than other Carian cities further south. At all events, the Carian victory, in which Daurises and other Persian generals were killed, coupled, perhaps, with the onset of autumn, seems to have prevented the Persians from retaking more territory. Some Carian cities now resisted, and the final reduction of Caria would need some time. In turn, this suggests the fall of Miletus was during the summer, with the autumn taken up in Caria: Appx 1 paras 10, 14.

ὑποκυψάσας Outside Herodotus, ὑποκύπτω is rare in classical authors, and just means bow or stoop (Ar *Ach* 954, under a load; *Vesp* 555, in prayer; Diphil fr 43.23 Kock). He puts it into Miltiades' mouth at §109.3 for degrading slavery, inappropriate for free Athenians (so 1.130.1, used for the Medes being compelled to accept Persian suzerainty). It was, perhaps, slightly less degrading than προσκυνέω ("kow-tow", 9 times in Herodotus), but both connote subjection to the Persian king: cf p. 46 n. 163.

26.1 Ἱστιαίῳ δέ . . . The phrase τὰ περὶ τὴν Μίλητον γενόμενα is as ambiguous as our "events at Miletus": the aorist participle connotes what had happened, not what was going on. The last event mentioned, the retaking of Caria, §25.2, is linked to the fall of Miletus, so it is tempting to make this phrase refer to it also. But §25.1 has Aeaces restored after Lade and so logically before or just as the siege began, and looks back to §§9 and 14–15 rather than the siege. Also, ταῦτα μὲν δή . . . indicates that Herodotus is moving on to another

topic, and δέ probably means "meanwhile", as at §1.1. Thus the "events at Miletus" could be the defeat at Lade and the beginning of the siege. This offers the best explanation for his return south, which is otherwise puzzling. He could think himself safe enough at Byzantium; if he did not, e.g. if he foresaw that the Persians would send their fleet as far as there, and he feared capture, he could have gone west and into exile. But it makes sense to think that he hoped to do a deal with the Persian generals: he would get Miletus to surrender; they would reinstate him as tyrant. They were the king's men (Appx 3 para 6), and so not beholden to Artaphrenes, and he could play on his good standing with Darius; cf pp. 68–9, 72. He would be further encouraged to do this if the news included that the Persians had the other ex-tyrants with them. If he tried, they refused him; that could be from simple distrust and pragmatism, and need not necessarily be evidence that they were influenced by any indication from Artaphrenes that he was already thinking that the tyrants ought not to be supported (Appx 11 sec 1). Another possible motive might be to try to secure the family estates against Persian appropriation. If the news was that Miletus had fallen, coming south is harder to explain. Even if it did not include the start of the executions and enslavement, §§19–20, and the confiscation of property, he would know that these were the sort of things that were likely to happen. Given the time news would take to reach him and he to travel back, a minimum of 4 or 5 days each way (Appx 4 para 1), he would also know that such punitive measures would be well advanced by the time he arrived. By then he was more at risk of being regarded as an enemy, if only because of his relationship with Aristagoras; he would be an optimist if he thought that this would be outweighed by his royal credentials (cf p. 65 n. 215 for the Persians executing the leaders of a rebellion).

συλλαμβάνοντι . . . ἐκπλεούσας . . . ἐπιτρέπει Βισάλτῃ . . . Herodotus had placed Histiaeus and his Lesbians at Byzantium at §5.3 in similar language: ἐκπλεούσας . . . ἐλάμβανον; that he was really plundering or freebooting is now stressed with the stronger συλλαμβάνοντι. Indeed, it is presented as a sort of business enterprise (πρήγματα), which he could leave in the hands of a deputy. Bisaltes and his father Apollophanes of Abydos are otherwise unknown. Apollophanes was a common name in the Greek world, with many references in LGPN, but Bisaltes appears to be unique; his name might suggest

that he also had Thracian ancestry (for Bisaltia, south of lake Prasias, see 7.115, 8.116; map 6). He had perhaps joined Histiaeus' force if it put in at Abydos en route for Byzantium. Despite the mention of ἔχων Λεσβίους, this handing over might suggests that he also left one or two of his ships and their crews (but see next note). If he handed over the business on the basis that he would receive a share of the profits, he was to be disappointed (§§28–30). In any case, Bisaltes' enterprise would presumably have had to end when the Persians retook Byzantium in spring 493, §33.1.

ἐς Χίον ἔπλεε He probably first put in at Lesbos. It was a natural landfall as he sailed south, his crews were Lesbians, and some may now have wished to return home. If he hoped to do a deal with the Persian generals (supra), Lesbos made a convenient base. If he tried, it failed. The need to move on to Chios suggests that he had by now exhausted his goodwill with the Lesbians; he needed supplies and a winter base somewhere. As we see, ἔπλεε is a euphemism: he made an attack. Such conduct had as much respectability as his buccaneering at Byzantium (p. 72). His victory over the Chian guard (next note) indicates that he still had a fair number of men; perhaps 500. As a minimum, if he now only had 6 of his triremes, but not fully manned (Appx 2 para 7) there would be 300–350 men.

φρουρῇ οὐ προσιεμένῃ μιν . . . Κοίλοισι . . . τῆς Χίης χώρης "the guard not admitting him". A guard is unusual. We have no reason to think that, down to the early fifth century, any polis routinely set guards, either on a land frontier or the coast; such references as we have, including this, suggest that it was a response to a particular threat. Orthagoras, first tyrant of Sicyon, is said to have been a περίπολος, frontier guard; but an attack from neighbouring Pallene was expected (see on Ἀριστωνύμου, §126.1). The anecdote at Paus 4.20.6 involves men guarding the acropolis of Eira against a Spartan attack. Some twenty years after Chios, there was a coastal fort (περιπόλιον) at Teos (ML 30, c470), possibly a look-out against pirates; Thuc 3.99.1 refers to one at Locri Epizephyrii in 427–6. If we accept that the Argives were waiting for Cleomenes on the north bank of the Erasinos, we might argue that they had been watching out for his coming, e.g. from their fort at Hysiai (see on §76.1). Evidence for a permanent guard is slender. It is possible that Sparta maintained a watch on roads leading into Laconia (see on ὁδῶν, §57.4); there is an argu-

ment that the story of Euenius at 9.93–4 reflects an obligation on the land-owners of Apollonia to have a member of their families serve a year at a time to guard their upland pastures against incursions from neighbouring Illyrian shepherds (the topographical details in the inscriptions cited in Appx 11 n. 7 suggest that it was just such incursions across the frontier between Samos and Priene on Mycale that had caused the war which Bias arbitrated). Although in the pentecontaetia narrative Thucydides says that the Athenians "always guarded" (ἐφρουρεῖτο αἰεί) the passes over Mt Geraneia, this seems to have been a recent response to the Spartan presence north of the Gulf of Corinth (1.107.3); there is no evidence to suggest that the Athenians routinely guarded, e.g., their volatile frontier with Thebes at the river Asopos (§108.6). The later Athenian περίπολοι during the Peloponnesian War were some sort of militia, attacking Megara in 424 (Thuc 4.67.2, 5: "very little is known" about them, *HCT ad loc*; cf *id* 8.92.2, 5; Xen *Vect* 4.47, 52; Ar *Av* 1174–7 (414)). The ephebia was a fourth century innovation. Cf also van Wees (2004) 94; Scott (2000) 96–7. The purpose of this guard, to warn against any sea-borne predation, not just Histiaeus, and give early warning of the Persians, is one factor in suggesting that Koila is to be placed in the north-east of Chios, probably at Vlychada or Marmaro: Appx 7.

26.2 κεκακωμένων . . . ἐπεκράτησε . . . Πολίχνης τῆς Χίων ὁρμώμενος The assertion of "conquer", ἐπεκράτησε, is repeated in different words in §27.3, and no doubt derives from the biography. He needed to support himself by ὁρμώμενος, essentially using Polichne as a base from which to go raiding, whether on other Chian settlements, even Chios city, on settlements on the mainland, where Chios had a *peraia* (Appx 7), or on shipping passing through the straits between Chios and the mainland. It does not suggest a man in control of the island; and when he had to leave Thasos in the spring, §28.1, he did not return there. The reality is that he was able to force himself upon a small settlement from which the Chians, after their losses at Lade, were unable or unwilling to dislodge him; they would want to wait for the spring to see if he stayed or left. A sea-borne assault would be easier in the spring, though they would realise that they could not engage him at sea if he was unwilling to come out from his lair; the alternative was an attack by land by men with little or no military experience. They would be unwilling to take immediate action;

we might possibly see how Herodotus' Chian informants justified this in some of the wording, e.g. κεκακωμένων here and at §27.3. The most probable location of Polichne is on the east coast; very likely Pantoukios, north of Chios city: Appx 7.

27.1 φιλέει . . . προσημαίνειν We can treat φιλέει as impersonal, or understand ὁ θέος as subject from §27.3. §27 is probably from sources on Chios, rather than part of general Ionian tradition, or in the Histiaeus biography (or Herodotus' own gloss). One can imagine old men on Chios 30-odd years later saying to Herodotus: one disaster, then another, then Lade, Histiaeus, and finally the Persians returning and reimposing Strattis (for whom see Appx 11 sec 3): the gods had it in for us. The editorial κως ("perhaps") is probably Herodotus doubting the way the sources made these connections; cf infra. It is doubtful that a general Ionian tradition would so speak of events that only concerned Chios. If it was in the biography, it would import a sophistication into an account that elsewhere merely tells what Histiaeus did; though it would almost elevate him to a divine agent (comparable, perhaps, to the way Delphi made Timo an agent of the gods, §135), as if to justify his killing Greeks, and in the place that had helped him a few years earlier.

Herodotus' κως could reflect several doubts. One is that the Delphi incident did not have a divine cause; Hippocratic influence would make him think that physical disease had a natural, not a divine, cause (Thomas (2000) 32–3; cf p. 5 nn. 13, 14; p. 6). The second is whether Histiaeus' attack was really a further instance of a divine portent. The third is that the incident went contrary to his usual view, that there was an overall balance in human affairs (p. 35); with or without Lade and the returning Persians, the scales kept tipping against the Chians. As a footnote, Herodotus did not suggest that any of these disasters were divine retribution for the Chians' treatment of Pactyes (1.160). There is other editorial input apart from κως. He writes ἢ πόλι ἢ ἔθνεϊ, but his Chian sources would just have said "warned us" or "our polis"; ἔθνεϊ is probably an editorial addition: cf §98.2, where he says that the earthquake was a portent to a nation, there τῇ Ἑλλάδι. He writes the singular ὁ θέος, §27.3; his sources would have said "the gods had it in for us" (supra). They would probably not rationalise the incidents and identify a single god: Poseidon, if the school had collapsed in an earthquake; but which god spoiled Apollo's own festival? His ordinary word for

"return" is κατέρχομαι, as §§5.2, 75.1, 103.3, 107.2, but he uses ἀπονοστέω, as here for the Delphi case, to convey epic overtones of return coupled with misfortune (some 28 times including §§92.3, 136.1 (see Powell sv); cf e.g. *Il* 1.60, *Od* 13.60; Rood (1998) 4.2). Elsewhere it is uncommon in prose (LSJ sv notes Thuc 7.87.6, Xen *Anab* 3.5.16). If one sees here Herodotus presenting things in a pattern of three (cf τὸ τρίτον, §32; for three as a formulaic number, Fehling (1989) 221), one could also argue for editorial input on the basis that he has ignored the two other incidents, Lade and the return of the Persians and Strattis.

27.2 ἐς Δελφοὺς χορόν Choral performances at festivals such as Delphi (or Delos) were prestigious: Farnell IV (1907) 291–2. Bronze tripods were awarded to the successful choregos: Plut *Nic* 3.3. The Pythian festival was in late August/early September, and fell in 498 and 494: *OCD*[3] sv Pythian Games; Fontenrose (1988b) 124–5; Farnell *loc cit.* The usual dithyrambic choir was 50 (Schol Pind *Pyth* 12.39; but see West (1992a) 41); 100 must mean either two choirs or a double choir. As the incident is said προσημαίνειν, foretell, the games of 498 are most likely, whether Lade was 495 or 494. It is the only recorded case of a festival being marred by illness or death; it would be perceived as carrying overtones of pollution and so some sort of divine sign. To us it reads as a serious case of localised food poisoning.

παισὶ . . . διδασκομένοισι Perhaps a badly-built structure; more likely it fell in an earthquake (heavy loss of life in an earthquake at Sparta in 464 from houses collapsing is noted at DS 11.63.1–2 and Plut *Cim* 16.4–5). This and Paus 6.9.6 (for Astypalaea, between Naxos and Rhodes, datable to 496) are the earliest direct literary references to schools, though Charondas is said to have made laws for all boys to be taught to read, including provision for teachers' pay (DS 12.12.4), and Aeschin *Tim* 6, 9–11 refers to Solon's laws for educating boys. But from the early fifth century vases depict school scenes with boys learning to read, and Plut *Them* 10.5 records schooling at Troezen for the sons of Athenian refugees in 480. The ability to read is not the same as literacy. Until the mid sixth century writing was mainly used for laws (see Gagarin (2003); *CAH*[2] III-3 190–1 (Graham) and 235–6 (Willetts)) and religious dedications. Even when prose works were written, they were often published orally,

and writing for private purposes was at best unusual: see p. 4; p. 12 and Yunis (2003) cited n. 37; p. 16 n. 51. A school on Chios is particularly interesting, since they had a written constitution in the mid-sixth century, which survives (ML 8: p. 46 n. 162, even earlier than the regulations from Ozolian Locris, c525–500, ML 13).

27.3 ὁ θέος The singular is likely to be editorial (see on §27.1), but is not evidence that Herodotus had monotheistic beliefs: p. 31.

ἐς γόνυ As with us, the Greeks had the expression of being brought to one's knees; of men, e.g. in boxing (Simon *Epig* XXV Page) or warfare (5.92β; Aesch *Ag* 64), and of a country, as here and of the Persians in 480, Aesch *Pers* 929–30, ἐπὶ γόνυ κέκλιται.

ἐπὶ . . . τῇ ναυμαχίῃ ἐπί with the dative here connotes "on top of" rather than just "after": Powell sv BII 2b (e.g. 1.45.1, also speaking of one disaster coming on top of another). The main narrative resumes from §26.2 with the repeated κακωμένων, here calling it καταστροφήν, "conquest".

28.1 ἐνθεῦτεν "From there". It is now spring 493: see introductory note and Appx 1 para 15. When he goes, he does not return, despite the claim that he controlled the island. For the presumed wealth of Thasos see §§46–8. It suggests either that his raiding from Polichne had not been profitable; or he now feared that he would be expelled anyway, by Chians and/or Persians. The latter were preparing to recover the rest of Ionia, §§31–32, though they had probably not yet reached Chios or Lesbos (cf on οἱ Φοίνικες, infra, and ἐς τὴν Λέσβον, §28.2). He may possibly have heard that when they came, they would restore Strattis (cf Appx 11 sec 3), and thought that Strattis would take steps to remove him.

Ἰώνων καὶ Αἰολέων συχνούς We cannot recover whether Histiaeus was actively recruiting, or word got around that he was moving off from Chios. Some of his original Lesbians had probably left him before he went to Chios (see on ἐς Χίον, §26.1), and more may have left now; but in the generally unsettled conditions prevailing there would be many young men prepared to enlist for a potentially profitable adventure. Other reflections of those conditions may be

seen in the invitation to Ionians to emigrate, §22.2; the guard on Chios, §26.2; and the steps taken by the Persians afterwards, §§42, 43.3. for which see Appx 11 sec 1. It is difficult to assess how many men are meant by συχνούς. 6 triremes would need a minimum of 300–350 men: cf on ἐς Χίον, §26.1. If he still had all 8 triremes, he would need a minimum of 400–450; a full complement of crews would require over 1,400. The real number was probably between those extremes (cf Appx 2 paras 5, 7). The Aeolians, or most of them, would be from Lesbos: see on §8.1; cf p. 39 n. 129.

περικατημένῳ "blockading", presumably to extort money. The entrance to the harbour at Thasos was about 60 m wide. The city wall, dated to the last decades of the sixth century, was about 2.25 km long, enclosing the city on the three landward sides: Pouilloux (1954) 12; plan, *ibid* before plate I or Graham (1978) 62; Winter (1971) 24. Its precise state when Histiaeus attacked is not known, though we should not infer from its being strengthened after he left that it was now weak, or that he had tried to force his way into the city at a vulnerable point: see on τεῖχος, §46.2. By day, Histiaeus would only need a few ships to form an effective blockade. He probably had a camp on shore, as Greek sailors expected to eat and sleep on land: Gomme (1933). Because of this, he would find it hard to maintain his blockade by night. Sea blockades were usually unsuccessful, though Cleisthenes of Sicyon is said to have done it at Cirrha: see on §126.1: e.g. (if attempted) by the Spartans at Samos, 3.56; Naxos, with Persian help, 5.34 (p. 53); Paros, §§133–5 (Appx 18 para 7); Potidaea, Thuc 1.64–5; Pylos, *id* 4.23; Miletus, *id* 8.30; generally Scott (2000) 98. Also, the story reads as though he had not been there long when he heard about the Phoenicians; he was on Lesbos long enough to be starving, and met his death in May (see on ὡς ἀμήσων, §28.2). If he did extract payment from ships coming in and out of the harbour, it could not have been much, and he came away essentially empty handed—ἀπόρθητον, "unlooted".

οἱ Φοίνικες ἀναπλέουσι While they are prima facie the same as the Persian ναυτικὸς στρατός of §§31.1 and 33.1 bringing the rest of Ionia back under Persian control, and so relevant on dating Thasos, it is not obvious why a fleet going via Lesbos and Tenedos to the Chersonese (much less one dealing with the cities on the mainland,

e.g. from Myus and Priene up to Erythrae) should trouble Histiaeus at Thasos. It may have been split into several detachments; there was a squadron patrolling between the Chersonese and Imbros at §41.2, so a detachment policing Lemnos Imbros and Samothrace is one possibility. It need not have been making for Thasos, even if Histiaeus so interpreted it. But it could have been, if the Persians had learnt what he was up to. As subsequent events showed, they were not prepared to tolerate a private army like his: cf on Ἅρπαγος, §§28.2, 30.1, and Appx 11 sec 1.

ἐς τὴν Λέσβον ἠπείγετο As when he returned from Byzantium, Lesbos would be a natural landfall. There were good reasons both not to return to Chios, which in reality he had not "conquered": see on ἐνθεῦτεν, supra; and to stay on Lesbos: cf on §26.2. His Aeolians might be unwilling to try another adventure after the failure at Thasos. He may have thought that it would be easier to get provisions on Lesbos. Herodotus does not indicate where Histiaeus was able to make his base, but see on συνέστασαν, §28.2.

28.2 λιμαινούσης He had run out of food fairly quickly. As we have seen in §28.1, he went to and left Thasos in the spring, and it is now about May (infra). Even if some men left after Thasos, he still had enough for Herodotus to call them a στρατιή, and able to resist a Persian infantry detachment described as οὐκ ὀλίγης (infra and §29.1). But λιμαινούσης also suggests that he no longer had goodwill on Lesbos, even if the Lesbians who were still with him could get food from their own families. If his arrangement with Bisaltes, §26.1, was for the latter to send him a share of the takings, it was not arriving; nor could he get either money or supplies from his family at Miletus.

Ἀταρνέος . . . ἐκ Καΐκου πεδίου . . . τῶν Μυσῶν For Atarneus, originally Mysian territory, see on §4.1; as there noted, it is always a "bad place" in Herodotus. There was a harbour more or less opposite Mytilene (1.160.4; 8.106.1; Strabo 13.1.51, 67); the polis of Atarneus was 16 km inland, c5 km from Dikili: Müller (1997) 484–7 and map 426; Barrington 56. As Histiaeus was attacked on arrival, that he intended to go on to the Caicos plain may be an assumption, but might derive, via a survivor, from what he told his men before leaving.

ὡς ἀμήσων τὸν σῖτον Probably early May; the corn may not have been fully ripe; but Histiaeus had to move in before the landowners could harvest it themselves, which would be from May onwards (Morgan (1990a) 41; Goodman and Holladay (1986) 153 with n. 5; cf Thuc 4.1.1, 4.2.1).

Ἅρπαγος . . . στρατηγός He is not otherwise known; for his status, see Appx 3 para 6. Harpagos a Mede, kinsman of the last Median king Astyages, figures prominently in the story of Cyrus' boyhood and early years (1.108–29) and later, as general in the west (1.80, 162–77); it is unclear if this Harpagos was a relation: a Greek source might call him Persian even if his grandfather or other relation had been a Mede (for the slippage between the two words cf on συλλέξαντες, §9.1). The meaning of his name cannot be recovered, though to a Greek it would carry overtones of ἁρπαγή (Schmitt (1967) 133). The Persians had a garrison in the Atarneus area: Appx 3 para 7, possibly based at a former Lydian fort or barracks (p. 45 n. 159). Histiaeus may have been unlucky where he landed, and ἐτύγχανε just means "was", the Persian presence being coincidental: see on ἐτύγχανον, §9.2. But since Histiaeus is described as being attacked on disembarking (ἀποβάντι) and before he could start raiding, it suggests that Harpagos was waiting for him; in turn this implies that he had good intelligence, e.g. a system of look-outs. Whatever the explanation for the Phoenician ships of §28.1, the Persians were now back in control of Ionia, and determined to maintain the king's peace (Appx 11 sec 1); they would not tolerate a private army of marauders.

ζωγρίῃ Also §37.1, but not otherwise in classical authors (common in Polybius, Diodorus, Strabo).

29.1 Μαλήνῃ Malene, though not otherwise recorded, is located by Müller (1997) 582–3; map p. 426, at Çiftlik Tepe, about 16 km north-west of Dikili and the polis of Atarneus, more or less directly opposite Mytilene, so at or near the harbour of Atarneus noted on Ἀταρνέος, §28.2; Barrington 56, though not all would agree: Hansen and Nielsen (2004) 1037.

συνέστασαν χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλόν Even if there is an element of patriotic hyperbole in the biography ("we resisted long and valiantly until the cavalry charged"), we can envisage two evenly matched forces,

each of a few hundred men. Once deployed, the cavalry were decisive. But "long time" need not be wrong. The Persians would not send for the cavalry until they saw the need; and if the latter were at Atarneus, c16 km away (see on Ἅρπαγος, §28.2), it would take up to 2 hours for them to arrive. The text reads as if Histiaeus had sailed overnight from his base on Lesbos and landed early in the morning, hoping to spend the day plundering and return the same evening. His maximum distance from Malene, i.e. if his base was on the west side of Lesbos and away from the major settlements, would be some c55 to 60 naut miles, c100–110 km: see Appx 4 para 1 for travel times.

ὁ Ἱστιαῖος ἐλπίζων . . . There has to be a question as to the provenance of the account of Histiaeus' end, from here to the end of §30. Was it part of the biographical tradition, or from Persian sources? If the former, was it essentially assumption? None of the fleeing Greeks (τετραμμένων τῶν Ἑλλήνων) who managed to escape would know it, though if some were captured and later released, a version of Histiaeus' end would probably have circulated in their prison. Persian sources in Sardis seem more likely: they might learn what Histiaeus said after his capture, for instance a plea to have his case referred to Darius, as well as the sending of the head to him, §30.2; we would have to infer that Darius wrote to Artaphrenes to report what he had done with it. That leaves open whether Herodotus the editor has improved the story. The παρεοῦσαν ἁμαρτάδα (Ionic for ἁμαρτίαν: see LSJ) is his raid on Atarneus, breaking the king's peace. In reality, if we can trust the biography, he had not fulfilled any of his promises to Darius (p. 66). In any case, Artaphrenes had distrusted him in c498, §1.2, and saw no reason to change his mind now; see further on τούτων, §30.1.

φιλοψυχίην . . . ἀναιρέεται The basic meaning of ἀναιρέομαι in the middle is take up, seize, or undertake for oneself: LSJ, Powell sv, but is not always easy to translate: Powell here offers "choose". In the rather different contexts of Plat *Apol* 37c, *Leg* 944e, Arist *Virt Vit* 1251a15, φιλοψυχία has a pejorative meaning ("craven love of life"); if it is pejorative here, it is the only place where Herodotus or the biography criticises Histiaeus. Powell sv offers "way of saving his life", the sense of which translators follow.

29.2 Περσίδα γλῶσσαν Greeks had the reputation of being poor at learning other languages, despite the trading done in the eastern Mediterranean; those with whom they dealt produced interpreters (Momigliano (1975) 8; Mosley (1971)). No doubt in Ionian cities such as Miletus and Ephesus there must have been some who could speak Carian or Lydian (cf p. 38 n. 126). Histiaeus learning Persian was perceived as unusual, though Themistocles and Alcibiades are also said to have done it (Thuc 1.138.1; Athen 12.535e); in the 320s Peucestas did it and was promoted by Alexander; the Greeks disapproved, but this may be more for his also adopting Median dress and ways (Arr *Anab* 6.28.2, 7.6.3). Plut *Ant* 27.4–5 records that Cleopatra was the first Ptolemy to learn to speak Egyptian and Hebrew and Arabic and other languages as well as her native Macedonian. Herodotus would particularly mention the detail because he was interested in languages: the introduction of the alphabet, 5.58–9; four Ionian dialects, 1.142.4 (p. 38 n. 126); Pelasgian, 1.57.3; Egyptian, written from right to left, 2.36.4; Persian, 1.139, §§42.2, 98.3, 119.3, 8.85.3, noted on παρὰ βασιλέα, §24.2, 8.98.2 (but not always accurately: see on δύναται, §98.3); and words in Scythian, 4.27, and Ligurian and Cypriot, 5.9.5.

30.1 εἰ μέν νυν . . . See on ὁ Ἱστιαῖος, §29.1 for the provenance of this chapter. The phrase is Herodotus' own comment (δοκέειν ἐμοί); αἰτίην here means "blame" or "fault" (p. 36).

τούτων εἵνεκα . . . Ἀρταφρένης . . . Ἅρπαγος Satraps had considerable powers, although statements to that effect (e.g. Olmstead (1948) 59; generally Briant (1996) 76–8, 350–9, 377–81) depend largely on Greek authors. Darius, if not his predecessors, took steps to exercise control over them: Briant 350–9, and he had his "ears and eyes" (*id* 355–6) to report to him. While it is tempting to read into the anecdote as presented a degree of tension between Artaphrenes and Darius, the decision to execute Histiaeus was assented to by Harpagos, who, as an officer of whatever status, was the king's man and so represented him (Appx 3 para 6). They could justify it not only because Artaphrenes saw Histiaeus as a leader of the Ionian revolt, §2.1, but also because they could treat him as still in revolt, maintaining his own army and breaching the king's peace, now that Persian suzerainty had been reimposed. Artaphrenes wanted to ensure

that peace meant peace; it was around this very time that he summoned the conference to promote it: §42.1 and Appx 11.

ἀνεσταύρωσαν As Herodotus uses both this word and ἀνασκολοπίζω, he presumably wanted to differentiate between crucifixion (here) and impaling. In the Behistun inscription Darius executes rebellious leaders on an "uzma", "stake" (p. 65 n. 215): "crucified" in the British Museum 1907 translation, but "impaled" in Kent (1950). The reference to τὸ σῶμα might suggest that Histiaeus was dead when strung up (like Polycrates at 3.125.3); but Sandoces was put up alive, 7.194.1, as were those who were impaled (1.128.3, etc: see Powell sv ἀνασκολοπίζω). In 342 Artaxerxes III crucified Hermias alive (Theopomp *FGrH* 115 F291; *HG* 561).

κεφαλὴν ταριχεύσαντες Nowhere in the Behistun inscription (or elsewhere, so far as I know) is there a Persian reference to cutting off the head; though *DB* II 73–8, 88–91 describes torturing the man before impaling him (p. 65 n. 215), and IV 3–5 says of nine captured kings "as was my desire, so I did unto them"; generally Darius merely says that he executed the rebel. But after Thermopylae Xerxes ordered the head to be cut off Leonidas' dead body, and impaled on a stake: 7.238.1; Herodotus presents it as very un-Greek: the Taurians do it to captured Greeks, 4.103.2, but Pausanias expressly declined to avenge Leonidas by cutting off Mardonius' head, because that is not how Greeks behave (9.79). By 213, Antiochus III and his council showed no such sentiment towards the body of Achaeus (Polyb 8.21.4). The verb ταριχεύω and cognates can mean either pickle in salt or brine (e.g. of fish), or embalm, where λίτρον or νίτρον, sodium carbonate, was used (so 2.86–7 and Lloyd *ad loc*). The Persians would have learned embalming from the Egyptians, but packing the head in dry salt would be sufficient to send it to Susa. What Artaphrenes does is highly symbolic: he is saying to the king in a very tangible way: here is the evidence for what I have done to an enemy of Persia.

30.2 μεγάλως ἑωυτῷ τε καὶ Πέρσῃσι εὐεργέτεω The value of this assertion depends on its source (cf on ὁ Ἱστιαῖος, §29.1). If it is a "happy ending" in the biographical tradition, we must question its accuracy; if from a Persian source, it could be true. It is consistent with Herodotus' assertion that the king weighed good and bad deeds

before punishing (1.137.1; a specific case, Sandoces, at 7.194.1–2), and, as noted on παρὰ βασιλέα, §24.2, he could reward benefactors generously. Looking at Histiaeus from Darius' point of view, he could treat his conduct at the Danube bridge (p. 49) and later as counsellor in Susa as of greater moment than his conduct after leaving Susa, whatever the circumstances of his departure from there (pp. 65–7). Herodotus says that Darius blamed (ἐπαιτιησάμενος) Artaphrenes and Harpagos for not sending Histiaeus to Susa, but there is no indication that Darius punished either. It may, however, be reflected if we see Artaphrenes prudently securing Darius' approval for removing the tyrants, §43.3: see Appx 11 sec 3, esp text and n. 29).

§§31–3 *The following spring, the Persians retake control of Ionia. They "net" the islands to capture the inhabitants; as threatened before Lade, they burn the cities, castrate the boys, and take off the girls as slaves. They then retake the cities in the Hellespont.*

The final reduction of Ionia, and the operations in the Hellespont, are in spring 493: Appx 1 paras 1, 16. There is a marked difference between the punitive approach of the military here, and the more conciliatory approach of Artaphrenes, who wants to restore prosperity (§42 and Appx 11: so Macan II Appx VI 72). There is no evidence that the Persians sought to bolster their control by imposing military garrisons on the cities, though at some stage prior to 480 they had naval bases at Cyme, retaken in c498 (pp. 54, 62), and Samos (cf on §25.2): Appx 3 para 2. As to the Hellespont, Herodotus says that early in the revolt the Ionians sailed there and got Byzantium and all the other cities "in that area", ταύτῃ, to join it (5.103.2). That and §33 shows that "Hellespont" included the Propontis. The places recovered early on were all on the Asian side of the Hellespont (pp. 54, 62). The European side of the Propontis had been under the Persians since c512, but the status of the Chersonese is unclear, both Miltiades' bailiwick and the four non-Athenian poleis which may have been independent of him (see on §36.2): cf note to §§42–45 para 4. Scythia was Persia's first attempt to extend her rule into Europe, and Darius' outward route did not take in the Chersonese, *ibid*; yet Miltiades is reported as with him at the Danube bridge (p. 49). The fact that the king returned to Asia from Sestos is neutral, partly because it may mean only that

he sailed from Aenos to Sestos, and did not go overland (i.e. through Miltiades' bailiwick), partly because Sestos was not an Athenian colony and may have been independent of Miltiades. Even if parts of Darius' army marched through Miltiades' bailiwick to reach Sestos, that is also neutral; Miltiades could scarcely resist them. But his presence at the Danube bridge does suggest that he had made some accommodation with the king, perhaps similar to that negotiated by Amyntas (note to §§42–5 para 6); whether or not Herodotus believed that the Chersonese was included in the list of subjects ("all whom he ruled") which Darius inscribed on the columns which he erected after crossing the Bosporos (4.87.1). Isaac (1986) 174 notes that subservience to the king was not a charge levelled at Miltiades as reported at §104; but that does not rule out it being mentioned: cf on §104.2(g). From the perspective of the king, and whatever Miltiades thought, any accommodation made the other party his subject—the same problem arose with the Athenian ambassadors who gave earth and water in c508 (5.73: see on Φρυνίχῳ, §21.2 (4)). That does not solve the difficulty here, however: what had Miltiades done or not done since 499 for the Chersonese to be treated as in revolt? For instance, had he ever had to pay tribute? If not, he had withheld nothing since 499, and there is no suggestion that he had sent men or ships to help the Ionians. His flight at §41.1 is neutral: it may simply be that he (and the Greeks who left with him) did not wish to be further subservient to the Persians. It is certainly possible to view §33 as the Persians finally bringing the Chersonese into direct control.

31.1 ὁ δὲ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς τῶν Περσέων . . . δευτέρῳ ἔτεϊ Herodotus gives the first of four time markers that takes his narrative from the fall of Miletus to Datis' expedition: Appx 1 para 1. Although he commonly uses "Phoenician" for the Persian fleet (cf on Φοίνικες, §6), this was a military operation, and "Persian" perhaps stresses that the ships were carrying soldiers under Persian officers, e.g. to man the dragnet, infra; though he reverts to "Phoenician" at §§33.2–3. The present events probably had to wait for the spring because the final reduction of Caria took the remainder of the campaigning season after the fall of Miletus: see on αὐτίκα, §25.2. It would also enable the Persians to replace ships lost at Lade (see Appx 3 para 3). Herodotus has χειμερίζω six times, but it is otherwise rare and late (e.g. Joseph *Bell Iud* 1.308). For when the next year began see also Appx 1 n. 12.

αἱρέει εὐπετέως τὰς νήσους That there was no more fight left in the Ionians is easy to understand. This is the only place where Herodotus indicates that Tenedos was involved in the revolt. His only other reference is in his list of Aeolian states, 1.151. Its mention here really ties up with Miltiades' departure, §41.1, though she may have sent men to Lade: see on Αἰολέων, §8.1.

31.2 σαγηνεύουσι δὲ τόνδε τὸν τρόπον The islands must exclude Samos, rewarded for her desertion at Lade, §25.2. The only other large islands were Lesbos and Chios. The Persians probably reached them while Histiaeus was at Thasos: see on ἐνθεῦτεν and οἱ Φοίνικες, §28.1. If they netted Lesbos, she got no credit for also deserting at Lade: cf on Λεσβίοι, §14.3; for Chios cf on αἵρεον, §31.2. We may suspect exaggeration in the tradition: see on §32. It would be a physical impossibility to do what is described, i.e. to have a continuous dragnet from one side of the island to the other: the islands have mountainous interiors (for Chios see Appx 7; also, Lesbos has an irregular shape); though Herodotus says that Samos was netted in the late 520s, 3.149. We might understand a series of dragnets where the terrain permitted, in some cases moving from north to south, and perhaps manhunts into the foothills. Particularly in the islands, we may also think of families fleeing up into the mountains: cf one suggested purpose of the guard on Chios, noted on φρουρῇ, §26.1. As Herodotus uses ἀνθρώπους, the Persians may have been seizing, not just children, §32, but also men who could be ransomed: for that see on ἀνδραπόδων, §19.3.

Szemerényi (1974) 149 argues that σαγήνη, the ordinary word for a fisherman's net, has a Semitic origin, as a similar word is found in Accadian (and Cypriot); noted but left open by Chantraine. The noun does not appear in surviving literature until the Septuagint, but via Latin *sagina* passes into French and English as "seine"; the verb σαγηνεύω, apart from 3.149 and here and Plat *Leg* 698d, also does not appear till late.

αἵρεον . . . κατὰ ταὐτά The phrase κατὰ ταὐτά is usually translated "also took", e.g. de Sélincourt, Nenci, Mandilaras, but Waterfield makes it refer back to εὐπετέως ("just as easily"). Netting would not be practicable in built-up areas; in any case, apart from Miletus, the remaining mainland cities, including their χῶραι, were small in both area and population: see on Μιλήσιοι, §8.1. There is also the same

question as with Miletus as to how much devastation the Persians wrought. They would not restore Strattis (Appx 11 sec 3) to a devastated island. For the effect of the Persian actions see also on ἐνεπίμπρασαν, §32.

32 ἐνθαῦτα . . . τὰς ἀπειλάς The threats before Lade, §9.3–4. Strictly, ἐνθαῦτα could mean either "then" or "there" (i.e. on the mainland, which Herodotus has just mentioned); but the sense of the text is that Persian punishment fell on islands and mainland alike, and children were taken, and temples burnt, from each. But as with Miletus, §19.3, and the islands (previous note), there is a question as to how much devastation the Persians actually wrought; the stories probably became exaggerated in the tradition (cf Thomas (2004) 38–9). The Persians would want to make their displeasure felt; if this varied with the whim of the local commander, the worst case would become the basis for later tradition. As noted on §19.3, the Persians had an interest in the continued prosperity of their subjects, and Artaphrenes is about to promote that.

παῖδας . . . παρθένους . . . ἀνασπάστους We may accept that this happened, though the impact has probably been exaggerated (previous note), and there is no evidence over underpopulation in the next generation. As with cutting off the head (§30.1) castration was regarded as un-Greek: when in the first half of the sixth century Periander sent 300 Corcyrean boys to Alyattes at Sardis, they were rescued by the Samians (3.48). The Persian demand for eunuchs was normally supplied by their oriental subjects: 3.92.1. But at least one Greek trader is known: the anecdote of Panionius of Chios (8.105–6) shows that he was trading in eunuchs well before 500; it tells how one of the boys, Hermotimos, an adult in 480, and well trusted by Xerxes, took his revenge on Panionius; the possible literary embellishments of the story discussed in Hornblower (2003) do not affect the likelihood of one or two other Greeks being engaged in such trading. καλλιστεύω is Herodotean (§61.5 and 6 other times), but apart from Euripides it is rare in classical literature (Theophr *Char* 27.8; Timaeus *FGrH* 566 F164). In the spirit of the wishes attributed to Atossa at 3.134.5, there was probably a demand for Greek girls as servants in upper-class Persian households, but the implication of the passage, and the likelihood, is that most became concubines, a lucky few wives. For ἀνάσπαστους see on ἀνασπάστους, §9.4.

ἐνεπίμπρασαν αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι ἱροῖσι Here too, we may accept that it happened (cf on ἐνθαῦτα, supra). At 5.102.1, Herodotus says that the burning of the temple of Cybebe at Sardis was used as an excuse by the Persians to burn Greek temples: cf on οὔτε, §9.3. In principle, the Persians were tolerant of other peoples' gods: so Cyrus gets a good press in Ezra; but only so long as the subjects were loyal. Indeed, Xerxes is recorded as sacrificing to local gods, e.g. 7.43; generally Briant (1996) 564–6. But this was pragmatic: see on οἱ δύο θεοί, §97.2. Where a people revolted from or otherwise opposed the Persians, their gods should be also punished for letting their people do it. They were treated as symbols of their communities, sharing the blame for their disloyalty, and no longer to be revered: Morgan (1990b) 28; in more detail Tozzi (1977) 26–32, citing archaeological as well as literary evidence for many cases of burning temples in Darius' reign; unless there were special political considerations (e.g. Delos, §97). It was not just Greek gods; destruction of temples and religious statues in Babylonia after a revolt under Xerxes is attested (*CAH* IV^2 74–5 (Cuyler Young), 133–4 (Kuhrt)). The Persians were unmoved by the precedent of Alyattes, who fell ill after burning the temple of Athena at Miletus (1.19). In c518 Otanes had killed those taking sanctuary on sacred ground on Samos (3.147). The Persians had burnt Didyma the previous year, §19.3, and will shortly burn temples on Naxos, §96, and Eretria, §101.3; Herodotus and his audience would know of the many instances of it in 480–79, noted on οὔτε, §9.3. It was unGreek to do it. Alexander the Great avoided it when otherwise avenging the wrongs done to Greeks by Persians (Polyb 5.10.8); the Argives said that Cleomenes had suffered divine retribution for burning a sacred grove, §§75.3, 80.

τὸ τρίτον "Third", because the first was submitting to Lydia and the second to Cyrus: pp. 45–8. Herodotus is being rhetorical rather than accurate for the islands: they had never been under Lydian domination (1.27). They had had to come to terms with Cyrus; if subjection to him had been nominal, it was substantive by Darius' time: p. 46. We should be cautious about reading this sentence as a parallel to 1.143.2, where, speaking of when Cyrus conquered Lydia, Herodotus refers to the general weakness of the Hellenes, and particularly of the Ionians. Even if we treat it as referring to lack of political will and military strength, worse in Ionia than for Greeks generally, he goes on to say that the Phocaeans and Teans would

not tolerate slavery and emigrated, and the rest fought bravely, though they were defeated (1.169). His comment at 5.28 that Miletus was the πρόσχημα, glory or ornament, of Ionia does not suggest a pejorative view of Ionia as a whole. Both 1.142.1 and Hipp *Airs* 12 (second half fifth century: cf infra) praise the fertility and climate of Asia Minor. Herodotus does report that others think poorly of the Ionians: 4.142 (Scythians), 5.69 (Cleisthenes); and this is how his audience may have taken §32. There seems to have been a general perception that the Ionians' way of life was luxurious (see, e.g. Emlyn-Jones (1980) 169–70): Xenophanes fr 3 West (21 B3 DK) says that Colophonians learnt luxury from the Lydians; cf Theogn 1103–4, "hubris destroyed Magnesia and Colophon and Smyrna"; perhaps cf Anacreon's "the Milesians were once strong" (fr 426 Page; cf Ar *Plut* 1002, 1075), though that may have referred to military strength. Ar *Eccl* 883, 918 alludes to the Ionians' luxurious style of living, there with jocular emphasis on their alleged sexual mores (see Ussher *ad loc*). Athen 12.534f-536d has several fifth and fourth century quotations from comedy about Ionian luxury in general, and several more dealing with specific cities. Within the story of old antagonism between Athens and Aegina (see on πρότερον, §92.1), Herodotus says that the Athenians compelled their women to wear Ionian dress as a punishment (5.87).

If Herodotus is here being critical, it is more likely for other reasons. One is that it reflects his ἀρχὴ κακῶν comment at 5.97 (cf p. 29 n. 91); the Ionian revolt brought trouble to Greece. The other is that it takes up the Ionians' failure to follow Dionysius' call before Lade, to strive for victory and avoid slavery, and their expressed preference for slavery rather than effort, §§11.2–3, 12.2–3: cf on δρηπέτῃσι, §11.2, and on §12.3. His words are reminiscent of Hipp *Airs Waters Places* 16, but probably only because both have a common source or reflect a commonly held view: p. 5 n. 16.

33.1 τὰ ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ ἐσπλέοντι . . . τὰ γὰρ ἐπὶ δεξιά The whole of Asia Minor had been under Persian control from the time of Cyrus (up to the Halys, under Croesus before that, pp. 45–6; cf §37); the European side since c512, except perhaps the Chersonese: introductory note. Persian generals had retaken the right-hand (Asian) Hellespont, as well as the Troad, Mysia and the Aeolis, in 498: pp. 54, 62 (hence κατ' ἤπειρον here, "with an attack by land"), but the context shows that "Hellespont" here includes the Propontis. The

imperfect αἵρεε shows that they began to capture cities in the Chersonese as they moved eastward, but finished it on their return, §33.3 (see on τὰς ἐπιλοίπους).

[αἱ] . . . αἵδε Rosén and Nenci print αἱ without the brackets, though Rosén brackets τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου. With αἵδε we must understand πόλεις, though some of the τείχεα were not poleis: see next note and on τὰ ἐπὶ Θρηίκης.

Χερσόνησος . . . πόλιες συχναί Not quite: some cities in the Chersonese were taken on the return leg, §33.3. Herodotus probably thought of the Chersonese ending with Miltiades' wall (§36.2). Xen *Hell* 3.2.10, speaking of 398, reports "11 or 12 poleis"; we know of several small settlements (Isaac (1986) 188, 196); the principal cities were: on the north-west coast, Cardia, not in fact reduced, §33.3, Alopeconnesos, and Limnae. At the end of the peninsula, Elaious. On the south-east coast, Madytos and Sestos, perhaps Callipolis (see on ἐπολέμησε, §37.1), Crithote and Pactye; inland from Pactye, Agora. See also on §36.2. For their status vis-à-vis the Persians until now see introductory note.

Πέρινθος καὶ τὰ τείχεα τὰ ἐπὶ Θρηίκης The context shows that "the fortifications in Thrace" (cf τὰ ἐπὶ Θρηίκης in Thucydides, e.g. 4.78.1, 5.12.1) means those on or near the coast. The Persians were moving from west to east, and the text reads as if the τείχεα were between Perinthos and Selymbria. But we know of only one settlement there, in 493 or later: Daminon Teichos or Daunio(n)teichos (Eski Eriğli: *ATL* I 480; Ps-Scyl 67.31–2; Steph Byz sv Δαύνιον; Isaac (1986) 207–8)). Herodotus was almost certainly thinking of the settlements between the Chersonese and Perinthos, some of which were fortified and had τεῖχος names; some may have been Thracian rather than Greek (and there may have been Thracian forts whose names as well as locations are lost to us). Also, despite αἵδε (supra), some of the τεῖχη were probably not poleis in their own right (see Isaac 127–8; cf Nielsen (2002) 50). Those existing, or probably existing, in 493 were (from west to east): Leuke Acte (7.25.2; site unknown, but probably the first place in the Propontis as opposed to the Chersonese: Isaac 197, 202; called a τεῖχος by Ps-Scyl 67.29–30); Tyrodiza, an outpost of Perinthos (7.25.2; *ATL* I 545–6; if the same as the Teiristasis of Ps-Scyl 67.30, as is postulated, also a τεῖχος;

near Şarköy); Heraion Teichos, a Samian settlement (4.90.2; a polis and a fort, with differing accents in Steph Byz sv: Ἥραιον polis and Ἡραῖον τεῖχος; perhaps the polis included the nearby fort); perhaps Didymoteichos, only known from *ATL* I 482. There was also the Samian colony and polis of Bisanthe (Tekirdăg). Others for which we have names were probably later foundations, and so false friends in the present context. Thus Neapolis replaced Tyrodiza in the *ATL* from 441. In 400 Seuthes offered Xenophon three forts: Bisanthe, supra, Ganos and Neon Teichos (Xen *Anab* 7.5.8). Ganos is placed at or near a modern village of that name, between Şarköy and Tekirdăg; it is identified with the fourth century Serreion Teichos of Dem 7.37, 9.15, Aeschin *Ctes* 65. Neon Teichos was either the same as Didymoteichos (so *ATL* I 482) or a new settlement on that part of the coast. The forts of Alcibiades have to be near Aegospotami, and are so put by Xen *Hell* 1.5.17, 2.1.25 (where the distance given of 15 stades may be corrupt) and DS 13.74.2 (near Pactye), i.e. in the Chersonese itself, and so irrelevant here. Nepos *Alc* 7.4 problematically puts them in the Propontis: Ornoi, Bisanthe, and Neonteichos. If Ornoi (mentioned in Lys 14.26) is correctly identified as near İnecik (Barringon 52 Gazeteer) it was inland, 23 km west of Bisanthe/Tekirdăg on the modern road to Greece; all three are quite distant from Pactye, e.g. Bisanthe is c45 km as the crow flies. Generally for all these places see Isaac (1986) 197, 201–13, 213–14; Barrington 52 Directory; map 5; Hansen and Nielsen (2004) 914–23, 979.

33.2 Βυζάντιοι . . . Καλχηδόνιοι Both (like Selymbria) were originally Megarian colonies (Isaac (1986) 199). For the apparent ease with which part of a population could relocate itself, see on ἐκ τῶν στρατηγῶν, §22.1. If Bisaltes was still carrying on Histiaeus' Byzantine operation (§26.1), the arrival of the Persians would probably put a stop to it. Presumably only some of the populations moved, in view of their recovery: see on κατακαύσαντες, infra. For Φοίνικας/ες cf on Φοίνικες, §6.

Μεσαμβρίην On the west coast of the Black Sea, now Nesebar (Müller (1997) 881–2; Barrington 22). At 4.93 Herodotus refers to it merely to identify Thracian tribes living nearby (Appx 10 para 7). Its -bria name indicates that it had been a Thracian settlement ("bria" being Thracian for city, Strabo 7.6.1). Although, as noted on Δόλογκοι,

§34.1, Thracians usually resisted Greek settlements, this seems to have been an exception. Greeks seem to have first gone there to establish a trading post to take advantage of the needs of Darius' army in c513, and the present emigration extended it. This reconciles Ps-Scymn 738–42, which says that it was settled by Calchedonians and Megarians when Darius invaded Scythia; the present passage, which implies a sizeable movement; and archaeology, which favours 493; though one might argue that Ps-Scymnus' Megarians got there because he confused or misrecollected 4.93 and the present passage, since both Byzantium and Calchedon were Megarian colonies; and he uses ᾤκισαν, as here; οἰκέω connotes "went to live there", rather than "found" a settlement, for which the usual word is (κατ)οικίζω: see Powell svv; but Ps-Scymnus had metrical constraints. See Hind (1998) 137–8; Isaac (1986) 250–1, stressing the Megarian connection; Hansen and Nielsen (2004) 934–5.

κατακαύσαντες As with Ionia, as noted on ἐνεπίμπρασαν, §32, there is a question as to the extent of the damage. Byzantium remained an important Greek city after its recapture in 479, and Pausanias could then base himself there (Thuc 1.130); she made a substantial contribution to the Delian league (initially 15 talents, later 9: Isaac 224–5); the next clear indication about Calchedon is late in the fifth century (*ibid* 226 and n. 80). Perinthos and Selymbria paid 10 and 5 or 6 talents respectively to the League.

Προκόννησον καὶ 'Αρτάκην The Phoenicians are now returning from Byzantium; Herodotus mentions two of the principal places on the Asian side of the Propontis. He does not mention two others, Astacos, a colony of Megara or Calchedon, and Cios, a colony of Miletus; if they had joined the revolt, they may have already come to terms, like Cyzicos, another Milesian colony (§33.3). Artace was the port of Cyzicos, apparently excluded from that agreement; Proconnesos was another Milesian colony.

τὰς ἐπιλοίπους . . . πρότερον προσσχόντες It is not clear why some, unspecified, cities were left in the initial move eastwards (cf on Χερσόνησος, §33.1). At a practical level, the fleet would put in at some places to take on provisions and water, and they may have wanted to press on to retake the Propontis and Byzantium.

κατέσυραν Here and at 5.81.3; but not again until the Alexander Historians, Polybius and the Septuagint.

33.3 Κύζικον οὐδὲ . . . ἀρχήν For Cyzicos see on Προκόννησον, §33.2. The phrase οὐδὲ ἀρχήν (or variants, e.g. as at §86β2) is a favourite expression of Herodotus for "not at all". For "Phoenicians" cf on Φοίνικες, §6.

Οἰβάρεϊ Otherwise unknown (as is the meaning of his name, Schmitt (1967) 134), but probably brother to Bubares and Pheredates, commanders in 480 (7.22, 67). His father may have been the Megabazos who conquered Thrace in c512: Appx 5 Note 2. By c477, Dascylion was a separate satrapy (Thuc 1.129.1), but in the absence of epigraphical confirmation we cannot be sure whether this was so in 493, the status of ὕπαρχος in Herodotus being ambiguous (§1.1). Satrap or governor, Oibares helps fill the roster after Mitrobates, assassinated in the late 520s by Oroetes the satrap in Sardis; Oroetes may have taken the post over until his own execution in the early 510s (3.120, 126–7). After Oibares Megabates, probably his half-brother and previously Persian commander for the Naxos expedition, 5.32, was appointed, in turn being replaced by Artabazus c477 (Thuc *loc cit*).

τῆς δὲ Χερσονήσου . . . By closing in this way, that going out or coming back the Phoenician fleet reduced the Chersonese, Herodotus prepares for the digression of §§34–41, which in turn ends with Miltiades leaving as the fleet reaches Tenedos on its outwards leg. It is unclear why Cardia had a claim on Persian benevolence. She was part of Miltiades' bailiwick, and may have been his "capital" (see on §36.2). But outside that, further round the bay to the east, the emporia of Cobrys and Cypasis were her dependencies (Ps-Scyl 67.15–16; Isaac (1986) 187), and so she may have had a Thracian as well as a Greek population. But it may simply be that the fleet did not bother to sail all the way along the north coast of the Chersonese.

§§34–41 *Miltiades was ruler of the Chersonese. His uncle, also Miltiades, had been invited there by the local Dolonci to help fight their neighbours, the Apsinthii. With the approval of Delphi, he settled Athenians there. He built a*

wall across the isthmus, and attacked Lampsacus. He was captured, but released on the instructions of Croesus. After his death, he was succeeded by Stesagoras, brother to Miltiades junior, but Stesagoras was murdered. Miltiades junior was now sent out to take over. He married Hegesipyle, daughter of the Thracian king Oloros. He soon had to flee before a Scythian invasion, but the Dolonci restored him. But now, when the Phoenician fleet reached Tenedos, he fled with five triremes. The Phoenicians captured one, of which his son Metiochos was captain. Darius treated him well, giving him an estate and a Persian wife.

Before continuing with events after the military end of the Ionian revolt, Herodotus has a digression about Miltiades and his family: his uncle Miltiades senior established Athenian rule in the Chersonese, §§34–37; he himself had gone out after his older brother was murdered, §§38–39. He finally left when the Persians were approaching, §41. Herodotus' source here, as well as §§103–4, is largely Philaid; it both extolled the deeds of family members, and asserted that they had always been opposed to the Pisistratids (cf pp. 18–19). Pisistratos has been written out of the narrative as a principal player; Miltiades senior was ἀχθόμενος, "vexed", under his régime and wanted to be out of his way, ἐκποδών, §35.3. The reality is that Pisistratos and later his sons sought to engender good relations with other prominent families, and encouraged the spread of Athenian influence abroad. For the first, see *CAH* III^2 3 406 (Andrewes), IV^2 288–9 (Lewis). It seems clear that they did not fully succeed in this, if only from the stories of Cimon, §103, and Callias, §121. Even so, a generation later under Hippias, both Cleisthenes and Miltiades junior were archons (525 and 524: ML 6 with commentary, and Andrewes (1956) 109–111). Later, it became desirable for such families to claim continuous opposition to the Pisistratids. Cf also notes to §§102–108 and §§121–4. For the second, see Appx 8 para 2; it was not so much a "foreign policy", which has modern overtones, as taking advantage of opportunities as and when they arose. Several cases are reflected in book 6: see on §100.1; cf on καταλαμψόμενον, §39.1.

The story of the Dolonci consulting Delphi, and how they met Miltiades senior, has folkloristic overlay, whether on Philaid or popular tradition. Some input, non-Philaid, was hostile to Miltiades junior: the Pisistratid trireme which sent him out, his bodyguard of mercenaries; and his fleeing the Chersonese (§§39–40). The first two may be factually true; all were probably recalled because they were points stressed by the prosecution at his first trial; for another aspect

of popular tradition see on Μιλτιάδης, §34.1). Unfortunately our text of §40 is obscure and almost certainly corrupt. The problems are discussed *ad locc* and in Appx 10 (§40) and in Appx 10.

34.1 Ἐτυράννευε δὲ αὐτέων (sc πολέων) If we take μέχρι τότε as referring to §33, as an audience or reader might easily do, the statement is inaccurate; Miltiades left the Chersonese a little earlier, when the Persian fleet reached Tenedos: §41.1, referring back §31.1.

Μιλτιάδης ὁ Κίμωνος τοῦ Στησαγόρεω Herodotus usually names three generations to stress the identity of the person: cf on Αἰάκης, §13.2. That he does it here and again at §103.1 suggests that by the mid fifth century popular tradition in Athens already conflated the two men, and many believed that it was Miltiades of Marathon who had originally settled the Chersonese; cf p. 19 n. 62. It was probably already reflected in whatever source Ephoros used, since Nepos *Milt* attributed everything to Miltiades junior, and his source was probably Ephoros (cf Appx 17 n. 9; Appx 18 para 2) so Paus 6.19.6. Miltiades senior and Cimon were half-brothers; the former died childless, and passed his family property to Cimon's elder son: §38.1; generally, *APF* 8429; stemma, Appx 20.

Δόλογκοι . . . Ἀψινθίων Mythology made the Dolonci kin to the Bithynians, who lived on the southern shore of the Propontis east of Cyzicos and Dascylion (Steph Byz svv Βιθυνία and Δόλογκοι: Bithynos and Doloncos were the sons of Titan's daughter Thrace by Cronos and Zeus respectively). Perhaps an accident of our sources, the Dolonci are only known from this incident. They were probably numerically few and saw an influx of Greek settlers as the answer to their manpower problems; §36.2 indicates chronic border disputes with the Apsinthians. The latter lived from Aenos (Poltymbria as they called it), near the mouth of the Hebros, to the Chersonese: Hellanic *FGrH* 4 FF163, 197b; Strabo 7.6.1; Isaac (1986) 146. In 479 they captured and sacrificed the Persian Oenobazos (9.119.1). There is no conflict with 5.3.1, that the Thracians were weak and disunited; Herodotus is there contrasting them with the Persians, strong because united under a single ruler, and would be influenced by the significant power of the Odrysai in his own day, who, probably under the Sitalces of 4.80 and 7.137, controlled much of Thrace

from the Danube to Abdera (Thuc 2.95–8; generally *CAH* VI^2 444–51 (Archibald)). Individual Thracian tribes were aggressive and warlike, resisting outsiders, e.g. the Getae opposed Darius en route to Scythia, 4.93. They tolerated Greek emporia, but resisted the establishment of larger settlements, e.g. at Abdera at some date prior to c547 (though later the Teans were able to refound it, 1.168), and at Eion, Amphipolis and Drabescos later in the fifth century (Isaac (1986) 20, 291). They resisted Aristagoras' expansionism at Myrcinos in c496 (5.126, noted p. 54), and the Brygi attacked the Persian camp at §45. When Megabazos told Darius that Histiaeus at Myrcinos could command support from Greeks and Thracians, 5.23.2, we should be cautious; this is either Histiaeus' biography making him the popular local ruler, or Megabazos' exaggeration to make sure that Darius removed Histiaeus (cf p. 48 n. 170). Although Miltiades' father-in-law is described as king of "Thracians", §39.2, he would only have ruled his immediate area.

ἐς Δελφοὺς ἔπεμψαν τοὺς βασιλέας The βασιλέας were probably chieftains in the Homeric sense. There is no *a priori* reason why the Dolonci could not have consulted Delphi. There are several reported consultations by non-Greeks: the Lydians (1.13.1; 1.19.2); Croesus on some five occasions, 1.47.1, etc (PW 50–56); the Agyllaeans in the 530s, after they had killed the Phocaean survivors of the battle, Appx 2 endnote [5] (1.167.2); and perhaps by Ducetius, for whom see on Καλὴν ἀκτήν, §22.2 (Malkin (1987) 85–6; DS 12.8.2 says only that he had an oracle ὑπὸ θεῶν); the satrap Tiribazus, c390 (PW 176). DS 7.16 reports a consultation by Perdiccas, first king of Macedon, seventh century; and there are even vaguer legends about a Pelasgian called Meleos, and the Egyptians, Zen 5.74, Ps-Plut *Fluv* 16.1 (PW 64, 226, 375, 529). This is the only reported case of a Thracian consultation, but the Thracians specially worshipped Apollo: *CAH* III^2 2 615–16 (Mihailov).

34.2 ἀνεῖλε The regular word in Herodotus for an oracle answering: §52.5; cf §69.3.

οἰκιστήν . . . ἐπὶ ξείνια καλέσῃ . . . τὴν ἱρὴν ὁδὸν διὰ Φωκέων τε καὶ Βοιωτῶν . . . ἐκτρέπονται ἐπ' Ἀθηνέων As reported, the folkloristic response is not credible; it would tell them either to go to Athens,

or to go there and find Miltiades. Delphi would not leave such matters to chance. The journey is accurate geographically but unrealistic as explained. Both aspects are discussed in Appx 8. (τὰ) ξείνια means dinner or hospitality; so ἐπὶ ξείνια καλέειν is "invite for dinner", as at 2.107.1, 5.18.1; cf on καταγωγήν, §35.2.

35.1 τηνικαῦτα . . . τὸ πᾶν κράτος Herodotus does not say in which of Pisistratos' periods of power the episode occurred, but perhaps meant the final one by τὸ πᾶν κράτος: see further next note. But the phrase might just be a stylistic variant for ἐτυράννευε. If Miltiades was rescued at Lampsacus by Croesus (§37), he must have gone out before the fall of Sardis, and been there some little time, as his first task was to build the wall, §36.2. The best analysis of Pisistratos' dates (Rhodes on *Ath Pol* 14–19 at p. 198) puts the first two tyrannies as periods of months in 561–559 and 557–555, with the third beginning in 546–5. The fall of Sardis is often put at 547, e.g. *CAH* III^2 2 651 (Mellink); IV^2 33–4 (Cuyler Young); but the basis for the date is not universally accepted (e.g. *ib* III^2 3 (Andrewes) 401–2); Kuhrt (1995) II 568, 659 is not prepared to be more specific than "in the 540s". Miltiades senior was born by c585 (*APF* 8429 V), and would be in his 40s by 545. We may place his departure in c545–4 (so *APF* 8429 VI); but some contend for it during one of the earlier tyrannies, e.g. Jeffery (1976) 96.

ἀτὰρ ἐδυνάστευέ γε The use of ἀτάρ, slightly leavened by γε, makes a strong contrast with the previous phrase (Denniston 54). We can take it in two ways. If the imperfects εἶχε and ἐδυνάστευε are parallel, it would convey that Pisistratos had total power, but Miltiades also had (some) political power (for δυναστέω cf §§39.2, 66.2); so it arguably refers to one of the two earlier tyrannies, when the aristocrats were sufficiently strong to bring each to an early end; indeed, 1.59 hints that for the first one, Pisistratos was sharing power with them. Miltiades would then be only in his 20s, but he would be around 30 during the second tyranny (cf previous note). But Herodotus was using a "sanitised" tradition that put Miltiades centre stage and marginalised Pisistratos, and we should be cautious as to whether the two imperfects are parallel; ἔχω only had the one past tense. The stress is really on ἀχθόμενον, §35.3, dissatisfied: Miltiades used to have political influence, but he could no longer exercise it now that Pisistratos had all the power. This is not of itself a counter-

indication to dating the events to the second tyranny, but it is more consistent with the final one. The reality is another matter; Pisistratos tried to foster good relations with other aristocratic families (introductory note).

οἰκίης τεθριπποτρόφου There are seven cases in book 6 of men who won this race: from Athens, Miltiades here; Cimon, §103.2; Callias, §122.1 (likely to be factually correct even if the chapter is spurious); Alcmaeon, §125.5; from elsewhere, Cleisthenes of Sicyon, §126.2; Demaratos and Euagoras of Sparta, §70.3, §103.4; the Spartan Cynisca is noted on Ζευξίδημος, §71.1. We could argue that keeping race-horses (mares: §103.3–4; 7.196) consumed resources in land and crops, and was undesirable in a subsistence economy: but see Appx 9, which also shows that only families with substantial estates could do it. The Greeks saw it differently. Any Olympic victory brought prestige not just to the victor but also to his polis; in the case of the four-horse race people could expect their richest citizens to keep horses and enter it. In 415, Alcibiades claimed credit for his victory in 416: Thuc 6.16.2–3. Thus keeping race-horses was a sort of liturgy expected of the élite family; at the same time, it would be a matter of the family's τιμή to do it, and victory would increase the family's popularity. For Miltiades' family holdings, see *APF* 8429 XVI.

Αἰακοῦ . . . Φιλαίου Many families claimed a god or hero as their ancestor, e.g. Hecataeus, as alluded to, perhaps mockingly, by Herodotus at 2.143.1, 4; Andocides (Hellanic *FGrH* 323a F24; Alcibiades (Plato *Alc I* 121a: from Eurysaces, cf infra); Hippocrates (Pherec *FGrH* 3 F59); in the late fourth century Agathon of Zacynthos, *IG* IX I^2 4.1750, claimed to be 30 generations from Cassandra; for some athletes, see note to §§61–70; generally Thomas (1989) 108–9, 155–61, 173–95, esp 159 n. 7. The Philaids' family tradition could name each ancestor: Marcell *Vit Thuc* 3 = Pherec *FGrH* 3 F2, Hellanic *FGrH* 4 F22, though as there transmitted it is inconsistent with Herodotus, e.g. as to the father of Miltiades senior (Herodotus' Cypselus is accepted as correct): see Thomas 161–73; *APF* 8429 I). Hippocrates may have been able to: cf Jouanna (1999) 12; Heropythos of Chios recorded 14 ancestors, though not ending in a god: *SGDI* 5656; Jeffery (1990) 338, 344 no 47. For the Spartan king lists see on Λευτυχίδῃ, §65.1. Like, e.g., the Gephyraioi, originally from Eretria (5.57.1), the Philaids had to accept a "foreign" ancestry. Aiacos was

the son of Aegina by Zeus, and an Aeginetan hero; she was the daughter of Asopos, the river which formed the contentious frontier between Thebes and Attica (Appx 12 n. 5; for the frontier see on οὔρισαν, §108.5 and on §108.6). But in two generations the family had become Athenian: Telamon, a son of Aiacos, ruled Salamis, long in contention between Athens and Megara, while Telamon's son, Ajax, became the eponym of the Aiantis tribe (cf on §111.1). Ajax' son Eurysaces had a shrine in the agora, the Eurysaceion (Philochor *FGrH* 328 F26; probably south-west of the Theseion (Travlos (1971) 261–2)). Philaios is usually another son of Ajax, as here, Plut *Sol* 10 (which names both sons), and Steph Byz sv Φιλαΐδαι, which gives his wife as Lysidice daughter of Coronos the Lapith; but Paus 1.35.2 (in the same context as Plutarch, the surrender of Salamis to Athens) makes him the son, not the brother, of Eurysaces. See Gantz (1996) I 219–223 and xxxvi for the Asopos-Aegina part of the stemma and II 631, 694–5 for Eurysaces and Philaios. Cleisthenes made Philaidai the name of a deme (so Plut and Steph Byz, *loc cit*; Schol Ar *Av* 873 = Hellanic *FGrH* 4 F165 = 323a F8), though by then the blood line had died with Miltiades senior. The family is not called Philaid in the literature, except, apparently, by Metrodorus of Lampsacus, fr 4 Körte = DL 10.1; perhaps because Miltiades junior and his son Cimon were not related by blood to Miltiades senior (stemma, Appx 20). This may also explain why, unlike the Boutadai, the latter did not see fit to call themselves eteo-Philaids ("true Philaids") to distinguish themselves from the demesmen.

35.2 κατήμενος . . . ἐν τοῖς προθύροισι At least part of the family property was in the deme Lakiadai, about 2 km from the centre of Athens in the direction of Eleusis (*APF* 8429 XVI; *Ath Pol* 27.3). According to LSJ, πρόθυρον means either the space in front of the front door, or a porch (though at 3.35.2 it seems to mean an antechamber). If we translate "porch" it gives the delightful impression of a country gentleman relaxing there in the cool of the evening. A porch seems to be implied in Homer, both for aristocratic houses (e.g. *Il* 11.777), and ordinary ones on Achilles' shield, even Eumaeus' hut (*Il* 18.496, *Od* 14.34, 16.12). But archaeology has only recovered one country house which clearly has a porch (Vari: Jones *et al* (1973) 355–452; plans 362, 371, or *CAH* V^2 201). Town houses opened directly on to the street, so that the πρόθυρον was part of

the public thoroughfare; at Athens that is where the herms stood (Thuc 6.27.1). See Jones (1975) for Athens: plans and reconstructions passim and collected to scale in figs 21–23; cf e.g. Ar *Vesp* 802, Plat *Symp* 175d. The same picture appears elsewhere in Greece: Morris (1998), and for Hippodamian town houses see the plans in Hoepfner and Schwander (1986) 44–5 (Olynthus), 171 (Priene); generally 267.

αἰχμάς Thuc 1.5.3–6.2 indicates that, except in places such as Aetolia and Acarnania, by his time Greeks no longer routinely carried arms, and to do so was a sign of the barbarian.

καταγωγὴν καὶ ξείνια καταγωγή means shelter (literally, of a tree, Plat *Phaedr* 230b); Herodotus uses it for the rest houses on the Persian road, 5.52, and at Xen *Hell* 3.2.11 it means the fort or barracks at Atarneus (cf on Ἅρπαγος, §28.2) where troops could be rested and fed; καταγώγιον was coined for lodging houses for travellers (the first one recorded is after 427, Thuc 3.68.3). ξείνια is dinner: cf on οἰκιστήν, §34.2. As pointed out in Appx 8 para 5, the Dolonci would need to stop for the night several times en route from Delphi. Ordinarily, wherever the traveller slept, he would have to buy and cook his own food; the oracle requires someone who would offer him both a place to sleep and a meal. Miltiades does that and so fulfils it. At 2.115.4 ξείνια is given in the context of a ξενία relationship; *quaere* whether Miltiades now made such a relationship with the Dolonci chieftains. He was about to go to live with them, but other Philaids were in Athens.

35.3 ἀχθόμενον . . . ἐκποδών This must be read subject to the comments in the introductory note and on ἀτάρ, §35.1, as to Pisistratos being written out of the arrangements. In fact he would be involved with and encourage the creation of an Athenian outpost on an important sea-route: introductory note and Appx 8 para 2. It was also an arrangement that suited both men. For Pisistratos it removed a potential source of opposition; Miltiades was able to exercise power, and ἐκποδών may carry the ring of truth: better to be a big fish in the Chersonese than a small one in Athens; cf on πάντα, §36.1. Cimon senior was also ἀχθόμενος, but handled things less happily: see on §103.2–3. *APF* 8429 VI draws on the stories of Miltiades and Cimon

to suggest that the Philaids were particularly opposed to Pisistratos. But other aristocratic families also had their political ambitions frustrated: Sealey (1976) 123–128; cf the account of Callias, §§121–3.

ἐστάλη ἐς Δελφούς There is scope for argument as to the true sequence of events, but it was de rigeur to get Delphi's approval for a colony (which this was: Miltiades was the οἰκιστής, as we see at §38.1; cf Malkin (1987) 192). Either Athens or Miltiades would consult Delphi for her approval. Delphi would advise consistently with what she had recently said to the Dolonci, and knowing that they consented to the settlement: see Appx 8, esp paras 1–3.

36.1 Ὀλύμπια ἀναραιρηκώς This cannot be precisely dated, though Herodotus is presumably correct in putting it before he went to the Chersonese; Moretti (1957) no 71 offers 560, between Cleisthenes (§126.2: 576 or 572) and Euagoras' first victory (§103.4: 548). But it cannot be used to help resolve the dating problem discussed on §35.1: *APF* 8429 VI.

πάντα τὸν βουλόμενον . . . στόλου Both numbers and social composition, which could include both members of other aristocratic families and landless men, are speculative. Herodotus records 3 triaconters for a group of Minyans at 4.148, and 2 penteconters for Theran emigrants to Libya, 4.153; perhaps some 200–300 persons in all including the rowers (cf Appx 2 para 8); but these may be false friends here, as Miltiades was able to (re)found several settlements: see on §36.2. Building the wall, *ibid*, proves nothing, as Miltiades would also have Doloncian labour. Some 50 years later, in 493, Miltiades junior could fill five triremes (§41). The ships were almost certainly galleys belonging to the Philaids and fellow aristocrats: cf Appx 2 n. 3; Scott (2000) 95, 99–100; a very broad guess might lead us to think of an initial contingent of some 400–600 persons.

ἔσχε . . . κατεστήσαντο In the context, ἔσχε means that he "occupied" the area with the consent of the Dolonci, who brought him (οἱ ἐπαγαγόμενοι, middle). The words τύραννον κατεστήσαντο may reflect part of the defence of Miltiades junior in 493 when accused of tyranny (see on §104.2(a)): his uncle did not aim to be τύραννος, but the Dolonci elected him as their leader. There may also be a semantic point. Thracians are normally represented as having a king,

e.g. Oloros, father-in-law of Miltiades junior, §39.2; but the Dolonci might not have wished to elect a Greek as their king. τύραννος may have been a better Greek word than βασιλεύς to denote his position or translate the Thracian word for his title. But like Thracian kings as well as other Greek tyrants, he treated his position as hereditary; see on τὴν ἀρχήν, §38.1, which by then may not have had the full approval of the Dolonci: see on αὐτομόλου, §38.2, and on §39.2.

36.2 ἀπετείχισε . . . ἐκ Καρδίης πόλιος . . . The first of several walls: restored, or a similar wall built, at the instance of Pericles (Plut *Per* 19) and by Dercylidas in 398 (Xen *Hell* 3.2.8, 10; DS 14.38.7, who adds that he first had to drive the Thracians out); Isaac (1986) 167–8, who also mentions a later one erected by Justinian. Archaeology has so far not yielded traces of any of them (Isaac 166–7). If ὠσάμενος, §37.1, indicates fighting when the wall was built, there is no indication that either Miltiades had further problems with the Apsinthii. Cardia was a colony of Miletus and Clazomenae, but Miltiades took it over ("refounded", Ps-Scymn 701–2; Strabo 7 fr 51). As Miltiades junior eventually departed from there, §41.1, the family residence may have been in or near it. We might also infer that it was his "capital" and the site of the πρυτανηίον of §38.1, since Herodotus does not represent Pactye as a polis (Ps-Scymn 711 is also ambivalent). Pactye had a tomb of Helle (7.58.2 with Hellanic *FGrH* 4 F127), and may already have been a Doloncian settlement, though Ps-Scymn 711–12 reports it as founded by Miltiades. As it did not figure in the Delian league, it may have been a dependency of Cardia; see also Hansen and Nielsen (2004) 907–8. Miltiades' bailiwick probably also included Crithote, a place referred to as Agora or Cherronesos, and Elaious. Crithote is described as a polis founded by Miltiades: Ephoros *FGrH* 70 F40, Ps-Scymn 711; Isaac 196–7. Inland, he founded the polis variously called Agora or Cherronesos, the latter in the *ATL*, which probably controlled access through the wall (7.58.2; Ps-Scyl 67.27; Schol Ar *Eq* 262; Isaac 167, 173, 197; cf also on Χερσονησῖται, §38.1). Paus 6.19.6 reports a dedication at Olympia "by those from the Chersonese who took Teichos Aratos; Miltiades commanded them". He understood this to be Miltiades junior. The fort is otherwise unknown, but was probably on the frontier, perhaps controlling traffic across it; the dedication may reflect initial fighting when Miltiades senior built the wall (cf Loukopoulou (1989) 74; Isaac 173). Elaious, at the western tip of the Chersonese,

was an Athenian colony (Ps-Scymn 707–8; Isaac 192–3; Pliny's "Aeolian" colony, *NH* 4.11.49, is probably confusion with Ps-Scymn 706, referring to Alopeconnesos); he sailed from there against Lemnos, §140. For these places see Hansen and Nielsen 904–5, 903, 906. The other cities were not Athenian foundations, and it is unclear how far Miltiades exercised authority over them. Alopeconnesos, at or near Suvla Bay, had been founded by Mytilene and Cyme; Limnae by Miletus. Hecat *FGrH* 1 F164 puts it near Sestos, on the south-east coast; *ATL*, Ps-Scymn 705, and Strabo 7 fr 51 all indicate that it was on the north-west coast, or possibly slightly inland, east of Alopeconnesos, near the salt marshes in the Suvla Bay area (Isaac (1986) 188–90). But there is no conflict, as the peninsula here is narrow. Madytos and Sestos had been founded by Lesbos. For these places see Hansen and Nielsen 904–5, 908, 908–9, 909–10; map 5; Barrington 51. For the possible Lampsacene *peraia* beyond Sestos, see on ἐπολέμησε, §37.1; for other small places see on Χερσόνησος, §33.1.

στάδιοι ἕξ τε καὶ τριήκοντα Others put it at 37 and 40 stades (Xen *Hell* 3.2.10, Ps-Scyl 67.26, Strabo 7 fr 53). A stade was 600 feet, but the foot varied from 295.7 to 333 mm (*OCD*³ sv Measures). The actual distance across the narrowest part, between Cardia, put at Bakla Burnu, and Pactye, some 3 km south of Bolayır (Barrington 51 Directory), is c7 km. On the basis of the Aeginetan foot, 333 mm, Herodotus' information was accurate: 36 stades would equal 7.2 km (cf on παρασάγγας, §42.2).

σταδίων εἴκοσι καὶ τετρακοσίων The context suggests that, as with the wall, Herodotus is thinking of the distance from Cardia; and 420 stades, 84 km, by ship to Elaious is substantially accurate. Ps-Scyl 67.28 offers 400 stades; Strabo 7 fr 51 "a little more than 400", and slightly longer from Elaious to Pactye.

37.1 ὠσάμενος As noted on §36.2, the wall seems to have stopped further trouble with the Apsinthians.

ἐπολέμησε Λαμψακηνοῖσι The story is probably from local or Athenian sources, but see p. 15. Lampsacus had probably been exacting tolls on shipping passing through the Hellespont; the straits are only c7–8 km wide at this point. Miltiades would want to break that

monopoly. Also, there may have been disputes over territory on the European side. At some stage she had a settlement (πολίχνιον) there, Callipolis, Gelibolu (Gallipoli), just east of Crithote. This may have post-dated the present events, as it is not in Ps-Scylax or Ps-Scymnus, and is first mentioned by the second century Alexander Polyhistor *FGrH* 273 F13 = Steph Byz sv Καλλίπολις; so Strabo 7 fr 55, 13.1.18. But Lampsacus may already have had a *peraia*, giving rise to frontier disputes; disputes between neighbouring farmers could easily escalate into polis fighting: Scott (2000) 95–6; cf Appx 11 sec 1, esp text and nn 7–8. The text suggests that Miltiades had started the fighting; van Wees (2004) 132 has him ambushed while attacking the city. But if there was a *peraia* the fighting and ambush could have been on the European side. The stress on ζωγρίῃ suggests that they hoped for a substantial ransom. The two states remained hostile: §38.

ἐν γνώμῃ γεγονώς The not very common ἐν (τῇ) γνώμῃ usually means "in my/your/his mind": Dem 4.17, 49; Andoc 2.24; Hipp *Semine* 13; Soph *Aj* 1038, so de Sélincourt, Powell sv. Waterfield has "Croesus knew about Miltiades"; at more length, Milziade era ben noto a Creso, Nenci; Κροίσος είχε ακούσει πολλά για τον Μιλτιάδη, Mandilaras; Jebb on *Aj* 1038 offers "in his judgment" there, "had won his esteem" here. It probably has its usual meaning, but we may suspect an accretion in the tradition, or perhaps an imaginative touch by Herodotus. Certainly it was Lydian policy to have good relations with Greek élite: Austin (1990) 295; and it is also possible that Miltiades and Croesus were *xenoi* (it would not matter to Croesus that his "agent" in Athens was an Alcmaeonid, §125.2). But Croesus' intervention reflects the realpolitik of the Hellespont. His empire now included all western Asia Minor, and this was a chance to make a tangible demonstration of his suzerainty over Lampsacus; cf p. 45. Also, he would want to maintain stability in the area, and he perhaps secured Miltiades' release against a promise not (further) to intervene on his, Croesus', side of the Hellespont. For the significance of the story in relation to dating, see on §35.1.

πίτυος τρόπον . . . ἐκτρίψειν ἐκτριβῆναι πίτυος δίκην "to be rubbed out like a pine tree" became a proverb: Eust *Il* 1.69 ad 1.51, Suda sv Δίκην, and the forged Phalaris *epist* 92; Ael *VH* 6.13 uses it for divine punishment which caused the families of tyrants to die without issue. Leotychidas is made to use it for Glaucos' family, §86d. There

would be a sort of pun in Croesus' threat, if indeed the original name of Lampsacus was Pityoessa: Charon *FGrH* 262 F7a = Plut *Mul Virt* 255a–e; Pityeia or Pityousa per Schol Ap Rh 1.932–3 (cf Hom *Il* 2.829). The name (like Pitya, Strabo 13.1.15, in the territory of neighbouring Parium) reflects the fact that the whole area was pine-clad, with several species of *Abies* and *Pinus*: Meiggs (1982) 43–4; Goldstein *et al* (1984) 99–115; pine (like fir and cedar) was much used for shipbuilding (Theophr *HP* 5.7.1–3; Plut *QC* 676a; cf, e.g., Catullus' boat, Cat 4, or the reference in Hor *Od* 1.14.11). Charon related its foundation and early history (a Phocaean colony: generally, Huxley (1966) 28–9, Bean (1979) 90), including the story that when there was fighting with non-Greek neighbours, Lampsace, the daughter of the local king, forewarned the Greeks and saved the city; after which they changed its name in her honour. See further next note.

37.2 τις πρεσβυτέρων The "wise adviser" is a Herodotean *topos*: p. 26; we meet him again at §52.6. Factually, the old man was correct. Most broadleaf trees can regenerate from cortical buds under the bark; but few conifers, particularly those with which the Greeks were familiar. Theophr *HP* 3.9.5 noted that the πεύκη ("mountain pine", Meiggs (1982) 118) does not regenerate. He added "some say that the πίτυς ("coastal pine", *ibid*) does", citing a case after a fire on Lesbos. He was misled. The heat of the fire would cause ripe pine cones to open, and at the right time of year new trees would grow from the seed. Plin *NH* 16.19.46 made Theophrastus' error worse by citing the story as fact, without the "some say".

38.1 τελευτᾷ Probably between 525 and 516, in his 60s. There are three guides to the date. He was alive when Cimon was killed in c527–5 (see on ὑπὸ τῶν Πεισιστράτου, §103.3), as shown by §103.4. Secondly, he had been born before 585 (see on §35.1); he more probably died before age 70 than after. Thirdly, it seems likely that Stesagoras had been in post for some time before his assassination in c515–14 (see on §38.2, including on αὐτομόλου).

τὴν ἀρχὴν . . . παραδοὺς Στησαγόρῃ Stesagoras was probably born in the mid 550s: *APF* 8429 VIII. He was the elder son of Miltiades' half-brother Cimon, and went out to live with his uncle as a young man (§103.4). As noted on Αἰακοῦ, §35.1, Miltiades had no children,

and it was natural that he should select Stesagoras to inherit; it is more intriguing to note that Cimon's younger son was named after him; when the latter was born, it was perhaps already thought unlikely that the former would himself marry and have children. Yet even if we put a high date on his birth, c590 (cf on §35.1) and a low one on Miltiades junior's, c550 (cf on §39.1) Miltiades senior would still only be about 40 when the latter was born.

Formally, δίδωμι and compounds were alternatives to διατίθημι and διαθήκη for leaving by will: Todd (1993) 224 n. 25, and Powell sv παραδίδωμι 2 proposes it here for παραδούς. But Herodotus may have used it in a non-technical sense, "pass on", as at 2.159.3 (the king of Egypt passes on his ἀρχή to his son); cf 1.146.3, for mothers passing a tradition on to their daughters; Xen *Hell* 6.4.3, for a προξενία being passed down the family; Thuc 2.36.1, Isoc *Pace* 9 for ancestors handing down their city or its traditions to their descendants (in fourth century oratory it was used for handing over slaves for torture as witnesses).

Succession to the family property, τὰ χρήματα, which probably now included land in the Chersonese as well as Attica (*APF* 8429 XVI), was important, not just in itself, but also to perpetuate the *oikos* in the broader sense, e.g. to continue the family cult: Todd 221–5; Harrison (1968) 1.90, 93–4, 123. As Stesagoras was the son of Miltiades' half-brother by the same mother, it would only have passed under Athenian laws of intestacy if there was no relative (including a female) on his father's side: see on Λευτυχίδῃ, §65.1. Miltiades could ensure the succession in two ways. *APF* 8429 VII assumes adoption. If so, it would probably be after Cimon was killed, c527–5 (previous note). If Athenian law in the sixth century was substantially as in the fourth, adopting Stesagoras while his father was alive would have prevented him from inheriting his own (Cimonid) family property (there is no evidence that the fathers of Miltiades senior and Cimon were related, though this has been suggested: cf *APF loc cit*). It is equally possible that there was a will. At this date the law probably recognised an oral declaration in front of witnesses. A will would certainly ensure that Stesagoras inherited both Philaid and Cimonid property. Either way, the Cimonids could now claim and exploit Miltiades' Aeacos-Philaios ancestry; cf on Αἰακοῦ, §35.1.

Greek tyrants often sought to pass on their rule, e.g. Pisistratos, the Syloson family on Samos, Cypselus of Corinth, or the Orthagorids at Sicyon (see on 'Αριστωνύμου, §126.1), or Histiaeus making Aristagoras

his deputy (p. 52). In practice it could only succeed as long as those ruled consented or were compelled to consent. Even if Miltiades formally included the tyranny in a will, Stesagoras' actual ability to take it over would depend on the political realities *qua* both Dolonci and Greeks; see further on αὐτομόλου, §38.2.

Χερσονησῖται While the inhabitants of the Chersonese ought to include both Dolonci and Greeks, the rites are Greek (next note); presumably the Dolonci could join in. It is possible that the Chersonese was the "official" name for Miltiades' bailiwick, as well as for the peninsula (and also the polis sometimes called Cherronesos, for which see on §36.2), because there is a coin dated to the time of Miltiades junior marked XEP: Kraay (1976) 158, Malkin (1989) 191–2. It is neutral as to whether it included Greeks from non-Athenian poleis such as Sestos (see on §36.2); see also on Λαμψακηνῶν, infra.

οἰκιστῇ It was normal to found a cult in honour of a deceased οἰκιστής: Malkin (1989) 190–266. Herodotus reports several, e.g. Timesios of Teos, 1.168; Philippos of Sparta, 5.47.2; Onesilus of Salamis, 5.114; and the Persian Artachaees at Acanthus, 7.117; a little later we may note Hagnon (in his lifetime) and then Brasidas at Amphipolis (Thuc 5.11; Hornblower and Rhodes *ad loc*). Although our evidence is limited, the oikistes was commonly buried in the agora and his tomb associated with the cult (Malkin 190, 200–3); games as well as religious rites were apparently not so common, though they occur at Agylla in honour of the Phocaeans, 1.167. Heroising cults were not limited to oikists: Connolly (1998) 21 lists over 50 reported cases down to 336, including Archilochus (noted on §134), Harmodios and Aristogeiton (§123) and the Greeks who fell at Marathon (§117).

Λαμψακηνῶν An oikist cult was for the whole polis (Malkin (1989) 195: here, all the inhabitants of the bailiwick). We lack evidence as to the general practice for admitting citizens from other poleis, but ἀγωνίζεσθαι suggests that Greeks from outside the bailiwick might take part in the games, and the exclusion of the Lampsacenes was a special case. While it is just possible that there had been an incident giving rise to the sort of taboo that led to Chians not using produce from Atarneus for sacrifice (see on §4.1), it is more likely to reflect long-standing hostility, emotional or actual: see next note.

38.2 πολέμου δὲ ἐόντος Herodotus moves from Miltiades' death and the institution of his cult to Stesagoras' assassination. The sense of κατέλαβε ἀποθανεῖν ("it befell him to die") suggests that Stesagoras had been in post for some time, though see on αὐτομόλου, infra. His death, and his brother's arrival, may be placed in c515–14: see on καταλαμψόμενον, §39.1. It would be some 20 years since the incident of §37; but the conflict between Athens and Aegina, Appx 12 para 2, shows inter-polis disputes could be chronic and unresolved, whatever its causes, for which see on ἐπολέμησε, §37.1; it is also possible that Stesagoras had tried to expand on the Asian side, taking advantage of a power vacuum in Dascylion after Oroetes' execution (§33.3). As noted at Appx 12 para 2, "war" was a somewhat flexible term, but πολέμου might suggest some recent escalation of violence.

πρυτανηίῳ The prytaneion, containing the common hearth and eternal flame, and where civic hospitality was offered, virtually symbolised the polis: Hansen and Fischer-Hansen (1987) 30–31; Malkin (1987) 114–134; *OCD*[3] sv. This one was arguably in Cardia: see on §36.2. We might infer that Stesagoras was there because he, and his uncle before him, acted as prytanis, i.e. assumed control of the principal religious cults; probably common form amongst tyrants.

πελέκεϊ Not a military weapon, though one is used by the Trojan Peisandros, Hom *Il* 3.612; elsewhere in Homer it is always to kill sacrificial animals or cut timber (e.g. *Il* 17.520, *Od* 3.442–9; *Il* 3.60, *Od* 5.234. Using an axe for beheading came later. As a weapon, it was also associated with women: the Theban soldiers trapped inside Plataea could only cut the bar holding the gates after a woman gave them an axe (Thuc 2.4.4); Soph *El* 99 and Eur *Hec* 1279, *El* 279, 1160 make Clytemnaestra kill Agamemnon with an axe (Aesch *Ag* 1351, 1529 indicates a sword: but cf *id Cho* 884, 889); so the angry wife of Ar *Thesm* 560. It is interesting that the tradition recalled the axe; the implication is that the assassin was no soldier and killed Stesagoras with a woman's weapon, or like an animal at a sacrifice, perhaps with an axe kept at the prytaneion for that purpose. if one wants to add a literary touch, it might recall the cutting down threat implicit in §37.1.

αὐτομόλου μὲν . . . πολεμίου δὲ καὶ ὑποθερμοτέρου The combined effect of ὑπό and the comparative conveys "more than somewhat":

"pretty angry", de Sélincourt. ὑπόθερμος is only here in classical literature; the verb ὑποθερμαίνομαι only Arist *Prob* 877a 26, Hipp *Morb Pop* 1.3.13, *Morb* 1.15; they are next found in hellenistic writers, e.g. Plutarch and Lucian. The reality is harder to assess. If the assassin was actually identified as a Lampsacene, he might have just been a patriot; but he might have had a private grudge, e.g. from a dispute over family land in the Lampsacene *peraia*, or the death of a relation in the fighting. But the incident may be related to the internal politics of the Chersonese. The opposition to Miltiades junior, from both Dolonci and Greeks (see on §39.2) may have already existed when Stesagoras arrived. If so, we might then think that Stesagoras' tyranny was shorter rather than longer, despite κατέλαβε ἀποθανεῖν. The assassin might still have been a Lampsacene in the pay of such an opposition group, but he might have been a local man who could then conveniently and plausibly be described as a Lampsacene.

39.1 Μιλτιάδεα τὸν Κίμωνος When he introduced Miltiades at §34.1, Herodotus had been careful to name his father and grandfather, to distinguish him from Miltiades senior (see on Μιλτιάδης); as he now returns to him, he repeats his patronymic and adds that he was the brother of the younger Stesagoras. The latter died childless; even if he left no will, Miltiades junior as his full brother would inherit his property under the rules of intestacy. Miltiades junior had been born in the late 550s (*APF* 8429 VIII), and so was nearly 40 when he arrived in the Chersonese.

καταλαμψόμενον . . . τριήρεϊ οἱ Πεισιστρατίδαι Hipparchos was assassinated in August 514, so Miltiades must have been gone out before then; 515–14 fits his presence in Scythia in 513 (date, p. 49 with n. 171), and whatever §40 refers to (cf on νεωστί, §40.1); generally *APF* 8429 VIII. Πεισιστρατίδαι (stemma, Appx 19) is common in Herodotus and Aristotle, but otherwise not in classical literature except Dem 17.3. In Herodotus it probably reflects a tradition in which Hippias was the tyrant, but Hipparchos was associated with him in governing, and exercised political patronage (cf Rhodes on *Ath Pol* 14–19 at pp. 189–191 and on 17.3; that enabled the Gephyraioi to claim credit for ending the tyranny (*APF* 11793 IV; cf note to §§121–4 and on §123.2). The details that the tyrants sent him out, and in a trireme, were probably points stressed by the prosecution at Miltiades' trial some 19 years later: see on §104.2(a). But it also raises the ques-

tion whether Hippias had to persuade Miltiades to go out. Hippias would certainly want to assure that Athenian presence in the Chersonese continued (introductory note). If Miltiades needed persuading to give up the management of the family estates in Attica to take up rule in the Chersonese, Hippias may have been able to rely on a relationship by marriage (see on γαμέει, §39.2) to help persuade him. As to the trireme, in 515–14 it was a fairly unusual ship; early ones were recalled as owned by tyrants or men of substance: see Appx 2 para 2. Thus Hippias may have acquired one or two as a mark of power. It or they are no evidence that Athens had a fleet of triremes at this time: cf οὐ γὰρ ἔτυχον, §89; generally, Scott (2000) 106, 109. Herodotus' δῆθεν shows that he does not believe in the Pisistratids' innocence; see also on δηλαδή, §39.2.

ἄλλῳ λόγῳ §103. For Herodotus cross-referring see on τὸ μέν νυν, §19.2.

39.2 εἶχε κατ' οἴκους This clearly shows that there was opposition to Miltiades taking over the tyranny from Stesagoras. As suggested on αὐτομόλου, §38.2, this may have gone back to when Miltiades senior died; passing on the tyranny needed consent or compulsion: cf on τὴν ἀρχήν, §38.1. By now there could be opposition to Miltiades. The Dolonci would feel safe from Apsinthian attack (cf on ὠσάμενος, 37.1), and there might be some who wanted to revert to a native ruler, encouraged by, say, a son of one of the βασιλέας of §34.1. How far that was a majority view is debateable in view of the Doloncian support for Miltiades indicated by §40.2, however we interpret that episode. There would be Greeks who had come to see themselves as the local aristocracy and want power for themselves, and perhaps others with aspirations for the sort of quasi-democracy on Chios evidenced by ML 8, noted p. 46 n. 162. Miltiades had to use considerable guile to retain power.

δηλαδή This parallels δῆθεν in §39.1: Miltiades' show of respect for his dead brother was as much a pretence as the Pisistratids' pretence of innocence over Cimon.

ἐπιτιμέων Apparently a hapax with the meaning of "honour" or "showing respect": in Attic, the verb means to increase a price, or impose a penalty, censure, with -τιμή denoting price or penalty. But

other ἐπιτιμ- compounds can connote dignity or respect or honour (see LSJ), so perhaps the use of the verb in this sense here is an ionicism.

οἱ Χερσονησῖται . . . δυναστεύοντες At §38.1 Χερσονῖται may particularly refer to Greeks (see *ad loc*). But πάσεων and πάντοθεν here suggest that οἱ δυναστεύοντες covers both Doloncian chieftains and influential Greeks. While πολίων suggests Greek-run cities, the Dolonci were sufficiently strong to figure in §40.2 (cf on εἶχε, supra).

ἐδέθησαν Miltiades' arrests recalls those of Maeandrius, 3.143. His show of power must have settled things quickly (and the men could then be released). Otherwise it would have been dangerous to go to Scythia in 513 (date: p. 49).

ἐπικούρους At this date, mercenaries are characteristic of the tyrant: Pisistratos (1.64.1); Polycrates (3.45.3, 54.2); Maeandrius (3.145.3). The figure of 500 may be rounded up, but if we accept it, and allow as much as ½ dr per man per day, for which see Appx 18 n. 16, it is 15 talents per year. 400 men at 2 obols per day would be 8 talents. While either is hard to express in modern terms (see on πεντήκοντα, §136.3), it does not seem excessive for a man in control of the resources of several poleis.

γαμέει . . . 'Ολόρου His son Metiochos by an Athenian wife was still quite young (see on Μητίοχος, §41.2). She may have been a relation, even a daughter, of Hippias: *APF* 8429 IX, but had probably died before Miltiades arrived in the Chersonese. Hegesipyle's Greek-sounding name suggests a Greek mother or grandmother. The text has him marrying her soon after his arrival; but there are grounds for placing it after Scythia. One is that the elder child of the union, Cimon, was probably not born before 510 (*APF* 8429 X). A more complex point relates to Hippias marrying his daughter Archedike to Aeantides, son of Hippoclos, tyrant of Lampsacus, a year or so after Hipparchos' assassination, to help ingratiate himself with Darius (Thuc 6.59.3). This might have been simple self-interest on Hippias' part, if he thought that his own position was now insecure; but given the hostility between Lampsacus and the Chersonese, it is argued that he reacted to Miltiades' second marriage by withdrawing support and becoming hostile, especially if Miltiades' first wife was a

relation: cf Wade-Gery (1958) 167 n. 5; *APF* 8429 IX. *APF* accepts Herodotus' sequence, but adds that the relative timing of the events is problematic. If the marriage to Hegesipyle was after Scythia, it offers a basis for the story of Miltiades' "flight" of §40.1: see *ad loc* and Appx 10, esp paras 12–13. There is no direct evidence for where Oloros ruled, other than that he was king of "Thracians" (unnamed); but it is likely that it included some part of the mainland opposite Thasos, because the gold mines which Thucydides owned in Thrace, Thuc 4.105.1, may reflect a blood relationship with Oloros, possibly descent from a daughter of Miltiades' marriage (*APF* 7268 IV–VIII; cf on §46.3); that would be consistent with a kingdom whose eastern boundary was the Hebros, beyond which were the Apsinthii (cf on Δόλογκοι, §34.1). The marriage had several advantages for Miltiades. By not marrying into a local family, it avoided the need to favour one more than others; by marrying a Thracian, he was seen to be as supportive of the Dolonci as of Greeks; if Oloros is correctly placed, he could be useful both if there was further trouble from the Apsinthii, and for his access to gold mines. It is arguable that the mines were the primary incentive for Miltiades: Greeks, especially Athenians, had a history of exploiting the resources of Thrace when possible: apart from the Thasians, §46, Pisistratos (*Ath Pol* 15.2; Appx 8 para 2); Histiaeus had asked for Myrcinos, p. 50. Later in the fifth century the Athenians established colonies in the area: Amphipolis, Eion, Ennea Hodoi, the latter after the suppression of the Thasian revolt noted on Θασίους, §46.1 (*BM* 208, 210, 239). It is less likely that the overtures were made by Oloros, who thought that it was in his interests to be allied to the Greek ruler of the Chersonese.

40.1 οὗτος δή . . . The amendment from the MSS δέ to δή is questionable: Appx 10 n. 5. As at §39.1, Herodotus again reminds us of which Miltiades he is speaking.

νεωστὶ μὲν ἐληλύθεε . . . τρίτῳ . . . ἔτεϊ τούτων §40 is a problematic chapter, compounded by the text almost certainly becoming corrupted in transmission. As discussed in Appx 10 and on §104.2(g), the Athenian traditions which Herodotus accessed probably derived from the speeches at Miltiades' first trial referring to the events, rather than recalled the events themselves. He probably wrote that Miltiades faced opposition on his arrival (§39.2), but three years later

faced worse problems, and had to flee before a Scyth incursion; the Dolonci then brought him back. Now (§41.1), with the Phoenicians at Tenedos, he left permanently, with the implicit if not express sentiment that as it was permanent, it was a worse problem still. That leaves the problem of deciding how to understand the Scyth incursion (next note). While νεωστί is a flexible concept in Herodotus, the only sensible meaning for ἐληλύθεε is "had come", not "had returned" (Appx 10 para 4), and we may accept that Miltiades arrived about a year before Darius' expedition in c513 (see on καταλαμψόμενον, §39.1).

ἐκφεύγει· Σκύθαι . . . μέχρι τῆς Χερσονήσου A Scyth invasion is unlikely, but unrest on both sides of the Danube in the wake of Darius' withdrawal is almost certain, and to that extent ἐρεθισθέντες ("incensed") is right: all the tribes affected would be angry. The unrest would not endanger Miltiades, nor would he think that it would. Even if there was a Scyth incursion, he would think it aimed elsewhere, not at him. It is probably distortion by the prosecution at Miltiades' first trial, the factual basis being his absence for his betrothal or marriage to Hegesipyle: Appx 10, esp paras 6–13, and para 9 for whether we should read ἐκφεύγει ("flees") with **a** or ἔφευγε, which could be "fled" or "went into exile" with **d**, and Miltiades not being presented as a coward in Herodotus.

40.2 οἱ Δόλογκοι κατήγαγον Whether Miltiades "fled" or "went into exile" (previous note), κατήγαγον connotes bringing him home from exile: Powell sv κατάγω 3. Why the Dolonci should want to do that to a leader who had left them in the lurch when danger threatened is not explained. It is more consistent with the scenario proposed in the previous note, that he was being escorted home from his betrothal or wedding.

τρίτῳ ἔτεϊ πρότερον If the text is sound, it is hard to translate it other than being brought home three years before he finally fled. As it is most probable that he was in the Chersonese for essentially the whole time between arrival and final departure (Appx 10 paras 4–5, 14), it is attractive to delete πρότερον as a marginal gloss: *ibid* n. 1; the different "thens" of τότε . . . τότε would be easily assimilated by a listener.

41.1 τότε . . . ἐν Τενέδῳ A time marker, looking back to the re-occupation of Tenedos, §31.1, foreshadowed by the μέχρι τότε of §34.1.

τριήρεας It is quite feasible that Miltiades had acquired triremes: as noted on τριήρεϊ, §39.1, they were still not common, but were an outward expression of power and wealth. He no doubt used them to help assert his right to control shipping in the Hellespont (§§37.1, 38.2). Even if they had been paid for out of polis funds, there would be no sharp distinction as to whether they belonged to the polis or to Miltiades, or any mechanism to question his ability to have them sent round to Cardia (next note) and load them up. Presumably the crews were men of Athenian descent who were (re)absorbed into the population of Attica. Numbers are speculative. If the triremes were similar to later Athenian ones, they would need 170 rowers plus officers, with little room either for accompanying wives and children, or food and luggage, which must have included Miltiades' family possessions. If they were closer to Phoenician designs, they would need fewer rowers and have a little more space for passengers and goods. But they need not have had a full complement of rowers; see Appx 2 paras 5–7. We may perhaps envisage some 500 to 900 men to row and a modest number of families.

ὥσπερ ὁρμήθη . . . περιπίπτουσι The narrative is made all the more vivid by the changes of tense from aorist to historic present. ὥσπερ is awkward: Powell sv offers "quasi-temporal", a rare usage per LSJ III. Translators usually avoid it, e.g. "starting from Cardia . . .", de Sélincourt, Waterfield. It is probably equivalent to ὡς, to explain his route and where the Phoenicians caught up with him: as he set off from Cardia, he sailed through the Melas gulf. He was able to get clear of (παραμείβετο, imperfect) the Chersonese, but the Phoenicians caught up with him.

Καρδίης If the ships were normally based in the Hellespont, it would be no more than two days sailing to take them to Cardia. The fact that he did not leave from Pactye (or Elaious, as he did for Lemnos, §140) suggests that his residence was in or near Cardia (cf on §36.2), the closest port for putting his family and baggage on board. It also offered a slightly shorter and safer sea journey. His first landfall after the Chersonese, the northern coast of Imbros (where the polis was),

is only c35 km from Alopeconnesos, but c40 km from Elaious, which itself is only c28 km from Tenedos, where the Persians were.

Μέλανος κόλπου On a modern map the Melas gulf is the waters to the east and north-east of Cardia, but for Herodotus it meant the whole sea bounded on the south by the northern shore of the Chersonese and on the north by the opposite Aegean coast of Thrace.

41.2 Ἴμβρον Megabazos had captured Lemnos and Imbros in c512: 5.26.1. While Imbros now being a safe haven for Miltiades may mean no more than that she had no Persian garrison, it is more probable that he had taken her with Lemnos as part of the expedition described in §140, and she had been settled by Athenians, or at least brought within Athens' sphere of influence: see on §140.2.

Μητίοχος . . . ἐξ ἄλλης Metiochos is only known from this episode; for his mother, possibly a Pisistratid, see on γαμέει, §39.2. Miltiades was born c550 (see on §39.1), and his first marriage and Metiochos' birth probably in the mid 520s (cf *APF* 8429 IX). Metiochos would now be about 30, old enough to command a trireme.

41.3 γνώμην ἀπεδέξατο "Declared the opinion", perhaps here "urged" (de Sélincourt); a favourite Herodotean expression (§43.3; Powell svv ἀποδείκνυμι B I; γνώμη 3b).

λύσαντας τὴν σχεδίην The σχεδίη is the temporary bridge across the Danube, 4.89–90. We may treat as factual that the Phoenicians did hand Metiochos over to Darius; but not necessarily for the reason stated. The anecdote does not "prove" that the story of Miltiades at the bridge was true (cf p. 49; Appx 10 para 8), or that the Phoenicians actually knew of it. The connection between that story and what the Phoenicians do may have been assumption by the sources, or inferred by Herodotus himself. An alternative explanation is that, whether or not Miltiades had made an accommodation with Darius (note to §§31–33), his taking Lemnos (and probably Imbros) from him (cf on §41.2) would be an affront if not an act of revolt. In the absence of the man, the son could be punished.

41.4 κακὸν μὲν οὐδέν . . . ἀγαθὰ δὲ συχνά There are two (connected) strands here: the many occasions where Herodotus records Persian

kings treating individual leading Greeks well (see on παρὰ βασιλέα, §24.2), and his portrayal of them as capable of generosity towards enemies, here Miltiades, stressed by the repetition of his name as Metiochos' father from §41.3; so Cyrus towards Croesus, 1.87–90, Cambyses towards the defeated Egyptians at 3.15.2–3, Darius' treatment of the dead Histiaeus, §30.2, and Xerxes' refusal to execute the Spartans Sperchias and Bulis, 7.137, or the Spartan spies, 7.146–7, as well as his attitude towards the Ionian captains accused of treachery at Salamis, 8.90; cf 7.181.2, where "the Persians" carefully tend the wounded Pytheas. It is in line with his account of the gentlemanly qualities of the Persians, 1.131–40. Even their punishments are expressed as mitigated: neither the deported Milesians, §20, nor the Eretrians, §119.2, suffer κακὸν οὐδέν over and above their deportation; cf the defeated Ionians at §§42–3.

Μιλτιάδης δέ . . . Ἀθήνας A narrative marker: Herodotus will resume the story of Athens at §49.2 and of Miltiades in §§103–4.

§§42–45 *Artaphrenes does two useful things: he makes the Ionians stop plundering each other and settle their differences by legal means, and remeasures their territories for taxation purposes. The following year Mardonius leads a substantial expedition to bring Greece under Persian suzerainty and punish Eretria and Athens. En route, he sets up democracies in Ionia. He brings Macedonia into submission, but a storm off Athos destroys 300 ships. The Thracian Brygi attack his camp, but he defeats them. He then returns to Asia.*

1 The main narrative now resumes from §33, and turns from the military ending of the revolt to Artaphrenes' political settlement the same year, 493 (possibly put in train while the fleet was still in the Hellespont), followed by Mardonius' expedition the following year, 492. Herodotus ended a papyrus roll at about this point, probably between §§42 and 43 (see p. 74); though from our point of view §42 and §43.3 go together, all being part of the political settlement. They are discussed in Appx 11, which should be read in conjunction with the commentary. Much of §§42–5 probably derives from sources in Ionia, perhaps also Thasos (which he visited: §§46–7) or elsewhere in the northern Aegean; possibly also the court of Alexander I of Macedon (p. 7 n. 21). Some of the input seems to be hostile to Mardonius: see para 2. If so, that might be Persian rather than Greek.

2 Herodotus says that the aim of Mardonius' expedition was to conquer Greece in general, and Eretria and Athens in particular (§§43.4–44.1). He repeats this aim for both Datis' and Xerxes' expeditions: §94.1 (see *ad loc*), 7.138.1. Wiesehöfer (2004) 210–12 argues that this was a Greek or Herodotean perception, not based on an authoritative Persian source. But for Mardonius, it could have come from the sources, even if assumption on their part, or even hostility, wanting to blame him for his failures: Athos, not protecting his camp against the Brygi (cf on πολλούς, §45.1, and on §45.2), and failing to reach Greece. Equally, it may have been Herodotus' own judgment; indeed, it was an essential step in his plan of the *Histories*: Mardonius, Datis, Xerxes (p. 10). But it was probably correct that the king did want to extend his empire westwards, and bring the Aegean islands and mainland Greece under him (so Balcer (1989) 128–9); perhaps even further west, if we accept the statements about Sardinia, as to which see pp. 66–7; though Wiesehöfer 212–18 is more cautious, and argues that Darius only wanted to punish Athens and Eretria, and it was Xerxes who planned to control all Hellas, under puppet rulers such as Demaratos. But the Persians had been prepared to support the Naxos expedition, under a commander of the status of Megabates (p. 53); one reason for Datis' route across the Aegean, apart from avoiding another Athos, was that it enabled him to take the Aegean islands (§§96, 99). However there is a question whether the reduction of Greece was the real, or at least first, purpose of Mardonius' expedition.

3 It is arguable that Mardonius' prime aim was to reassert Persian control in Thrace, and confirm the king's alliance with Macedonia. Darius is not recorded as demanding earth and water of the Greeks on this occasion, as he did before Datis' expedition, §48.2, or Xerxes in 480, 7.32, 131–2. More importantly, Mardonius' progress seems to have been leisurely, certainly for a commander aiming to reach Attica (cf Appx 3 para 9). He may not have left Cilicia before late April (see on κατέβαινε, §43.1). The troops marching overland would need 35–40 days of marching, plus rests, to reach the Hellespont, say 50 days (Appx 4 para 2). Mardonius himself was travelling by ship, but would need at least two weeks to get to Ionia (*ibid*), and then had business there which would take up to a month: see on §§43.3, 4. Some little time would pass at the Hellespont while all his forces assembled and prepared to move off again. It is thus doubtful

if he left the Hellespont and started into Thrace before early June. Even if ἠπείγετο at §43.4 is historically true, it only refers to reaching the Hellespont and ensuring that all his forces were ready for the next stage. We then have to allow for his progress through Thrace, and the slower progress of his fleet (infra). It is feasible that he never moved his troops further west than the Axius (infra and on §45.1). If he went to Alexander's court, he no doubt spent time there. Despite the size of his forces, twice noted by Herodotus, §§43.1, 4, he failed to reach even Thessaly.

4 Indeed, it is likely that Persian control of Thrace was weak; cf Badian (1994) 116. In 513, Darius had crossed to Europe at Byzantium, and marched to modern Edirne and thence north to the Danube; the narrative says that the Thracian tribes en route were conquered or submitted. He marked the limits of his territory with forts on the Oaros, probably the Buzau and so beyond the Danube, and planned at least one other (4.89–97, 124; Appx 10 para 11 with n. 16). He had nominally added to his empire an area of land broadly corresponding to Turkey in Europe, the eastern half of Bulgaria, and a swathe of southern Romania. Darius left Megabazos in Europe; the latter is described as securing all Aegean Thrace from Perinthos westwards (5.1–2); it is speculative whether he visited Miltiades' bailiwick (cf note to §§31–3). It did mean up to the Axius, as can be seen from his ability to deport Paeonians, who were powerful in the areas between the Axius and Strymon (Hammond and Griffith (1979) 55–6), and the diplomatic exchanges with Macedonia: 5.10–21; for the Brygi see on §45.1. A year or so later Megabazos' successor Otanes took Byzantium and Calchedon, and the islands of Lemnos and Imbros, as well as cities in the southern Troad: 5.26. The Persians called this European province Skudra. Hammond (1980) and in *CAH* IV[2] 235–253, 493–6 argues that it was a satrapy in its own right, but Balcer (1988) 9–13 is probably closer to the reality in seeing its governors, ὕπαρχοι, (7.105–6) as subordinate to Artaphrenes at Sardis, and Persian control over Thrace as a whole weak. It seems certain that, whatever view one takes of §40, the northern areas, i.e. southern Romania and Bulgaria, threw off Persian control soon after Darius withdrew: see Georges (1987–1995), particularly the passages cited in Appx 10 nn. 16, 17. In Aegean Thrace, control at least in some parts must have been weak. Miltiades could take over Lemnos and probably Imbros (§140). In the early years of the Ionian revolt,

the Paeonians had been able to return (pp. 56, 60); further east, Aristagoras clearly felt safe in going to Myrcinos and then campaigning from there (p. 54). It would not be surprising if Thracian tribes had asserted their independence during the Ionian revolt. The position in Chalcidice (Mygdonia) and adjacent Crestonia, and the status of the Edonians, is less clear; the otherwise useful discussion in Hammond and Griffith 57–60, with maps pp. 65–66, is on the basis of firm Persian control of Thrace. It is thus likely that Mardonius' orders were (first) to re-assert control over Aegean Thrace. That area did now remain in Persian control, except for western parts which Alexander absorbed into Macedonia (infra), and Xerxes was able to march through it, until Greek actions in and after 479 removed the Persians permanently from the European side, except for Doriscos (7.106).

5 That Mardonius had to restore control in Thrace would explain two points in the narrative. §44 couples the surrender of Thasos to the fleet with the "enslavement" of the Macedonians by the army, both being before the disaster off Athos. If that is chronologically accurate, Mardonius and the army were at least at the Axius before the Athos storm, i.e. the fleet was moving west more slowly than the army. There is a question as to how big his fleet was, and how much of it was carrying supplies rather than men (cf on §44.3). It is also arguable that he kept the greater part of the army with him on land and led it through Thrace, e.g. to confirm suzerainty in Bisaltia and Mygdonia, and left a smaller part of it on his fleet to reduce most of the mainland coastal cities and emporia, as well as islands, e.g. Samothrace and Thasos (cf on §§44.1, 2). After the storm, the remaining fleet would stop to pick up survivors, but that would only delay it briefly; it presumably continued to its pre-arranged rendezvous with him, arguably at the Axius. The other point relates to the Persian camp which the Brygi attacked, §45.1. Given their homeland, the camp was probably on the Axius, some 15–20 km from its mouth (see *ad loc*). The narrative has him there with his business in Macedonia finished. He was thus on his way home. Was that because he had achieved everything he should have done, or had he given up the idea of entering Thessaly? As noted in para 8, it is feasible that he never took the bulk of his army across the Axius, which would support the first view. If he should have reached Greece,

he was frustrated by a combination of a late start, too leisurely progress through Thrace, and prolonged hospitality and diplomacy in Macedonia, coupled with over-optimism as to how long everything would take. He now had to return because of the practical problems in keeping his army in Thrace or Macedonia over the winter, and getting reinforcements and new ships for the following spring. It is doubtful if the losses off Athos were so serious as of themselves to cause him to change his plans (cf on τριηκοσίας, §44.3) and he could have sent his remaining fleet to overwinter at ports such as Abdera and Thasos and perhaps Cyme.

6 It is not clear whether Mardonius changed Macedonia's status. We have to reconcile Amyntas giving earth and water in c512, 5.18.1, with the Macedonians now becoming "slaves", δούλους, §44.1. As noted on §48.2, a leader who gave earth and water made himself and his peoples subordinate to the Persian king in the latter's eyes; there were several degrees of subordination, all of which Greeks typically denoted by δοῦλος. Giving earth and water is followed by the story that Amyntas' son Alexander engineered the murder of Megabazos' envoys (5.18–21). That is regarded as a propaganda fabrication by Alexander, whom Herodotus had probably met (Balcer (1988) 6 n. 19; cf para 1). However, it is unlikely that giving earth and water was another false detail added by Alexander. It was normal Persian practice to demand it, and admitting that he had given it could not enhance his own reputation and the pro-Hellenic credentials he sought. As the 512 relationship involved the diplomatic marriage of Alexander's sister Gygaea to Bubares (5.21, 8.136), and especially if Bubares' father was the Megabazos who had an Archaemenid wife (Appx 5 Note 2), it would suggest that Macedonia's status was little changed ("privileged vassal", Balcer 5–6). Generally on this episode see Badian (1994) 108–14. Hence her ability to expand after 512, including to the Amphaxitis, vacated by the deportation of the Paeonians (map 6), and other land east of the Axius (Hammond and Griffith 59 with map 2, p. 66). The Persians had to acquiesce in that expansion, though they claimed that Skudra extended to the east bank of the Axius; §43.2. On the other hand, Hammond and Griffith 58–9 treat Macedonians as Persian subjects after c512, and Macedonia as part of Skudra. It may be a matter of definition; the king would see them as subordinate in some sense, even if they were

not required to pay tribute, like, e.g., the Athenians after 508 (see on Φρυνίχῳ, §21.2), and also, perhaps, Miltiades (note to §§31–3); cf Kuhrt (1988) 93–4.

7 Whether there was now a change depends on the δούλους reference. Was δούλους a detail of substance in the sources, or an assumption by them or Herodotus; and either way, what degree of subjection was it intended to convey? Balcer (1988) 5–6 treats it as substantive: Mardonius made Macedonia part of Skudra, so that it changed from privileged vassal to formal subjugation. That was Herodotus' understanding, as indicated by how he repeats the point at 7.108. But it is arguable that there was no change in status, and all that Mardonius did was to confirm or formalise the existing position with Alexander I, who had probably just succeeded Amyntas (for his accession as c495, see Hammond and Griffith (1979) 60, 104). A compromise view is that Alexander now needed to make a formal submission for the land east of the Axius. Justin 7.4.1 speaks of friendly relations between Macedonia and Darius, but that may be no more than inference by him or his source from the marriage of Gygaea to Bubares. When Xerxes progressed through Macedonian territory in 480, it is as consistent with doing so through an essentially independent kingdom who were old allies (who could not, in any case, have resisted him), as with a subject people. If there is substance in the argument that in 493 Themistocles perceived a threat from Persia (see on Φρυνίχῳ, §24.2), and from the north, it would be valid whatever perception he had of Macedonia's status, allies or subjects, albeit before Mardonius in 492. One other detail may be just a literary coincidence. In the story of the murder of the Persian envoys, Alexander, addressing the Persians, calls his father ὕπαρχος of the Macedones (5.20.4). It is a subtle touch, as if conveying that his father is a lesser king than the envoys' master Darius. But it may also contain a nugget of historicity; it might reflect his status in Persian eyes once he had given earth and water, on a par with Persian appointed governors in Thrace who were subordinate to the satrap (cf para 4).

8 There is an incidental point as to where Mardonius met Alexander. The suggested location of the Persian camp on the Axius would have made an excellent semi-permanent base for a large army, while he went with smaller detachment of troops (τῷ πεζῷ, §§44.1) to Alexander's

court at Aegeae (Vergina, c40–50 km from the camp, the capital until the late fifth century: Hammond and Griffith 5, 139). Alternatively, he might have summoned Alexander to meet him, perhaps at Pella, a sort of half-way place, possibly at the camp itself. It is feasible that Mardonius was shrewd enough to treat with Alexander on a diplomatic basis, with his army at a distance. The Persian preference for diplomacy, albeit backed by military strength has been noted on συλλέξαντες, §9.1.

42.1 κατὰ τὸ ἔτος τοῦτο . . . οὐδέν . . . ἐς νεῖκος Still 493, which began at §31.1, with the Persian forces finally ending the revolt, §§31–33. It must remain open whether the meeting of the Ionian delegates was while the Hellespont part of those operations was in progress, and whether it was before or after the execution of Histiaeus, §30.

χρήσιμα κάρτα Although this narrative is closed by the parallel expression εἰρηναῖα ἦν, §43.1, in reality the political settlement included the "democracies" set up by Mardonius, §43.3. As suggested in Appx 11, Artaphrenes comes through as a shrewd administrator, keen to restore stability (and the resumption of tribute) but aware of the grievances behind the revolt; he knew how far to make concessions without compromising his authority.

Ἀρταφρένης . . . μεταπεμψάμενος ἀγγέλους In Herodotus, ἄγγελος often means ambassador or representative (Powell sv), and we should not understand these ἄγγελοι simply as messengers to take back Artaphrenes' instructions. The version in DS 10.25.4, set out in Appx 11, indicates that Hecataeus was the, or one of the, representative(s) from Miletus, but also suggests that Artaphrenes was willing to listen to what the Greeks had to say.

συνθήκας σφίσι αὐτοῖσι . . . ἠνάγκασε ποιέεσθαι . . . δωσίδικοι To carry off moveable property, φέρω, and drive off cattle, ἄγω, so plunder, pillage, rob, is recorded from Homer onwards (*Il* 5.484, Xen *Hell* 3.2.8, etc; Nicodromos does it to the Aeginetans at §90; LSJ, ἄγω I.3 and φέρω VI.2; Powell sv ἄγω VIII 1). The background and what Artaphrenes did are discussed in Appx 11 sec 1. Briefly, he would perceive that a range of quarrels where the parties were from different poleis, particularly frontier disputes and allegations of breach of trade contracts, was a potential cause of disruption. There were no existing

legalistic procedures for such cases. It is clear from σφίσι αὐτοῖσι and the middle ποιέεσθαι that, whether or not he indicated the sort of system he required, it was for the Ionian poleis themselves to set it up and operate it. On that, δωσίδικοι is neutral. It seems to mean "subject themselves to justice" (it only occurs elsewhere at Polyb 4.4.3, quoted Suda sv, where it means "handed over to justice"). The comparables we have from later in the fifth century suggest either arbitration, or allowing men from one polis to sue in the courts of another. The system fell into desuetude, probably within a generation.

42.2 τὰς χώρας . . . μετρήσας τὰς χώρας are the territories of the poleis (cf on §100.1 and *HCT* on Thuc 8.18.1). For several reasons, the increasing burden of Persian taxes and tribute must have been a cogent factor behind the revolt: pp. 45, 47–8. Also, Miletus at least had just lost some of its territory (§20). But it is not clear how far the remeasurement was more than a gesture. Artaphrenes would require similar tribute to before, and taxes on land or the produce of land were not the only ones; thus it is not surprising that it made little difference to the end result, κατὰ ταὐτά. He may have done it throughout his satrapy, and there may have been a directive from Susa: see Appx 11 sec 2(1), (2). Greeks might have perceived this measuring as unusual or "barbarian": Sallares (1991) 341–2 suggests that they were reluctant to think in terms of area, both generally (e.g. Polyb 9.26a.1, people judge the size of a city by its circumference; cf Hdt 1.178 on the size of Babylon), and particularly for agricultural yield for taxation purposes. At least in mainland Greece, area was no guarantee of productivity, especially where harvests could vary (Garnsey (1988) 17–20): hence Solon's taxation classes were by produce, not area owned (*Ath Pol* 7.4 with Rhodes *ad loc*; cf Appx 9 para 14). In this sense, Plut *Lyc* 8.4, that a Lycurgan κλῆρος assured so many *medimni* of barley is more realistic than the communistic equal areas of Polyb 6.45.3: cf Hodkinson (2000) 50–2, 68–70, 76–90, 131–45.

παρασάγγας 30 stades, per 2.6.3, 5.53, Xen *Anab* 5.5.4. Given the variation in feet (see on στάδιοι, §36.2), the parasang would be between 5.3 and 6 km, suitable for measuring large tracts or estates. Later writers offer other measurements for it (H&W *ad loc*), but Herodotus' and Xenophon's parasangs correspond to the actual dis-

tances: see Appx 4 para 2. The Persian word itself is not certain: see Schmitt (1967) 138. Herodotus likes to cite words from foreign languages, as noted on §29.2, but "parasang" had passed into Greek usage, e.g. Sophocles fr 520 Radt and Euripides fr 686 Kannicht.

φόρους ἔταξε ἑκάστοισι DS 10.25.4, cited in Appx 11, uses similar words: τάκτους φόρους κατὰ δύναμιν ἐπέταξεν. As noted *ib* sec 2(2), ἑκάστοισι means "on the inhabitants of each state" (not "each landowner"), in accordance with ordinary Greek usage. As stressed by Murray (1966) 145, ἔταξε means "assessed"; cf next note.

κατὰ χώρην . . . καὶ ἐς ἐμέ Herodotus regularly uses κατὰ χώρην to mean "in place" (Murray (1966) 142 offers also "valid", which is slightly more abstract; see Nenci *ad loc*). For καὶ ἐς ἐμέ as a biographical marker see p. 2. At one time it was argued that this referred to Aristides using the Persian assessments as the basis of his own when first fixing tribute in Ionia (cf, e.g. H&W); but quite apart from the factual points that by Herodotus' time, the Athenian assessments on a number of places had changed, and many of the cities in the Delian league had never been subject to Persia anyway, it is now generally accepted that this is neither what Herodotus meant nor the natural meaning of the words. He probably mentioned "my time" to make an indirect allusion to something which would be known to his readers or audience (whether or not we think that οἳ . . . 'Αρταφρένεος was a later addition to an earlier version). There are two main possibilities, to be understood in the light of the fact that the Persian king did not give up his claim to tribute from those who had once been his subjects, even if he was no longer in a position to enforce it. One, perhaps aimed at non-Athenian readers, would be to imply that Athens deserved her hegemony in the Aegean, because she was protecting other Greeks, especially in the east, from subservience to Persia. The other, aimed more at Athenian readers, was to support the Peace of Callias of 449. See Appx 11 sec 2(3).

43.1 καὶ . . . εἰρηναῖα ἦν "conducive to peace"; the phrase closes the narrative which began with χρήσιμα κάρτα, §42.1. It may well have begun a new papyrus roll (introductory note para 1). However, Legrand posits a lacuna after these words, assuming the loss of some other events of this year and to avoid the abrupt transition to "next year".

ἅμα δὲ τῷ ἔαρι Another time marker (Appx 1 para 1), taking the narrative into spring 492.

τῶν ἄλλων . . . στρατηγῶν This indicates that the forces of 495–3, §§6–18 and 31–3, had returned home. Herodotus could not name their generals (see on συστραφέντες, §6). The appointment of Mardonius is consistent with the picture that Darius was reluctant to leave his top generals in command for too long, even though they were often his sons-in-law: see Appx 3 para 6.

Μαρδόνιος ὁ Γωβρύεω He was closely related to Darius. His father had been one of Darius' co-conspirators and his mother one of Darius' sisters; his own sister was one of Darius' wives; his wife, Artozostra, was a daughter of Darius, the only one whom Herodotus names (Appx 5). Apart from this expedition, he will be Xerxes' second-in-command in 480–79: see on §45.2. His name, Persian Gaubaruva, means "possessor of cattle", per Kent (1950) 182; that meaning, and that of Mardonius, Marduniya, is left open by Schmitt (1967) 120, 121; the suggestion of some that it means "moderate" or "short" (see Nenci *ad loc*) seems an unlikely name for a Persian nobleman. Perhaps the sources stressed his youth (νέος . . . νεωστι) to explain his failure, §§45.2, 94.2.

κατέβαινε ἐπὶ θάλασσαν . . . στρατὸν πολλόν . . . The mention of Cilicia, §43.2, shows that the "sea" means the coast at Tarsus. The middle ἀγόμενος means "bringing with him" (Powell sv VII 2), but it cannot quite mean that, because he could not do it to the fleet. The similar situation in 490, §95.1, is more clearly expressed. Unlike there, Herodotus does not specifically say that Mardonius started from Susa, though that is the natural inference from κατέβαινε ἐπὶ θάλασσαν. But the whole army may not have assembled at Susa. Units from the Levant or the eastern part of Asia Minor would go straight to Cilicia (some, perhaps, might meet Mardonius at, say, Zeugma; and some may have gone straight to the Hellespont). But if he did start from Susa, he would need some two months to reach Cilicia: it is c1700 km (see on οἱ ζωγρηθέντες, §20); an army would do well to maintain 30 km per day, and there would be rest days: see Appx 4 para 2. It is thus likely that the expedition did not set off from Cilicia until late April; though we could put this back a

few weeks by assuming that the bulk of the army had assembled in Cilicia the previous autumn, so that Mardonius, with just a small escort, travelled more quickly from Susa and got to Cilicia for the end of March. In any case, the preparations must have been put in hand in 493: the call-up, and bringing the fleet up to full strength if it had not been done immediately after Lade (cf on §31.1): Appx 3 paras 3, 8. Herodotus stresses the size of both army and fleet again at §43.4, but we should not assume that the latter was the conventional "600": see on τριηκοσίας, §44.3.

43.2 ἐν Κιλικίῃ There was a Persian naval base at or near Tarsus (Wallinga (1987) 68; (1993) 119 n. 36); the adjacent Aleion plain (cf §95.1), between the Sarus and Pyranus rivers, could accommodate a huge army (Müller (1997) 94–5 for a photograph illustrating its extent). The name would be familiar to Herodotus' readers from the reference in Hom *Il* 6.201.

νεὸς . . . νηυσί As with the Miletus expedition, Herodotus uses the generic ναῦς for this fleet. There would be a mixture of triremes and galleys, some for supplies, some as troopships; cf on ἑξακόσιαι, §9.1, and see Appx 2 paras 6–8.

ἄλλοι ἡγεμόνες Not ἄλλοι στρατηγοί: they were subordinate to Mardonius (cf Powell sv ἡγεμών 2; Appx 3 para 6). One or more would be in charge of the fleet, which was to act independently of Mardonius: introductory note para 5.

Ἑλλήσποντον Unlike at §33.1, here in its correct geographical sense of the narrows between the Troad and Lampsacus in Asia and the Chersonese opposite.

43.3 παραπλέων τὴν Ἀσίην There is a slight possibility that he besieged Lindos en route for Ionia, which would delay him up to 4 weeks: see note to §§94–101. In any case, from Cilicia to Miletus is c950 km, c515 nautical miles, hugging the coast; slightly less by a more direct route. If his ship(s) could actually maintain 5 knots for 10 hours per day, he would still need 10 days (Appx 4 para 1); in practice such a pace could not be maintained, and he would take 14–20 days.

μέγιστον θῶμα . . . τοῖσι μὴ ἀποδεκομένοισι This direct reference to the constitution debate, 3.80–3, has a treble significance: how widely did it circulate outside Herodotus, does it throw light on questions of publication and his giving readings, and whether he preferred democracies to oligarchies (pp. 4, 8, 11, 28–9). He began the debate, 3.80.1, by affirming its truth: "some Greeks doubt it happened, but it did", which suggests that the story already circulated. The possibilities are (a) he included the affirmation at 3.80.1 to anticipate criticism, or (b) he added the affirmation after earlier readings, because of scepticism expressed. But the fact that he repeats the sentiment here, several papyrus rolls later, is fair evidence that there had been readings of parts of his Persian *logoi*, or earlier versions of it, and doubts on the story had been expressed: he is clearly keen to make the point first before telling us what happened, using the superlative μέγιστον and the strong θῶμα, "marvel". Lasserre (1976) makes a strong case that the debate itself is from a composition on forms of government by Protagoras (b c490), or a text deriving from him; he is said to have been educated at Abdera by Magi left behind by Xerxes, from whom he would learn about the political upheaval associated with Darius' accession (cf p. 47 n. 168), which he then used as the context for an essay. This would explain both knowledge of the story outside Herodotus, and scepticism at his text, e.g. from sophists opposed to Protagoras. However Nakategawa (1988) 263 n. 27 argues that the debate derives from a Persian original. In either case, the speeches in 3.80–3 are artefacts, hellenic in phraseology and content; whether any victor in the power struggle which Darius won would have ruled other than as absolute monarch is doubtful. Whether Herodotus' argument stands up logically is another matter; not because it was Otanes and not Mardonius' father Gobryas who had proposed ἰσονομίη (3.80.2), but because he does not explain why, if democracy had been rejected by Darius then, Mardonius should suddenly be in favour of it now. The phrase τοῖσι μὴ ἀποδεκομένοισι Ἑλλήνων Περσέων τοῖσι ἑπτά . . . ἀποδέξασθαι is a double piece of verbal dexterity: (a) τοῖσι . . . Ἑλλήνων Περσέων τοῖσι balance, as if to stress "to those (few) Greeks . . . to the seven Persians"; and (b) the pun of the verbs: in Ionic, ἀποδεξάμην is from both ἀποδέκεσθαι and ἀποδείκνυσθαι ("fallacious anaphora", Powell (1937)).

τυράννους . . . καταπαύσας . . . δημοκρατίας κατίστα If taken literally, this would mean that the tyrants of §9.2 had been reinstated the

previous year, perhaps also that men had been found for the vacancies at Miletus and Mytilene; and they were now removed, except on Samos and Chios. In practice it may mean only that the Persians had continued to regard them as formally the legitimate rulers of their cities, and now withdrew that recognition. What "democracy" meant in practice is also speculative. See Appx 11 sec 3.

43.4 ἠπείγετο While the hurrying may be a colourful accretion in the tradition, it need not be inaccurate. While in Ionia, he no doubt visited Artaphrenes, possibly at Sardis, and he would have to visit at least some of the Greek poleis. Up to a month would soon pass. Allowing for the 14–20 days he needed to reach Ionia (see on §43.3), it broadly corresponds to the time needed for his army to march overland from Cilicia. When he was ready to leave Ionia, the main part of the army would be at or near to the Hellespont. A degree of haste at this stage is feasible. See, further, introductory note para 3.

χρῆμα πολλὸν νεῶν "a large number of ships"; as at §43.1 the size of the expedition, both men and ships, is stressed. There is perhaps the implication from the repeated συνελέχθη that Mardonius did his business in Ionia with a small squadron, and most of the fleet and army went directly to the Hellespont and mustered there. It might also suggest some delay before the whole force was ready to move on from there. If Ionians were conscripted on this occasion, we are not told. For the size of the fleet see on τριηκοσίας, §44.3.

ἐπί τε Ἐρέτριαν καὶ Ἀθήνας See next note.

44.1 πρόσχημα . . . Ἑλληνίδων πολίων Herodotus' language stresses the typical result of such conquest: slavery and subjection to the king; hence καταστρέφεσθαι . . . κατεστρέψαντο . . . δούλους . . . ὑποχείρια. The sentiment is echoed in the words attributed to Miltiades before Marathon: cf on §109.3. It may reflect a mixture of popular perception and Herodotus' own assessment, but is essentially correct: introductory note para 2. Herodotus' use of πρόσχημα shows that he was also alive to the point that for the king, punishing Athens and Eretria was only ancillary to his wider aim. But for the reasons set out in the introductory note paras 3–5, there has to be a question whether Mardonius' brief was in fact to subdue Greece or merely to confirm Persian control of Thrace and Macedonia.

τοῦτο μέν . . . τοῦτο δέ While this is a common method by which Herodotus joins two events or things, if we read it here literally, it would mean that Mardonius and his army had reached Macedonia and "enslaved" it while the fleet was still at Thasos. This seems unlikely, but we can credit that he reached the Axius before the fleet: see introductory note para 5.

Θασίους As §46.2 shows, after Histiaeus' attack the previous year, the Thasians had taken steps to protect themselves against a similar one; οὐδέ χεῖρας ἀνταειραμένους suggests a pragmatic acceptance of the realities in view of the size of the Persian fleet, §43.1, 4. To judge by §§46–7, Thasos had to acknowledge the king's suzerainty, and probably pay tribute, but otherwise remained free. It is likely that the fleet also retook Lemnos and Imbros, and also took Samothrace, which perhaps only now fell under Persia (cf 8.11.3, 90.2), and the cities on the Thracian coast, which included Greek settlements scattered between Argilos and Aenos; for them see *CAH* III^2 3 113–18 with map 9 (Graham); map 6 herein; several were in the Thasian peraia, for which see on ἡ δὲ πρόσοδός, §46.2. See also introductory note para 5.

Μακεδόνας . . . ἐντός Μακεδόνων The tribes ἐντός, "on the inner side", of Macedonia are those east of the Axius, whether from the Persian or Greek perspective. The Greeks thought of the Axius as separating Macedonia from Thrace, regardless of the political situation: see *CAH* III^2 3 273 (Hammond), citing Hecataeus *FGrH* 1 F148–9. To say that these tribes were already subject to the Persians, i.e. since 512, basically repeats 5.1–2; the real question is how much control the Persians still had. Macedonia had had an alliance with Persia since 512, sealed by a royal marriage. But it involved the giving of earth and water, so from the king's perspective she was already subject to him. It had not stopped her from expanding east of the Axius, and she was to expand further still after Mardonius. Thus it is hard to decide whether Mardonius made any actual change to her status. If δούλους is accurate, we could understand that she now became formally subjected to Persia and had to pay tribute; but it could be assumption in the sources. Generally, introductory note paras 3–5, 6–7.

44.2 πέρην ὑπὸ τὴν ἤπειρον . . . Ἀκάνθου Thasos is only c15 km from the mainland. At first blush we might have inferred that the fleet would sail to Acanthos by a coastal route anyway, but the Phoenicians were skilled sailors, and could cross the open sea: cf the reference to pigeons noted on §44.3. The fleet had probably been reducing coastal areas from the start: introductory note para 5, and cf on Θασίους, §44.1. Acanthos lay on the Bay of Ierissou, north of the Athos peninsula, map 6; cf 7.22.2.

τὸν Ἄθων . . . βορέης ἄνεμος The details here: strong north winds creating a storm, rocks, cold water, sharks, are all factually correct. Even in summer, the Athos peninsula is subject to sudden gales and squalls, often of considerable duration, with the wind almost always coming from N–W to N–E. "With strong winds from any direction, caution must be exercised in the vicinity of the Akti peninsula where there will be strong gusts off the high mountains. Around Mt Athos particular care must be taken as the gusts can be violent and the seas disturbed around Cape Pinnes and Cape Akrathos"; in other words, ἄπορος: Heiskell (1990) 250, 256; NID Greece 80–86, esp 86. The photograph in Müller (1987) 155 well illustrates such a storm, though he does not say on which visit he took it: March–April 1969 or August 1979. The east coast is a mixture of cliffs and small beaches; both east and west coasts have few harbours, and such anchorages as there are could not possibly take more than a handful of ships (Heiskell 255–6; Morton (2001) 79–80, 142; NID Greece 73, map fig 50; description and photographs illustrating the east coast, Müller 152–6). The cold water goes with the storms; for the sharks see on θηριωδεστάτης, §44.3. Charon of Lampsacus mentioned the storm (*FGrH* 262 F3/687b F1 = Athen 9.394e; Ael *VH* 1.15) with the detail that afterwards, white pigeons first appeared in Greece. White pigeons are typically found in the middle-east and Asia: McNeillie (1976) 80–2, 112–116; Hdt 1.138.2. They could have been carrier pigeons (which McNeillie 13 says the Persians used), or kept for food, but the most likely reason is homing pigeons, to show sailors out at sea in which direction the coast lay: see Morton (2001) 225–7. Herodotus reports a nice recall of the incident in 480: a north wind caused a storm which destroyed Persian ships off the coast of Magnesia. The Athenians then said that the north wind was their son-in-law (Boreas had wedded Orithyia, daughter of Erechtheus) and had

responded to their prayers to help as he had done at Athos: 7.188–9. It caught a Spartan fleet in 411, per Eph *FGrH* 70 F199 = DS 13.41.2–3 (not in Thuc 8.107.2).

περιέσπε See on §15.1.

44.3 κατὰ τριηκοσίας . . . τῶν νεῶν . . . δύο μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων λέγεται Herodotus specifically notes both Datis, §95.2, and Xerxes with his canal, 7.22–4, wanting to avoid another Athos: the Persians took the incident seriously. The λέγεται is significant: he cannot offer a precise number for the fleet, as with the "600" that he can for other Persian expeditions (Appx 3 para 1), merely that it was "large" (§§43.1, 4), and now indicates that he cannot confirm the 300 reported losses. One could argue that tradition came to say that half the fleet was lost, and expressed it as 300, half of 600. We should hesitate before assuming that it was so large, and in any case many of the ships would be for supplies. Indeed, it is arguable that Mardonius had kept the bulk of his army with him on land; nor, despite §45.2, do the losses seem to have interfered with his plans: cf introductory para 5. Whatever the losses, he still had an adequate army to deal with the Brygi, §45. The proportion of 20,000 men to 300 ships is credible as such, an average of 66 men per ship. It would also suggest that more were galleys carrying men (80–110 men per ship) or supplies (up to 50 men per ship) than triremes, with crews of 160–180: see Appx 2 paras 5–8. The surviving ships presumably carried on round Chalcidice to the mouth of the Axius, to liaise with the army (cf on §45.1), not retrace their steps homeward.

θηριωδεστάτης Of Mediterranean fishes, the swordfish (ξιφίας, 4–9m long) was noted for spearing ships and attacking fish (Plin *NH* 32.6.15; Ael *NA* 14.23) and the sting-ray (τρυγών) was also perceived as dangerous (θανατήφορος, Ael *NA* 2.50, 8.26; cf Arist *Part An* 695b10); but the likely culprits here are blue or white sharks. The former, up to 4m long, move inshore in summer; the latter, up to 12m, occasionally comes near coasts (Campbell (1982) 258, 260). They rarely eat humans, but both are capable of inflicting severe and potentially lethal biting injuries. Greek had several words for them: καρχαρίας (Theophr *HP* 4.7.2, and in several comic quotations in Athenaeus, e.g. Plato Com *PCG* 7 F189, κύων (Hom *Od* 12.96), λάμια, λάμνα, but we cannot specifically say to which species they refer. Other ref-

erences to attacks by fish are few: Theophr *loc cit*: ἡ δὲ θάλαττα (here, the Red Sea) θηριώδης· πλείστους δὲ ἔχει τοὺς καρχαρίας, ὥστε μὴ εἶναι κολυμβῆσαι; *Anth Pal* 7.506 is the epitaph of a man half eaten by a μέγα κῆτος while diving to release his anchor. In the shipwreck depicted on the Pithecoussa crater (Morrison and Williams (1968) Geom 32), there are (probably) sharks, one shown eating a sailor. Elsewhere in Herodotus θηριώδης means "infested with wild animals" on land (1.110.1, etc); in general it means "brutal" or "savage" (Eur *Tro* 671, Plat *Leg* 906b, Arist *EN* 1118a25 etc). But it could refer to the sea, as in Theophrastus, supra, and Philostr *Vit Apoll* 3.57 (who adds that ships carry bells to frighten off the κήτη). Here, it might suggest a Persian source (cf introductory note para 2), who did not know a word for shark, but knew, if only by hearsay, of large sea creatures in the Persian Gulf (whales: Arr *Ind* 29, 30, Plin *NH* 9.2.4, Ael *NA* 16.18, also the (harmless) dugong). But it could equally be Greek: the exaggeration of the superlative, like the size of Persian casualties, suggests that the episode had passed into folklore.

πέτρας For the rocky east coast of Athos see on τὸν Ἄθον, §44.2.

νέειν οὐκ ἠπιστέατο At 8.89.2 (Salamis) and 8.129.2 (Pallene) Herodotus again says that the Persians could not swim, almost as a cultural divider: Greeks do it (e.g. Plat *Leg* 689d, ignorance means being unable to read or swim), Persians do not (nor Thracians, Thuc 7.30.2); see Hall (1993) 49, 56. It would be surprising if coastal subjects, e.g. Phoenicians, could not swim (so Arr *Anab* 2.21.6, Tyrian divers, and Jews could swim (Hall 56)), but there would be large inland tracts of the Persian Empire without rivers suitable for children to learn to swim in. But in a rough sea even swimmers might not make it to shore.

ῥίγεϊ A concomitant of the storm, not evidence that it was late in the year.

45.1 στρατοπεδευομέῳ . . . Βρύγοι Herodotus probably added Θρήικες for clarity, as there were Βρῦγοι in Epirus: Strabo 7.7.8, 9 (at 12.3.20 he says that the Βρῦγοι, the Βρύγες, and the Φρύγες are the same; at 7.73 Herodotus says that the Φρύγες were called Βρίγες when they lived near Macedonia). We cannot draw any useful inference from

the early fifth century Athenian potter and painter called Βρύγος: Cook (1997) 165, 260. Hammond and Griffith (1979) 61, essentially by a process of elimination, place them north and west of lake Doiranis, i.e. north-east of the modern frontier crossing at Evzone and towards Strumica (map 6), at least 70 km north of the mouth of the Axius and c20 km east of it. If so, they had not been affected by Darius' march north in 513 (his route: introductory note para 4). Megabazos may have secured their submission, which they soon, or during the Ionian revolt, ignored; but this raid is equally consistent with a free tribe hostile to a foreign army on or near their territory. Their presence in the Persian army in 480, 7.185.2, may reflect only subsequent events (next note). Their probable homeland makes it tempting to locate Mardonius' camp on the east bank of the Axius c15–20 km from its mouth and a similar distance from Pella. It would only be c40–50 km from their territory, ideal for an overnight march and a surprise attack at dawn. It would also be a natural base for his army, whether the last stage of their march westwards was north or south of lake Prasias; and clear of the marshy ground around the mouth of the Axius (see Barrington maps 50, 51). The river would assure a good water supply, and access to the sea for supplies. He could leave it there while he went with a small escort to meet the Macedonians (introductory note para 8). Even if he took his whole army across the Axius, it was an equally good location for the return journey. Either way, the narrative shows that his business in Macedonia was finished and he was on his way home.

πολλοὺς φονεύουσι . . . δουλοσύνην . . . ὑποχείρους The tone of this, and §46.2, suggests a Persian or Greek source hostile to Mardonius: cf introductory note para 2. The story seems exaggerated. Despite πολλούς, Mardonius was able to mount a retaliatory expedition over at least 40–50 km. His own wound cannot have been severe, in view of the part he was to play in 480–79. If "slavery" and "subjects" are true, either he confirmed Persian suzerainty over them, or, more probably, added another tribe to the king's empire; scarcely a matter of criticism. Cf next note. Some 9 or 10 years later, their territory, if not they themselves, was absorbed into Macedonia (c483–1, according to Hammond and Griffith (1979) 64–5). Their inclusion in Xerxes' army, 7.185.2, might then be as a Macedonian contingent.

45.2 προσπταίσας . . . αἰσχρῶς ἀγωνισάμενος The substance of this pejorative comment is repeated at §94.2, φλαύρως πρήξαντα, prob-

ably reflecting a hostile source (previous note); but it is unfair. He confirmed Persian control in Thrace; he added Thasos and probably other islands to the empire; he at least ensured the continuing friendship of Macedonia. The storm off Athos was not his fault; and he successfully retaliated against the Brygi. While Darius may have been reluctant to leave any senior general in post for too long (see on τῶν ἄλλων, §43.1), especially one so closely related to him (see on Μαρδόνιος, §43.1), he will be Xerxes' second in command from the planning stage onwards (7.5, 9–10, 82, etc); he is killed at Plataea (9.62.2; last mention 9.101.3).

§§46–49.1 *The following spring Darius orders Thasos to dismantle her walls and hand over her ships; a digression on the wealth of Thasos follows. He then sends heralds to Greece, demanding earth and water; he also orders ships to be built.*

It is very Herodotean not to go straight on and say: the following year, Darius began his preparations, but to introduce them in such a way as to enable him to offer a digression on Thasos. Stylistically, it is not dissimilar to the way §§26–30 interrupts the main narrative of the end of the Ionian revolt: cf note to §§25–30; but it enables him to use the material he had about Thasos (p. 21).

46.1 δευτέρῳ δὲ ἔτεϊ τούτων Another time marker (Appx 1 para 1); spring 491: Darius prepares for Datis' expedition; they continue at §48.1.

Θασίους . . . ἀπόστασιν As building ships and strengthening the walls were probably a reaction to Histiaeus (see on νέας, §46.2), it would be done after he departed in spring 493 (see on §28.1), and so before the Thasian submission to the Persians in summer 492, §44.1. Perhaps the fleet commander who secured that submission did not see either as a threat to Persian interests (for the ships cf on νέας, §46.2). We may doubt that Thasos was in fact contemplating revolt. It would have been a risky enterprise with the Persian presence in Thrace recently confirmed. Also, Herodotus' sources were probably men on Thasos itself, and as his visit would post-date their strenuous if unsuccessful revolt from Athens in 465–3 (Thuc 1.100), they would want to claim credit for being just as independently minded a generation earlier. It may simply be that the ships were requisitioned as part

of Darius' preparations, with the order about the walls thrown in by a Persian official who perceived them as a threat to the king's sovereignty, and the order to lower them a way of imposing his authority. A Thasian assumption that this stemmed from a false accusation would become enshrined in the tradition. If there was such an accusation, the Persians would not be concerned whether it was true or false, especially as Darius wanted ships anyway. We can perhaps think of people who wanted to settle an old score, or sought to ingratiate themselves with a newly installed Persian governor on the mainland: perhaps Edonians affected by Thasian dealings on the mainland, e.g. over the mines (see on ἡ δὲ πρόσοδός, §46.2), or jealous of her prosperity. Isaac (1986) 89 suggests Abdera, sed quaere (cf infra).

τὸ τεῖχος περιαιρέειν For the wall, see on περικατημένῳ, §26.1.

Ἄβδηρα Abdera had been settled by Teans who emigrated when Cyrus took over Lydia (1.168). She had presumably been under Persian control for some 20 years, since Megabazos established Skudra. She probably had two good harbours, and may already have been a Persian naval base (Isaac (1986) 74–5; Appx 3 para 2); if so, Mardonius would not need to re-affirm the position there. She seems to have adopted a pragmatic attitude to Persian control, with a joke at the expense of feeding Xerxes' army on his way out (7.120), and helping him on his retreat (8.120). But there is no evidence to suggest rivalry with or jealousy of Thasos, to make her the source of the false accusation, if made (supra); nor why "Abdera" was a later synonym for stupidity (Cic *Ad Att* 4.17.3, 7.7.4; Mart 10.25; Juv 10.50).

46.2 Ἱστιαίου See §28.1.

προσόδων . . . μεγαλέων Quantified in §46.3.

νέας . . . μακράς After the Persians retook control of Ionia and the Hellespont, the unsettled conditions of 494 and early 493 had gone; Histiaeus' end and Artaphrenes' actions show that they were determined to keep the king's peace: cf Appx 11 sec 1. But the Thasians could reasonably think it sensible to look to their own security and protect themselves against another Histiaeus, and there is no reason to think, for instance, that the Persians maintained anti-piracy patrols:

cf Appx 18 para 9. We should not equate these "long ships" with triremes. It was Persian policy not to permit her maritime subjects to own triremes (Appx 3 para 2); also, at least in Herodotus, a long ship seems to mean a galley in a (potentially) aggressive context. Thuc 1.14.1 speaks of long ships and penteconters; as he regularly refers to triremes, the distinction for him between the three types is unclear. Generally see Scott (2000) 103; we may envisage these long ships as penteconter types requiring a crew of 40 to 50 men (Appx 2 para 5), to use for aggression and defence rather than trade. If he noted their presence, Mardonius' fleet commander probably saw them as merchants' galleys.

τεῖχος ἰσχυρότερον We need not infer from the Thasian perception that the walls should be strengthened in width and/or height that a section was unfinished when Histiaeus attacked, or that there were sections in disrepair. It was coupled with building ships, and should be seen as a straightforward reaction to the conditions of the time. Cf on περικατημένῳ, §28.1.

ἡ δὲ πρόσοδός . . . ἔκ τε τῆς ἠπείρου καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν μετάλλων As is clear from §46.3, where the latter phrase is repeated, this means "the revenue from [produce on] the mainland and the mines [on the mainland and the island]". Although the mainland was more wooded than now, it was a fertile area (Isaac (1986) 2); for the mines see next note. Thasos had an extensive *peraia* there, from Galepsos eastwards to Neapolis, the modern Kavala; it included Oisyme, mentioned in Hom *Il* 8.304, and Antisara (map 6); also Scaptesyle, for which see infra, and Stryme (7.108), an outpost east of Abdera (Isaac 9–11, 13–15, 63–69, 70–71). Thracian names on Thasos evidence intermarriage at least between the more prominent families (Graham (1978) 92–3); and Galepsos and Oisyme were emporia as well as poleis (Thuc 1.100.2, 4.107.2), suggesting trade dealings between Thasians and Thracians, particularly Edonians.

46.3 ἐκ μέν γε τῶν ἐκ Σκαπτῆς Ὕλης . . . There were a number of gold and silver mines in Thrace: maps, Healey (1978) 54–5; see Hammond and Griffith (1979) 70–4; Isaac (1986) 14–15, 28–29, 33). Hammond and Griffith 72 infer from εἶδον δὲ καὶ αὐτός, §47.1, that Herodotus had only seen those on Thasos, not those on the mainland. They were mainly owned by Thracians: 5.17.2, 7.112, 9.75

(noted also on Σωφάνεος, §92.3); Thucydides' mines came from a Thracian ancestor (see on γαμέει, §39.2); but Pisistratos had acquired wealth at Rhaikelos and Mt Pangaion (*Ath Pol* 15.2; Appx 8 para 2). The location of Scaptesyle is uncertain (Isaac 28), but from the present passage and Steph Byz sv (who calls it a polis and describes it as ἀντικρὺ Θάσου) it is assumed to have been on the mainland opposite Thasos, probably on the lower slopes of Mt Pangaion; Müller (1987) 100–1 has photographs of the N-W and E slopes; Hammond and Griffith 73 favour the north-eastern side, inland of Neapolis. The accuracy of Herodotus' information has been doubted, on the footing that production varies from year to year, and his sources were old men speaking of many years before (see Isaac 21–22); but he is aware of this, twice using the imperfect προσήιε (πρόσειμι) for the typical annual income, and the aorist προσῆλθε for the exceptional year.

ὀγδώκοντα . . . καρπῶν ἀτελέσι . . . διηκόσια Herodotus appears to mean: Scaptesyle, 80 talents; island mines, c60–70 talents (συχνὰ δὲ οὕτω means "considerable nonetheless"); agricultural produce, c50–60 talents: total, 200 (all higher in a good year, total 300). We may compare this to the 400 talents said to have cost Thasos for their *peraia* feeding Xerxes' army in 480 (7.118). 200 talents could be conceptualised as £20,000,000 (see on πεντήκοντα, §136.3). To be without tax on their produce, καρπῶν ἀτελέσι, was sufficiently unusual to be worthy of comment: Herodotus hints that the Siphnians did something similar in the years of their prosperity (3.57.2); but we know very little as to how poleis in general raised their revenues. The discussion in Jones (1974) 152–4 is based essentially on Athenian evidence. It is not clear if Herodotus also meant that Thasos had no harbour dues, or import and export taxes. This happy state of affairs did not last; subsequently, she had to levy an agricultural tax; the officials, καρπολόγοι, are attested epigraphically: Pouilloux (1954) 124–134, a title also attested for Cos and Colophon, *ib* 124 n. 4, and Chios (*SEG* XIX 573). This was probably after she lost her mainland *peraia* to Athens; by 407 she was anything but prosperous (Xen *Hell* 1.4.9).

47.1 εἶδον δὲ καὶ αὐτός Herodotus reports his visit to Thasos at 2.44.4, in connection with his researches into the worship of Heracles. It is unclear if he saw Scaptesyle: cf on §46.3.

οἱ Φοίνικες . . . οἱ μετὰ Θάσου At 2.44.4, as part of his advocacy for a non-Greek Heracles worshipped by Egyptians and Phoenicians, Herodotus says that Phoenicians settled on Thasos when searching for Europa, and erected a temple to their Heracles five generations before the Greek Heracles. A Phoenician colony is not quite borne out by archaeology; that shows that Thasos was settled by Thracians, but there was a Phoenician trading presence, buying metals in exchange for pottery and wine (Graham (1978) 61–72, 86–97; and see on μεταξὺ Αἰνύρων, §47.2). There were perhaps three strands to a mid fifth century Thasian tradition (which is presumably the source here) that stressed the Phoenicians but "wrote out" the Thracians. Greeks from Paros and elsewhere had settled it c650 (Thuc 4.104.4; cf on τὸ οὔνομα, infra); that they had been able to supplant the Phoenicians as traders may be connected with problems the latter faced at home as Assyria conquered them (Graham 96); but their supplanting the Thracians probably involved fighting (Graham 92–7). Thus, despite the intermarriage noted on ἡ δὲ πρόσοδός, §46.2, relations with Thracians may have been uneasy. In one version of Heracles' ninth labour (Hippolyte's girdle), during his journeyings around the north Aegean he expelled the Thracians on Thasos and installed Greeks (Apoll 2.105); it is most probably a late variation of the story reflecting these hostilities (Graham 94 n. 316). Secondly, the Thasians had taken over the Phoenician cult of Heracles and hellenised it (van Berchem (1967), conveniently summarised in Graham 89–91).

Thirdly, the present passage indicates that the Thasians thought of their eponym as bringing the Phoenicians to the island. Gantz I 203 notes that there were regional variations in the myths of the descendants of Inachos (basic stemma, Appx 23). This is clear, whether we translate τοῦ Φοίνικος as "son of Phoinix" (de Sélincourt, Mandilaras) or "the Phoenician" (Waterhouse, Nenci). The point is not invalidated because of the variants as to how Thasos fitted into the stemma. This is the only place in which he is a son of Phoinix, if it means that. In Eur fr 819 Kannicht he is another son of Agenor and so brother of Phoinix (cf Paus 5.25.12; Gantz (1996) I 209–10 for the problems of the text); elsewhere he is a son of Poseidon (Apoll 3.3–4), and so brother or half-brother of Agenor and uncle of Phoinix; or son of Cilix, i.e. son of Agenor, grandson of Poseidon (Pherec *FGrH* 3 F42), and nephew of Phoinix. Steph Byz sv Θασος is confusing. It says that Thasos was 10 generations older than

Heracles; it then gives only the 9 generations (inclusive) between Heracles and the brothers Belos and Agenor; as if implying (uniquely) that Thasos was one generation senior to Agenor (i.e. his uncle). To add to the confusion, it makes Proitos the son of Agenor; elsewhere Proitos is always in the Belos stemma, a son of Abas. However we understand that, it is probably nothing to do with whether Herodotus or his Thasian sources thought of Agenor and Belos as brothers (see on §53.1). An additional complication is the Thasian connection over Europa. The stemma was fluid as to whether the father of Cadmus and Europa was Agenor or Phoinix (Gantz I 202–3, 209–10). Their mother is Teleph(a)e or Telephassa (Apoll 3.2–3, where their father is Agenor; Schol Eur *Ph* 5, where their father is Phoinix); she and Thasos join Cadmus in the search for Europa; she dies on Thasos and is buried there (Apoll 3.21; Steph Byz sv Θάσος). But elsewhere she is married to Thasos and has a son Galepsos, eponym of the emporion noted on ἡ δὲ πρόσοδός, §46.2 (e.g. Harpocration and Steph Byz sv Γαληψός); or perhaps married to Cadmus (Steph Byz sv Δάρδανος).

τὸ οὔνομα There are two candidates for the old name. An oracle survives addressed to Archilochus' father Telesicles (Oenomaus of Gadara (c120 AD) fr 14 = Euseb Praep Ev 6.7.8; also Steph Byz sv Θάσος, *Anth Pal Or* 32):

> Ἄγγειλον Παρίοις, Τελεσίκλεες, ὥς σε κελεύω
> νήσῳ ἐν ἠερίῃ κτίζειν εὐδείελον ἄστυ.

Oenomaus adds that Archilochus said that Thasos was formerly called ἠερία; hence some editors include the couplet in their Archilochus editions: fr 263 Lasserre = 246 Tarditi, printing Ἠερίῃ with a capital letter. The adjective ἀερίος usually means "in the air", or similar: see LSJ, but Hesych sv ἀερία says: ὁμίχλη (mist), of Thasos, and also of Egypt (as Aesch *Supp* 75 and Ap Rhod 4.267), Libya, Aethiopia, and the islands of Cyprus, Crete and Sicily. Thus even if the oracle is genuine, the pentameter appears to mean only: found a conspicuous city on the misty isle (there is a separate issue, whether the oracle is addressed to Telesicles as oikistes, or merely bids him report it to the Parians). It is more probable that the oracle is not authentic, and part of a fourth century biographical tradition about Archilochus (Graham (1978) 79). That does not, however, answer the question whether Oenomaus' note was inference from the couplet (or per-

haps Hesychius' source), or based on an actual line of Archilochus which said: Thasos was formerly called Eeria, Misty. More intriguing and perhaps correct is Hesychius sv Ὀδωνίς: the old name of Thasos. It could be a Greek transliteration of its Thracian name or inhabitants, with -δων- as in Edonia ("L'Édonienne", Seyrig (1927) 216). Archilochus' well known fr 102 West, Πανελλήνων ὀϊζὺς ἐς Θάσον συνέδραμεν, has other Greeks join in its settlement (see Graham (1978) 72–97; Malkin (1987) 56–9; Jeffery (1976) 181–3); but his ὀϊζύς, "woe, misery", although here connoting "rabble", could also be a sort of pun on the Greek spelling of the island's Thracian name: to the Greek ear Ὀδωνίς would recall ὀδύνη, pain.

47.2 μεταξὺ Αἰνύρων . . . καὶ Κοινύρων Epigraphic evidence locates Ainyra at modern Potamia, 8 km south of Thasos city and 2 km inland; and Koinyra has long been located at Kinyra, another 7 km to the south; the ὄρος μέγα is Mt Hypsarion (maps, Salviat and Servais (1964) 277, 279, 287; generally, Graham (1978) 88–89). The names appear to be semitic, further supporting early Phoenician involvement (Graham 89).

ὄρος . . . ἀνεστραμμένον An accusative absolute, as at §72.1.

τοῦτο μέν νύν . . . Herodotus had opened the *logos* with Darius' orders, §46.1; he ends it by confirming that the Thasians complied with them. The OCT and Rosén print οἱ δὲ Θάσιοι . . . Ἄβδηρα as the first sentence of §48, but it is more logical to follow Legrand and Nenci, who make it the end of §47.

48.1 Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἀπεπειρᾶτο . . . τῶν Ἑλλήνων The king's preparations for the 490 expedition continue. As expressed, he only does this after Thasos has complied with his order; but in view of the various events that follow in Sparta and Aegina, we should probably infer that it is still spring, perhaps early summer, 491. Only here does Herodotus make express that which we would infer anyway: for large expeditions, such as those of §§6 and 43 also, preparations had to be put in hand the year before. Irrespective of the need to build ships (§48.2), the logistics of getting an army from various parts of the empire assembled in Cilicia for the spring meant that the orders had to go out, and the men leave their homes, the year before. Cf on §6, 42–5, on κατέβαινε, §43.2, and on §95.1.

48.2 γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ Herodotus is our main source for this aspect of Persian diplomacy: demanded of Scythians (4.126–132); Macedonians (note to §§42–45 para 6); an Athenian delegation in c508 (infra); all Greece now—ἄλλους ἄλλῃ τάξας suggests an organised plan, each man being given a particular city or area to cover—and in 480, except Athens and Sparta (7.32, 131–3, 138); cf 7.163. Although in Zoroastrianism earth and water are two of a set of entities each connected to a specific act of creation, which could be worshipped separately or as a group, the others being man, cattle, fire, metal and plants (*CHI* 668–9 (Schwartz), better than 1.131.2), here they are purely secular symbols: the earth was the giver's realm (cf Kuhrt 87–8), and the water represented either its rivers, or hospitality, as to a thirsty traveller. If the Scythian narrative is a guide, the king required submission first, and discussion about the parties' future relationship second. The Athenian delegation in 508 may have believed that giving them was a symbolic gesture of friendship: see on Φρυνίχῳ, §21.2 (4). But as far as the king was concerned, it was not an alliance of equals: the giver acknowledged, for himself and his people, and as a permanent and binding obligation, the superiority of the Persian king, and that they were now, in effect, his loyal subjects: Kuhrt (1988); Berthold (2002) 260–2, 266–7. The permanence is shown by the events of 412–11: the king continued to claim suzerainty over the islands and mainland which had given earth and water now or in 480: Appx 11 sec 2(3), esp n. 24. But it also seems clear that a second demand could be made. Mardonius in Macedonia may only have been formalising the position (note to §§42–45 paras 6–7); but many of the mainland poleis are said to have given it now, yet Xerxes renewed the demand in 480, as if he had to remind his subjects of their status. If earth and water were also demanded of subject peoples brought into the empire by conquest, e.g. Lydians, Ionians, Thracians, Herodotus does not say. For all, subservience was commonly expressed in Greek as δοῦλος: Ionians, §32, Macedonians, §44.1, Brygi, §46.1; but Persian had various words to express it, some closer to our "servant" or "vassal": Missiou (1993), cited p. 46 n. 163. Kuhrt 93–4 canvasses the possibility that while those giving earth and water did not have to pay tribute, they were expected to provide resources for Persian forces passing through their territory. It follows that for the king, Athens' attack on Sardis amounted to a revolt, good enough reason for him wanting to punish her (cf on ἀναμιμνήσκοντος, §94.1); the Thebans were punished for their temporary breach of faith, 7.233.

τὴν Ἑλλάδα It here connotes the islands as well as mainland Greece: §49.1.

τὰς ἑωυτοῦ δασμοφόρους πόλιας τὰς παραθαλασσίους Their coastal subjects stretched from Thrace into the Hellespont, all round Asia Minor, and in the Levant, Egypt and Libya. The Levant and Egypt were important in relation to the Persian navy, but πόλιας τὰς παραθαλασσίους suggests that shipbuilding was spread more widely: cf Hipponax 28.2 W (Appx 3 para 2; Hipponax cited n. 5). Wherever the Persians normally kept their ships (*ibid*), these may have been taken directly to Cilicia: §95.1, with conscript or mercenary crews. Thasos' contribution, §46.1, can only have been a fraction of what was needed.

νέας τε μακρὰς καὶ ἱππαγωγὰ πλοῖα This is the only place where Herodotus specifically mentions the Persians building ships, though they must have done it several times over the previous few years: after Myus and Cyprus for the Miletus expedition, and perhaps after Lade, as variously noted at Appx 1 para 8, on §§6 and 31.1, and on κατέβαινε, §43.1. Now they had to make good the losses off Athos; but as this was to be a completely sea-borne expedition, they would particularly need troop carriers. That is probably why Herodotus or his sources did not just say "triremes", and tends to confirm the point noted on νέας, §46.2, that a "long ship" was a galley: even though he calls the fleet triremes at §95.2. Triremes would be less suitable for moving large numbers of men: cf Appx 2 paras 6–8. For the eventual fleet see on §95.2. This is the earliest reference to horse transports, and it is the first time that an army is recorded as moving horses by sea; Xerxes also did it in 480 (7.21.2, 97). 50 years later the Athenians did it by adapting their triremes (Thuc 2.56.2, 4.42.1, 6.43). Morrison *et al* (2000) 226–8 (see also 156–7) illustrate how the conversion could be done, getting 30 horses per ship. But the Persians were probably pioneers; it is unclear whether they converted an existing design or built from scratch.

49.1 πολλοὶ μὲν ἠπειρωτέων Both this, and the island reference (next note), may be exaggerated. Neither here nor at §94.1 does Herodotus specify which cities submitted, except Aegina (Grote IV 5 suggested the Thessalians and Thebans; modern historians, e.g. Burn (1984) 223, *BM* 157 do not speculate). Thessalians and Boeotians are amongst those named as submitting to Xerxes' demand in 480, 7.132. Strictly,

for any who submitted in 491, it would have been permanent (see on §48.2), and they would not have had to do it again in 480. Another problem is to decide whether Darius sent heralds to Athens and Sparta. Herodotus reserves for 7.133 the story that he did, and both cities executed them, to explain why Xerxes did not send to them in 480. He says that they were thrown into the βάραθρον at Athens and (with instructions to get their earth and water from there) a φρέαρ at Sparta, adding a doubt as to whether the Athenians did it (7.133.2). Resolving it is difficult, because it is hard to decide which points are red herrings. 7.133–7 seem to be a late addition: 7.137.3 refers to an incident in 430 (p. 3 n. 7). Why did Herodotus have doubts: was it simply reluctance to accept that Athenians had so behaved? Athenian tradition apparently accepted it, perhaps because it suited their "saviours of Greece" stance, but attached both Themistocles' and Miltiades' names to it (Plut *Them* 6, Paus 3.12.7; p. 19 n. 62). Would Darius send to Athens in 491, if she had already given earth and water 17 years earlier (see on §48.2); or was he giving her a chance to remedy her breach of faith over Ionia? From a different perspective, the pit and well are both elusive. For the pit, see on τοῦ θανάτου, §136.3. No well has been identified at Sparta. They had a cavern or ravine as a place of execution, the καιάδας (Thuc 1.134.4) or κεάδας (Paus 4.18.4–7, the bottom of which he describes as βάραθρον). It is located at the entrance to the Langada gorge, 12 km west of Sparta on the Kalamata road (Pritchett *SAGT* V 58–60; Shipley (1996) 293 site HH 110); it does not correspond to Herodotus' φρέαρ. However, the circumstantial detail of 7.134–6, that Sparta sent volunteers to Xerxes to offer their lives in atonement, and he magnanimously refused, adds verisimilitude to the basic story, and news that Sparta had executed the heralds would encourage the Athenians to think that she would also react strongly against Aegina.

πάντες δὲ νησιῶται Which islands, even if ἐς οὓς ἀπικοίατο means that he did not send to all? Mardonius' fleet had already taken Thasos, and probably (re)taken Lemnos Imbros and Samothrace (see on Θασίους, §44.1). The description of Datis' progress across the Aegean the following year, §§96–99, is more consistent with reducing independent islands than confirming submission the previous year. It is, however, possible that the anecdote in Hipp *Presb* (*Ep* 27) that Cos refused to give earth and water, if historical, refers to now rather

than 480: see note to §§94–101. For Siphnos Melos and Seriphos see on ἐπὶ τὰς ἄλλας, §96.

§§49.2–55 *Aegina gives earth and water, whereupon Athens appeals to Sparta to intervene. In response, Cleomenes goes there and tries to take hostages; but he is opposed on the legality that only joint action by both Spartan kings is valid. His co-king Demaratos had forewarned the Aeginetans what to say. There follow digressions about the origin of the dual kingship.*

1 Herodotus breaks off the main narrative, the Persian invasion, until §94. A series of *logoi* follow concerning Sparta in general and Cleomenes in particular, and hostilities between Athens and Aegina. Herodotus clearly had substantial Spartan input, from sources reflecting varying shades of opinion. For Aegina, he probably supplemented Athenian input with material from aristocratic Aeginetan sources (see on προδοσίην, §88).

2 Apart from Tyrtaeus and Alcman, Herodotus is our earliest surviving authority; his Spartan *logoi* throw invaluable light on the government of Sparta and the balance of power between, and respective influence of, the ephors, gerousia, and assembly, and how any of them, particularly the ephors, had gradually come to limit the political powers of the kings, as opposed to their ceremonial and religious, and military, functions. See Andrewes (1966) and the slightly different assessment of Ste Croix *OPW* 124–151; for the effect of these limitations on the kings, Carlier (1984) 271–2, 283–4; for the relations between kings and ephors, Richer (1998) 389–430. Of course, the powers and decisions of ephors or gerousia or assembly could be swayed by the strength of character of particular individuals, including the kings: cf Andrews, esp 8–10. Cleomenes comes through as such a man, but others could also be influential, as we see at §85.2, or in the Hetoemaridas anecdote, para 4; for the political influence of élite Spartan families see Hodkinson (2000) 348–52, 359–65, 409–16.

3 Cleomenes and Demaratos had very different temperaments, shown by their present dispute and our only other substantive story about Demaratos, 5.74–5, when he disagreed with Cleomenes over the expedition against Athens in c506, para 4. That is said to have

led to a new Spartan law, that in future only one king should lead the army. The initiative for it was arguably Cleomenes'; it would evidence his ability to influence political decisions. But this can only be part of the picture: it had long been permissible for one or no king to lead the army: Anaxandridas, with Chilon the ephor, in c556 (para 4); Cleomenes in Boeotia, §108; and the expeditions under Anchimolos and Cleomenes (para 4). But it must have affected the personal as well as the political relationships of the two kings. Carlier (1984) 279 n. 229 puts it thus: after c506, Cleomenes was consistently chosen to lead the army, and Demaratos was sidelined to spend his time presiding at sacrifices. However, we only know of one actual expedition, against Argos, §§76–84. But we can see how the kings might become figureheads for differing shades of public opinion, something approaching our ideas of "parties", acquiring supporters and opponents; they might become the *de facto* spokesmen for them on particular issues (cf Hooker (1989) 124–5). Herodotus' sources included men from both camps, as well as Agiads who were hostile to Cleomenes (note to §§71–5). Although Demaratos is often referred to in later authors, especially Plutarch and Pausanias, we get little further factual information about him; interestingly, he is twice placed with Cleomenes where Herodotus does not: in Attica in c510 (5.64–5; Paus 3.7.8) and at Argos, on which see Appx 15 para 6. Taken with the "wise adviser" which he becomes when he flees to Persia (7.3, 101–4, 209, 234–5, 239; 8.65), he comes through as a quiet and thoughtful personality, the very antithesis of the impulsive and energetic Cleomenes, discussed in Appx 14 paras 2–3.

4 Demaratos' opposition to Cleomenes' interventions was not just personal; he would reflect a significant body of opinion in Sparta. From at least the mid sixth century, Spartan foreign policy had been subject to two disparate tensions: whether to assert herself beyond her borders, beyond the Peloponnese even, or to pursue a more isolationist policy, the latter perhaps reflecting an inward looking secretiveness and xenophobia, and a wish to minimise the exposure of her citizens to other Greeks, who led a more relaxed, and less disciplined and militaristic way of life (cf Xen *Lac Pol* 14.4). Ste Croix *OPW* 89–94 concentrated on the need to control her helots and keep them free from subversive influences; if true it could only have been one factor. A good starting point is Dickins (1912). On the one hand, she had ambitions to bring Arcadia, and after that the rest

of the Peloponnese, under her control (para 5). There were also stories that she had sought to suppress tyrants in and beyond the Peloponnese: Sicyon, Corinth, but also Athens, Phocis, Naxos, Thasos and Miletus (PRyl 18 = *FGrH* 105 F1, Plut *Mal Her* 859c-d). Sicyon and Athens are correct, though not, as PRyl 18 says, at the same time; Corinth is almost certainly wrong (see Cartledge (1979) 139), and Naxos and Miletus probably so; generally Jones (1967) 45–6; Huxley (1962) 75–6. But they may reflect a perception that in the mid sixth century Sparta had sought to adopt a strong external policy and exert influence in the wider Greek world. PRyl 18 has the last tyrant of Sicyon, Aeschines, removed by an army under king Anaxandridas and the ephor Chilon, which would date it to c556: see on Πέρκαλον, §65.2, and also on Ἀριστωνύμου, §126.1. This is usually interpreted as Chilon promoting this external policy, but scholars differ as to whether Anaxandridas agreed. Huxley (1962) 71 and Forrest (1980) 83 see the king as hostile to it, stressing that he named his eldest son by his first wife Dorieus: Sparta was Dorian, not Achaean (see para 5), and should not be concerned with Hellenes generally; but Cawkwell (1993b) 522, followed by Bultrighini (2003) 55, see the two men in agreement, and Cleomenes as inheriting his father's policy, but Dorieus himself in opposition. That is an attractive viewpoint, as we could then see Ariston as leading the more isolationist tendency, and Demaratos as inheriting his father's position; Bultrighini 67 would see Dorieus in that camp also. Whatever view one adopts, it should be seen in the light of three factors which are placed in or from the reign of Anaxandridas and Ariston: the bones of Orestes story and the start of the Peloponnesian league (para 5); and other Greeks appealing to her for help, whether because she was claiming hegemony of the Greeks, or she was perceived as the strongest military polis in Greece, or both; though until 480 (7.159, 161; cf 8.2), the only evidence for the hegemony, other than the "tyrant" stories, is her warning to Cyrus, 1.152.3 (p. 44 n. 154). She was apparently prepared to help Croesus (1.69, 82–3); she got involved in fighting on Samos in c525 (3.39, 44–7, but that may have been by Spartiates fulfilling xenia obligations to their Samian xenoi, not hostilities in the ordinary sense: Cartledge (1982) 249–51, 258–9). But she refused to help the Ionians after Sardis fell to Cyrus (1.152); Maeandrius, c518 (3.148); or Aristagoras (pp. 53, 59), though declining a long expedition to distant Susa might have been as much pragmatism as isolationism. She sent expeditions to Athens in c510

to remove Hippias, but this was as a result of prompting from Delphi (note to §§121–4). The first, under Anchimolos (probably the correct spelling: Rhodes on *Ath Pol* 19.5) had been defeated, but that under Cleomenes succeeded (5.63–5). Her isolationism can be seen in her reputation for ξενηλασία, even if one follows Rebenich (1998), that Athenian propaganda exaggerated it, and it was only done in special circumstances, e.g. food shortage or international crisis. Thucydides treated it as current practice (1.144.2, 2.39.1; cf Plat *Prot* 342c; perhaps Ar *Av* 1013 is exaggeration). It, and control of her own citizens going abroad (see on τῷ λόγῳ, §70.1), probably fell within the competence of the ephors (Richer (1998) 467–9). In 475, Hetoemaridas is said to have persuaded both gerousia and assembly to pursue an isolationist policy and not to challenge Athens at sea (DS 11.50). Her isolationist tendency is also reflected in her not minting coinage until the late fourth or early third century, long after most of Greece (Jenkins (1990) 130); even if Xenophon, *loc cit*, thought that *xenelasia* had fallen into disuse by his day. See also on ὁδῶν, §57.4. It may also have been a factor in their response when Athens appealed for help against the Persians at Marathon: see on §106.3 and Appx 17 F7. However Cleomenes' expeditions in the 510s evidence his personality more than these tensions: his return to Athens in c508 to support Isagoras against Cleisthenes, when he was defeated, 5.70–2; the further one in support of Isagoras in c506 when Demaratos, as well as his Corinthian allies, forced him to withdraw from Eleusis (para 3; and see on μεγάλως, §64); and a still further one proposed in c504, to restore Hippias, almost certainly his idea, rejected by her allies, again specifically Corinth, as inappropriate intervention, 5.90–93; cf Appx 14 paras 2–3, 6.

5 From the mid sixth century she achieved a sort of compromise between the two tensions by alliances within the Peloponnese. She had expanded into southern Arcadia from an early date (Appx 14 para 5), and subdued Messenia, though an attempt to take the Thyreatis reportedly failed when she was defeated at Hysiai (Appx 16 para 3; cf Appx 15 n. 33). However, when she tried to reduce Arcadia in c550, she was defeated at Tegea and perhaps Orchomenos (Appx 14 para 5). Absorbing Arcadia could be justified emotionally as one step in undoing the division of the Peloponnese (see on §52.2); she had recovered Cresphontes' lot with Messenia. But Argos was the centre of Temenos' lot, and always resisted; Sparta had an interest

in rejecting traditions which stressed the antiquity of Argos: see on §53.1. She now sought another emotional weapon. She claimed to have recovered the bones of Orestes from Tegea, 1.66–8 (in another tradition, also those of his son Tisamenos: Paus 7.1.8); see Huxley (1962) 67–8. She could now claim to be Achaean as well as Dorian, and successors to Agamemnon, king of Argos, not just to his brother Menalaos, king of Sparta (cf on §§52.2, 53.1). So Cleomenes claimed to be Achaean, Appx 14 para 3; cf the Spartan rejection of Gelon's request to lead the Greeks against Xerxes, that Agamemnon would turn in his grave if a Spartan did not command them, 7.159. There is a consensus that after the defeat at Tegea, she ceased trying to take more territory by force, and sought a degree of control over Arcadia and beyond by a series of alliances (the "Peloponnesian league"). These allies, with Corinth specifically named, appear in the march on Athens in c506 and the proposed invasion of c504, supra. At 1.68.6, at the end of his account of how Sparta was described to Croesus, Herodotus says that much of the Peloponnese was "subjected" (κατεστραμμένη) to Sparta. This description may not have been true for Croesus' time (c560–c547: for his dates, p. 45 n. 156), but it is generally accepted that the phrase reflects the growth of the League during the second half of the sixth century: Jeffery (1976) 121–3 and *CAH* IV^2 347–56; Hammond *HG* 167–8, 195–6; Ste Croix *OPW* 94–124 (the Achaean claim, 96–7), Appx XVII, noting at 333 that it is impossible to prove that a particular polis had a treaty before the Peloponnesian wars. Nielsen (1996a) 45, (1996b) 87 considers that it included most Arcadian poleis; for Tegea see on Τεγέην, §72.2; for Sicyon see on τῶν Σικυωνιέων, §92.1. One such treaty survives, ML 67 bis. Although probably from the mid fifth century, it probably reflects sixth century wording: to have the same friends and enemies as Sparta, and to follow the Spartans where they lead: see on ὅρκους, §74.1; generally on such symmachies see van Wees (2004) 12–15. Cawkwell (1993a) argued that the earlier alliances were epimachies, to the basic term of which, to help the other party if attacked, he would add that Sparta undertook to maintain the constitution of the allied polis. This can be supported by the freedom of the allies to refuse (further) support to Sparta in c506 and c504; certainly league members could influence decisions: Raaflaub (2004) 123; Salmon (1984) 240–52. The fact that these treaties existed, and the allies could be called on to help Sparta, was not inconsistent with isolationism. In theory it meant some retreat from it, but

treaties with poleis to her north would give her an enhanced feeling of security, which in turn could encourage isolationism.

6 The evidence for treaties with poleis outside the Peloponnese is slender. Cleomenes' presence in Boeotia, probably c519, might possibly be explained as trying to bring Megara into the league (see on παρατυχοῦσι, §108.2). We are here concerned with Athens and Aegina. Athens' appeal to Sparta, §49.2, could be seen as her appealing to an ally; and Aegina's medising would arguably be a breach of treaty. Calabi (1953) 105 argued that Athens was a member of the League before the Plataea incident of §108; a more sober assessment is that an ἐπιμαχία had been made when Hippias was removed in c510: Figueira (1981b) 9; Cawkwell (1993a) 373–4. Cleomenes could then formally justify his subsequent incursions, c508 and c506, as being to maintain the oligarchic Solonian constitution restored in 510 (so Cawkwell); though Athens would treat at least that of c506 and the proposed one of c504 to restore Hippias as breaches of it. It is highly speculative whether there ever was an alliance; if there was, whether it still existed in 491. Sending Philippides to Sparta in 490 is no evidence for it: cf on ἐς Σπάρτην, §105.1. The ἐπὶ συμμαχίᾳ of Suda sv Ἱππίας (II), dealing with the Philippides incident is a false friend: it simply means to fight alongside; cf *id* sv αὐτομόλως. As to Aegina, many argue for an alliance (e.g. Meiggs *AE* 183; Ste Croix *OPW* 333–4; others noted Figueira (1981b) 1), not so much because she refused to pay Argos after Sepeia, §92.2, but because it could explain why she provided ships for Cleomenes under compulsion (ἀνάγκῃ, §92.1: but see *ad loc*) and accepted Sparta's right to take hostages now, if the claim was made by both kings. But Figueira, looking at the matter from the Aeginetan standpoint, denies it. He argues that historically, Aegina had been hostile to Sparta; she had not joined the attacks on Attica in c506; and she only raided Attica in c505 when Thebes pressed her, despite her traditional hostility to Athens (Appx 12 para 2). Even if there was an alliance, and a symmachy, it is doubtful that giving earth and water was a breach of it (though it might be contrary to league policy), or that it entitled Sparta to take hostages for breaking it. Nor would Corinth have let Athens have ships for use against another league member, §89.

7 On balance, it is probable that neither had treaties. Athens did not appeal to Sparta as an ally, but to invoke her "hegemon of

Hellas" mantle: cf on §49.2. If Aegina had a treaty, it would give Cleomenes an extra handle, but his taking action did not depend on there being one. Athens may have been glad of the opportunity to use the Persian threat as an excuse to make trouble for Aegina (see on §49.2); she could hope that, since a Persian invasion would threaten all Greece, Sparta might be moved to take action. The Spartans would see it from a different perspective. As long as that threat was only potential, many would wish not to become involved, or immediately involved. Indeed, some may have been influenced by Delphi's policy of advising against resisting the Persians (see on καὶ τότε, §19.2). Even if the Athenians said that they feared an Aeginetan attack with Persian help, Spartans (probably Athenians also) would not foresee a Persian invasion of Greece by a seaborne invasion across the Aegean; they would think that if it came, it would be overland from Macedonia through Thessaly; though the Athenians might argue that a Persian fleet moored off Aegina would threaten not just Attica but also the Peloponnese. Spartans would think that the time for considering action was when, or if, that threat actually materialised; even then, one option would be to persuade the Thessalians and Boeotians to resist, and some might view an Athens under Persian control with equanimity. As in 480, they might think that it could be met by building a wall across the isthmus, not going beyond the isthmus to meet it (7.207; 8.40, 49, 71; the Spartans were not alone in this view). If the story of the execution of the Persian heralds were true (see on §49.1), the divisions between isolationists and others were likely to have been deepened. Even when the Athenians sent for help against an actual invasion, §106, Sparta found a way of delaying.

8 Thus even for Spartiates who thought that Sparta ought to be willing to protect Hellas against the Persians, not all can have approved of her being involved at this stage in a quarrel between Athens and Aegina, nor of what Cleomenes actually did: cf on ἐβούλευε, §61.1. His actions were always controversial, as we see from the incidents of c506 and c504. When prosecuted after Argos, §82, his acquittal was not unanimous; the deposition of Demaratos, §66, did not command universal support. Indeed, his very tenure of office was not universally approved: 5.39–42 suggests that some thought that his half-brother Dorieus, son of his father's first wife, should have become king. That opposition may have been stirred by undercurrents difficult

for us to comprehend if Cleomenes' mother was related to the other royal house (see on Πέρκαλον, §65.2). Thus many would turn to Demaratos, for differing reasons, to lead the opposition to Cleomenes over Aegina; and Demaratos would be happy to do that. For the latter, it was also a chance to get the pre-506 position restored, and get his own position as king recognised in foreign affairs: Carlier (1977) 79.

49.2 ποιήσασι δέ σφι . . . ἐπεκέατο . . . προφάσιος The demand for earth and water was in early 491 (cf on §48.1); the Athenian complaint, and Cleomenes' initial reaction, immediately ('ἰθέως) follows: Appx 12 para 3. For the long history of tension and trade rivalry between Athens and Aegina, and the latter's raids on the coast of Attica in c505, when Delphi had advised waiting 30 years before retaliating, see *ibid* para 2. On the balance of probabilities, there had been no subsequent fighting, and §87, saying that Aegina had not been punished for earlier attacks, refers to c505: *ibid* paras 5–6. But Athens nursed resentment, and Aegina now giving earth and water was an opportunity as well as an excuse (for προφάσιος see p. 36) to "lay into" her (ἐπεκέατο; not "attack"), without breaching Delphi's advice. She could appeal to Sparta as hegemon of Greece, and present the situation as a Persian threat against Greece, not as an inter-polis quarrel. How real either Athens or Sparta judged that threat in 491, and how far public opinion supported Cleomenes' actions is another matter: introductory note paras 7–8. It is not clear what Athens hoped Sparta would do. Was Cleomenes' demand for hostages his idea or that of the Athenians; did Athens hope to secure Spartan military help to attack Aegina? Unlike with Philippides, §106.1, it is not said if the embassy first spoke to the ephors; but the ephors were probably involved: see on §50.1. The embassy must have spoken to Cleomenes: hence the allegation of bribery, §50.2; they were lucky that the idea of taking action against Aegina appealed to the impulsive Cleomenes.

φοιτῶντες . . . ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην Podlecki (1976) 398, citing 1.78.1, §126.3, 7.22, 9.25.1, argues that φοιτῶντες means, not going several times, but going with a sizeable embassy. But the Athenians κατηγόρεον, imperfect, and Demaratos having time to warn Aegina, §50.3, is consistent with Athens having to send more than once before Cleomenes acted.

50.1 Κλεομένης . . . διέβη Even if the Athenians had to press the point (previous note), Cleomenes is presented as acting with characteristic energy and on impulse (Appx 14 para 3). In view of the interplay of powers between kings, ephors and gerousia by 491 (introductory note para 2) Cleomenes would need at least the support of the ephors; especially as he would take soldiers along to detain the hostages (next note; cf on πόλεμον, §56). He perhaps also saw it as an opportunity to make Spartan influence felt outside the Peloponnese (cf *ibid* paras 4, 6). Cf also on Σπαρτιητέων τοῦ κοινοῦ and Ἀθηναίων . . . χρήμασι infra. It is not clear whether, at this stage, he intended to take the hostages back to Sparta or hand them over to Athens: cf on παραθήκην, §73.2.

συλλαβεῖν At Athens, the word came to have a legal meaning: detain in custody pending a trial, or to ensure that a fine was paid, or as a punishment, Harrison (1971) 2.177, 242. But in Herodotus it just means detention backed by force (Powell sv 2). That Cleomenes could demand hostages, and Aegina eventually give them, does not prove that Aegina was allied to Sparta (introductory note para 6). Those to be arrested are variously described. Here, they are those "most blameworthy" for the decision to medise; at §64 they are "the medisers"; but at §73.2 they are the richest Aeginetans. See also on ἐχθίστους, §73.2.

50.2 ἀντίξοοι "opposed", a favourite word of Herodotus; is said to be Ionian by LSJ, and in classical authors otherwise only at Arist *EN* 1155b5, quoting Heraclitus. At this time, Aegina had an oligarchic government: see on Νικόδρομος, §88.

Κριὸς ὁ Πολυκρίτου He becomes one of the hostages at §73; his son, also Polycritos, fights bravely at Salamis and taunts Themistocles (8.92.2). It is tempting to identify him with a well-known wrestler called Crios, for whom Simonides wrote an epineiceon at what must have been this period (Simon fr 2 Page: Ar *Nub* 1356 and scholia *ad loc*).

Σπαρτιητέων τοῦ κοινοῦ . . . τῷ ἑτέρῳ βασιλέϊ Herodotus has quoted Crios' initial refusal in oratio recta. He gives the rest of his refusal in oratio obliqua, but returns to recta for Demaratos telling Crios

what to say (§50.3). He was perhaps distancing himself from the allegation of bribery. τὸ κοινόν is a regular expression in Herodotus for "the government" (Powell sv 4a; so at §58.1; cf p. 44 n. 155). As at Athens a couple of years later, §86, there was a distinction between the strictly legalistic position and practical politics. From the mid sixth century, there were limits to the kings' powers, and they could not act for the polis, particularly outside Sparta (including declaring war), without at least the approval of the ephors and/or gerousia, and perhaps the assembly (see Carlier (1984) 271–2, 283–4 cited in introductory note para 2). Cleomenes had probably secured approval for going to Aegina (cf on §50.1), with the implication that he could speak for Sparta. But it was a convenient stance for the Aeginetans now, as the Athenians did later, to say: one king is not Sparta. The Spartan law of c506, that only one king should lead the army (introductory note para 3) is not in point: this was no war, even if Cleomenes went with an entourage of soldiers. Conversely, when both kings turn up at §73, it was accepted that they came with actual authority.

Ἀθηναίων . . . χρήμασι It may be an accident of context, but most of Herodotus' (and many of Thucydides') references to offering or taking a bribe concern Spartans: all those in book 6 concern Spartans (here, and §§66, 72, 82). The practice was clearly an accepted way of securing political or military support: Themistocles accepted a bribe from Euboea, and then passed part on to the Spartan Eurybiades and the Corinthian Adeimantus (8.4–5); the Thebans advised Mardonius to win over the Greek leaders by bribery (9.2, 41). In one account, Miltiades was accused of being bribed to leave Paros (see Appx 18 paras 15–16). But Spartans acquired a reputation for being bribed: "The duplicitous Spartan", Bradford (1994); Arist *Pol* 1270b12–13, 1271a3–5, 18. But some allegations may just be canard. If Demaratos did allege bribery, it would sound plausible. Cleomenes had been accused of it a few years earlier after his failure at Argos, §82.1, though acquitted (see *ad loc*). Previously, he had resisted offers from Maeandrius, 3.148, and Aristagoras, p. 59; as the stories are told, the first more readily than the second; but he was to use bribery to secure the removal of Demaratos, §66.1 (and, ironically, Demaratos' replacement, Leotychidas, was later caught with a bribe, §72). The present allegation cannot be regarded as proved. Even ignoring Cleomenes resisting bribes on the earlier occasions, and the ques-

tion whether he would have accepted one when adopting the stance of protecting Hellas from the Persians, we might think that an Athenian delegation in 491 would not be in the business of offering bribes to any Spartan, least of all Cleomenes, whose last expeditions into Attica, c508 and c506, had been for the "wrong" party, Isagoras (introductory note para 4). Bribery was not alleged again when the hostages were taken or their recovery sought, §§73, 86.

ἐλθόντα Rhetorical exaggeration: who would willingly become a hostage? The stress is on ἑτέρῳ βασιλέϊ: come back with Demaratos.

50.3 ἐπιστολῆς τῆς Δημαρήτου The ἐπιστολή may have been a verbal message: see on ἔπεμπε, §4.1.

τὸ ἐόν This might just be a literary device, to introduce the pun. But Herodotus has an actual case of a Greek using a false name: see on §65.4.

καταχαλκοῦ, ὦ κριέ, τὰ κέρεα Quick-witted responses attached to Cleomenes: see Appx 14 para 3, and cf his defence at his trial, §82. The story would appeal to Herodotus, who notes significant or meaningful names: the Persian kings, §98.1; Leo, 7.180; Hegestratos, 9.91; generally Harrison (1998) text and nn. 135 to 150: it was not a unique interest in Herodotus.

51 διέβαλλε The imperfect διέβαλλε underlines the oratio recta of §50.3: Demaratos is presented as in fact undermining Cleomenes. Herodotus skilfully uses the detail to introduce digressions about Spartan kings; the Aegina story briefly resumes at §61.1.

ὑποδεεστέρης . . . τετίμηται μᾶλλον The phrase might be translated ". . . junior house, not inferior in any other respect"; the closest English word to ὑποδεεστέρης is "inferior". The story that follows, offering an explanation for the dual kingship, is folklore. The real origin is probably an early amalgamation of two or more communities, perhaps one of them pre-Dorian, and one claiming seniority over the other; Thucydides 1.10.2 noted that the four villages of Sparta had never been fully synoecised, i.e. each retained some political identity: Cartledge (1981) 105–6; *id* (1987) 22–3, 102; Forrest (1980) 28–9. Carlier (1984) 308–9 discusses the possibility that the

second king, less honoured and with a shorter stemma bulked out with "fictitious" names (see on Λευτυχίδῃ, §65.1), derives from an aristocratic move to diminish the sole king's power by imposing their own archon, which became a hereditary office. Appx 22 gives the stemmata. Moreover, there is no hint of any distinction between the royal houses in descriptions of their honours and duties, e.g. §§56–8. But it is possible that the Agiad king went first at a sacrifice, or preceded the Eurypontid king into the mess, and the Spartans subconsciously thought of the Agiad king coming first. Other dual kingships in the Peloponnese are known from Pausanias: Messenia, 4.4–5; Pharai (Kalamata), 4.30.3; Elis, 5.1.11; other cases of dyarchies are in Michell (1952) 102–3. In legend, Bellerophon (Hom *Il* 6.192) got half the kingdom, and the Spartan kings' ancestor Polyneices was said to have had an alternating dual kingship: see on §52.2.

52.1 ὁμολογέοντες οὐδενὶ ποιητῇ The poetry does not survive; possibly an epic, possibly references in the *Ehoiai*. McQueen suggests the Spartan poet Cinaethon (?sixth century) in his *Heracleia* (Return of the Heraclids: Schol Ap Rh 1.1355–7c); but if he gave the Spartan version, he could not be one of the "other" poets. Only Herodotus specifically says that Aristodemos was the son of Cleodaios (so in the king-lists, 7.204, 8.131), but it is implicit in some other accounts, where his brothers Cresphontes and Temenos are the sons of Cleodaios, e.g. Apoll 2.172. Other traditions had an extra generation with the stemma Cleodaios—Aristomachos—Aristodemos and his brothers, e.g. Phlegon *FGrH* 257 F1; Theopomp *FGrH* 115 F393 = DS 7.17. Cleodaios is always the son of Hyllos, e.g. Plut *Pyr* 1.2, Theopomp *loc cit*; cf Appx 23. The real difference is that in §52.1 Aristodemos leads his people to Laconia (as also Xen *Ages* 8.7), where his sons are born. Elsewhere, he is either killed at Delphi (Paus 3.1.6), or struck by lightening at Naupactus (Apoll 2.173, 177), and it is the twin sons, born outside Sparta, who bring the people to Laconia; and it is they who share out the Peloponnese with their uncles, Cresphontes getting Messenia and Temenos Argos (e.g. Plato *Leg* 683d, Paus 3.1.5, 4.3.3). If the Spartan version included this sharing out (cf next note), it was presumably by the three brothers. See on §53.1 for the possibility that the Spartans had their own remote ancestry for Heracles.

52.2 Ἀργείην She is named for her great-great-grandmother. The story was that Polyneices fell out with his brother Eteocles (Gantz (1996) II 502–6; one version was that they originally agreed to an alternating dual kingship in Thebes after their father Oedipus' death, Apoll 3.57); he went to Argos for support, where he married Argeia, daughter of king Adrastos. The Spartan kings could thus claim (apart from their Heraclid ancestry) Theban descent through Polyneices and Argive descent through Adrastos. This Argeia's brother Theras (presumably the eponym for Sparta's early colony Thera) acted as regent during the twins' minority, 4.147.2. It suited the Spartans to have an Argive/Achaean side to their and their kings' ancestry: it helped underwrite claims to hegemony: cf introductory note para 5.

νούσῳ A nice folkloristic touch: in the Spartan version, he had to be dead when the twins were born, and he was too young to die of old age.

52.3 κατὰ νόμον According to the account which Demaratos gave Darius, 7.3.3, the rule was changed to the first son born after his father became king (i.e. to exclude the oldest son if born before his father became king). The truth cannot be tested, and the context (advice to Darius as to who should succeed him) is suspicious. The dispute over Cleomenes and Dorieus (introductory note para 8) was different: Dorieus' mother was Anaxandridas' first wife; for Leotychidas see on Λευτυχίδῃ, §65.1.

52.4 βουλομένην δὲ εἴ κως ἀμφότεροι . . . The folklore motif of the clever mother who outwits the authorities is also found in the story of Labda, 5.92d–ε.

52.5 τὴν δὲ Πυθίην . . . If the twins were historical, they would date from c950–900 (see Forrest (1980) 21), well before Delphi was functioning; Fontenrose (1978) L160 would place them even earlier, twelfth century. The folklore touch is reflected both in the question, what shall we do: not the "logical" direct question, how do we distinguish the twins; and in the answer, because, as noted on ὑποδεεστέρης, §51, there is no evidence that the Agiads were in fact more honoured than the Eurypontids.

ἀπορέουσι οὐδὲν ἧσσον The story required that Delphi did not tell them how to distinguish the twins, so that Panites could make his suggestion. Cold logic would query why Panites did not help before the Spartans sent to Delphi. The wise old man who steps forward to solve the problem is a Herodotean *topos* (p. 26: cf §37.2). It is a nice touch that he is a Messenian: it is well before Messenia was forcibly absorbed into Sparta. For ἄνδρα see on §4.1.

52.6 ὁκότερον . . . πρότερον I have not been able to find any anecdotal input from midwives or other information to support the notion that in any community or social level, the mother of twins will routinely deal with the elder one first. But it is another nice folkloristic touch. Herodotus has another story of watching babies: the βέκκος story of 2.2.

52.7 τιμῶσαν τὸν πρότερον . . . οὐκ ειδυῖαν Also folkloristic, not logical: if she knew why they asked which twin was the elder, would she not also know why she was now being watched?

τρέφειν ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ It is hard to decide what the sources meant, or Herodotus intended to convey. At §57.3, ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου means at public expense; some translate this the same (e.g. de Sélincourt, Waterfield, Mandilaras). Thus λαβόντας . . . πρὸς τῆς γειναμένης would convey that the baby was immediately taken from mother and placed with a wet-nurse at polis expense. But this is not the natural meaning of the Greek, and H-W, Powell sv 3, Nenci offer "in the public building": but which? The archetypal public building was the prytaneion, used for meals (cf on πρυτανηίῳ, §38.2), but anachronistic for this story. It can scarcely mean that the boy was brought up "in the public domain" in some unspecified sense after weaning. But whatever the Spartans said as to how their pre-Lycurgan ancestors responded to the oracle, it was the opposite of actual practice. The heir apparent, the eldest son of the king, was excluded from the *agoge*: Plut *Ages* 1.2 with Cartledge (1987) 28–9; i.e. on any view not brought up in public barracks or at public expense. Our earlier account of the *agoge*, Xen *Lac Pol* 2, indicates that boys' schooling included much physical training and strict discipline; Plut *Lyc* 16 has it starting at 7, but the reference to boys living in barracks seems to mean when they were 12. That point was left open by Hodkinson (1983) 242, Jones (1967) 34; the names for boys' age classes, if they

date back to archaic times, can be read both ways: see Kennell (1995) 29–31. But whenever boys started to live away from home, the discussion in Hodkinson (2000) 198 suggests that it was their families and not the polis who were responsible for feeding them. When the heir became king he was fed at public expense, §57.3; perhaps that coloured this piece of folklore.

52.8 διαφόρους Another nice folklore touch, and part of Spartan tradition (the same word, Paus 3.1.7). The repetition of λέγουσι from §52.1 may be stylistic, reminding the reader that this is still what the Spartans say; but they could not quote a case prior to Cleomenes and Demaratos. Herodotus reports two straightforward joint enterprises (Leon and Agasicles, 1.65.1; Anaxandridas and Ariston, 1.67.2). There is a vague hint of old (but not royal) faction at 1.65.2 and Thuc 1.18.1. In c665 Polydoros, said to have been popular, was assassinated by a disgruntled Spartiate, apparently reflecting tension over land distribution (Paus 3.3.3, Plut *Lyc* 8.3; Cartledge (1979) 115, 127, 133–40). It is doubtful if we can read tension between him and his co-king Theopompos into Paus 4.7.7, that both kings fought Messenia, and 3.3.1–3, that it was mainly Theopompos. The fact that there were later cases does not assist in understanding Herodotus: Agis II and Pausanias over Athens in 404–3 (*CAH* VI^2 36–7, 41 (Lewis); Cartledge (1979) 270–1); Agis IV and Leonidas II in c243 (Forrest (1980) 145; one aspect of that story is the shooting star procedure referred to in Appx 12 n. 1).

53.1 Λακεδαιμόνιοι . . . μούνοι Conventionally printed as the first sentence of §53, it closes the ring begun with §52.1; though the only obvious difference in the Spartan version is where Aristodemos died (see on §52.1). Herodotus now looks at the Belos stemma. Although purporting to offer a general Greek version, in fact he differs from what is usually said about it. Our texts do offer considerable variety: see Gantz (1996) I 299–313; a basic Greek version is shown in Appx 23. Perhaps Herodotus was using an Ionian version (cf on §55; but see also infra). The usual Greek accounts made the stemma Greek from Danaos onwards, although his daughters marry the sons of Aegyptos. He and his descendants rule in the Argolid (e.g. Aesch *PV* 865–9; Pind *Nem* 10.1–15; Gantz I 203–6 (Danaos), 300–11 (Perseus)); including Heracles' mortal father Amphitryon. By contrast, Herodotus makes these kings down to Danaos' great-grandson

Acrisios Egyptian; it is the latter's grandson Perseus who becomes Greek. He takes the ingenious point that since Danae had no human husband (cf on §53.2), Perseus could not inherit a Greek ancestry from a (human) father. He also differs from the usual tradition in making those ruled Dorians: usually, they arrive in the Peloponnese under the Heraclids 80 years after the Trojan War, Thuc 1.12.3. That seems to have been the Spartan account also, as noted on §52.1. It is not clear whether, either in Spartan tradition or for Herodotus, Agenor and Belos were brothers (cf the references to Belos in Gantz (1996) I 200, 202–3, 208; for one aspect of the slippage between the two see the reference to Proitos on οἱ Φοίνικες, §47.1). If they were, it would give a further oriental component to the stemma: Belos' mother would be Libye; but it would suit Sparta that they were not brothers, because Agenor's ancestors were Inachos, the river god of Argos (cf on Ὦ Ἄπολλον, §80), and his son Phoroneus the Argive Urmensch (cf Gantz I 198–9). Nor is it clear how either the usual or Herodotus' account differed from the Spartans' about Heracles. If Spartans accepted that he was a descendant of Belos, it implies an ultimate oriental ancestry. The real difference between Spartan and mainstream Greek traditions may in fact have concerned Argos: Sparta's interests were to claim seniority to Argos. At what was presumably thought of as later than the house of Danaos, Pelops' great-grandson Agamemnon ruled in Argos, and Sparta laid claim to him; generally, introductory note para 5. It would suit Sparta to downgrade the early rulers of Argos to orientals, while Heracles was a true Greek. Perhaps that was at the back of Herodotus' mind when he wrote §§53–5. But see also on Αἰγύπτιοι, §53.2.

Περσέος τοῦ Δανάης Gantz I 300–1 notes traces of a variant tradition in which Perseus' father was his mother's uncle Proitos; but he is usually the son of Zeus. Danae never marries: Perseus defends her against the attentions of Polydectes, king of Seriphos (on whose island mother and son have been washed ashore: Gantz I 303–4, 309–10). Ovid (*Met* 5.236–41) and Hyginus (*Fab* 63, 244) were to marry her off to Polydectes; if that version was ever current in Greece, it would not have made him Perseus' mortal father (cf next note).

53.2 πατρὸς θνητοῦ, ὥσπερ Ἡρακλέϊ Ἀμφιτρύων Perseus has no mortal father (previous note), whereas his grandson Amphitryon is the mortal father of Heracles.

Αἰγύπτιοι ἰθαγενέες By stressing that Heracles' ancestors had earlier been Egyptian, here and §55, and the barbarian aspects of the royal funerals, §58.2, and other eastern customs, §§59–60 (see *ad locc*), Millender (2002), noting other details in Herodotus (e.g. Cleomenes' use of the whip, §81) argues that he consciously presents Spartan kings as comparable to eastern ones.

54 ὁ παρὰ Περσέων λόγος . . . This is not the same as 2.43–5, where Herodotus "proves" that the Greeks got the name Heracles from Egypt: see Lloyd *ad loc* for his methodology there. Here, he is simply reporting a Persian version, which he presumably got from Persian contacts in Asia Minor (or Zopyros?). The Persians called themselves Pārsa (Kent (1950) 196), and they may well have had a story about their eponym; but why should they add that he somehow became Greek? Perhaps it was a story they put about in Asia Minor to try and make themselves more acceptable to the Greeks there, as if they shared a common racial heritage, as Datis and Xerxes reportedly, infra. But it is problematic. We might explain an Assyrian eponym for the Persians, since they were, *inter alia*, heirs to the Assyrian empire, though by conquest: the Medes revolt from Assyria, are in turn subsumed into the Persian realm, and the Persians eventually conquer Assyria: 1.95–130 and 178–91. But it is hard to reconcile §54 with 7.61.2–3 and 150.2. The first says: the Greeks used to call the Persians Cephenes, though their own name was Artaioi; Perseus married Andromeda, daughter of Cepheus, son of Belos, and their son Perses became the eponym of the Persians. But Perseus' parents are always Zeus and Danae, not Assyrians; thus at 7.150.2, Xerxes relies on Perses to claim homosanguinity with the Argives; as if he were a descendant of Danaos. That Perseus married Andromeda, daughter of Cepheus, is normal Greek tradition (Appx 23); but only Herodotus gives them an extra son Perses. But Perses, or Perseus, may lurk behind 7.220.4, where, on the eve of Xerxes' invasion, a Delphic oracle called the Persians Περσεῖδαι (at 1.125.3 for their kings). The Cephenes/Cepheus references show the confusion common in myth, abetted here by the limits of Greek geographical knowledge. Cephenes for Persians is only at 7.61, though they are Chaldaeans in Hellanic *FGrH* 4 F59 = Steph Byz sv Χαλδαῖοι. Since it means "drones", it may carry a pejorative connotation, like our "Frogs" or "Krauts": cf Roscalla (1998) 96–99. Cepheus himself was king of Ethiopia in some accounts, of Joppa (Syria) in others: see McQueen *ad loc*: for

his ancestry as son of Belos, or Agenor, or even his son Phoinix of §47.1, see Gantz I 211, 307–8. For most Greeks, places like Chaldaea and Ethiopia were vaguely to the east, and the points noted would not trouble them. This Perses is to be distinguished from Perses of Chalcis. There was an Athenian dramatic tradition from the third quarter of the fifth century in which Medea uniquely has a son Medos; either Medos or she kills Perses, who is brother to her father Aietes and has usurped Aietes' throne (DS 4.54–5; Apoll 1.147; Gantz I 372–3). This story resurfaced in Ephoros' account of Marathon, where Datis used Medos to claim common blood with Athens (Appx 17 C6).

55 Δωριέων βασιληίας, ἄλλοισι But he will compare some Spartan customs to Persian and Egyptian ones at §§59–60. The other writers are probably Hecataeus, Pherecydes and Acusilaos (cf p. 8). Hecataeus in particular may have offered Ionian rather than mainland versions of some legends: cf on §137.1.

§§56–60 *Herodotus details the honours and duties enjoyed by the Spartan kings, and adds further information on Spartan customs.*

Herodotus lists some 22 lifetime honours, in a logical order, and then those on death. There is no difference between Σπαρτιῆται δεδώκασι, §56, δέδοται, §57.1, and δέδοται ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ, §58.1. It probably derives from some sort of official list (Carlier (1984) 249–52); they, or some of them, may have been in the original Rhetra, though not as it is quoted by Plut *Lyc* 6 and 13 (Lipka (2000)). Both point to the quasi-legal phraseology of the accusative and infinitives; Carlier notes the inclusion of τῷ in ἐν τῷ ἄγεϊ (§56), which suggests a specific procedure; Lipka the similarities between the rhetra as given, §§56–7, and Xenophon, *Lac Pol* 13 and 15 (who speaks of "the king" in the singular). There are some differences between Herodotus and Xenophon; we should be alive to the possibility, in practice if not in formal law, of erosion or further erosion of the kings' powers after Herodotus' time (Carlier 252–5, 273). Although Spartans were masters at giving out disinformation (Hodkinson (1997) 83–4; Hooker (1989)), and information from the fourth century is coloured by wishful thinking about their more distinguished past (Flower (2000); Forrest (1980) 18), the general superiority of Herodotus as a source for Sparta

is strongly urged by Starr (1965), and the description of these honours is likely accurately to reflect what was said about the kings in the mid fifth century. The powers were, or were perceived, as joint (Carlier 256, 258–260: he calls them "collegiate"); for leadership of the army, see on πόλεμον, §56. At least since 506, there would be no room for disagreement on campaign, and most of the other duties were unlikely to cause disagreement.

The honours must reflect old practice. The banqueting of §57.1 and the military commands have a Homeric ring (Carlier 273–4; cf on §56). The king was the intermediary between his people and the gods, the protector of the city (Carlier 292–7), and the priesthoods are likely to be traditional; it is no coincidence that where the title βασιλεύς persists, it is a religious office, e.g. at Athens (archon basileus or polemarch, *Ath Pol* 3.3 and 57.1, 58.1, with Rhodes *ad locc*), Argos (cf Appx 15 para 16) and Ephesus (p. 50 n. 173). However, we now need to distinguish those that are ceremonial: the priesthoods, sacrificial duties, dining honours; and those with connotations of power: the wartime duties, membership of the gerousia, dealing with oracles (cf Carlier 255–6). As discussed in the note to §§49.2–55 para 2, and on Σπαρτιητέων, §50.2, there had been a real shift in power away from the kings in favour of the ephors, gerousia, and assembly, particularly the ephors; Herodotus is not giving us an account of the government of Sparta, either in theory or how it might be affected by the influence or strength of character of an individual, including a king. Carlier 252 discusses, as a general point, how far Herodotus' list includes honours that were obsolete, though claimed as still applicable by individual kings. It is also unclear if they appointed deputies to preside at the monthly sacrifices if they were away, e.g. with the army.

56 Γέρεά . . . δεδώκασι The Spartiates (τὸ κοινόν at §58.1) δεδώκασι the γέρεα. That the kings' honours are in the gift of the people has a Homeric ring; in Homer, the commonest meaning of γέρας is such an honour: see Cunliffe sv. Xen *Lac Pol* 13.1 and 15.8 calls them τιμαί, though the rights to receive part of animals sacrificed are called γέρα, 15.3; at 15.1 he speaks of συνθῆκαι made between the kings and the people by Lycurgos.

ἱρωσύνας δύο, Διός τε Λακεδαίμονος καὶ Διὸς οὐρανίου We do not know which god was Sparta's chief cult, as Hera at Argos and Athena

at Athens; but if the kings were priests of these cults, with the epithets "Lacedaemonian" and "of the heavens", and given the kings' role as protector of the polis (introductory note), Zeus must be a serious candidate. It would be unusual: "Zeus stands above all faction. Hardly any city can claim Zeus simply as its city god . . . Zeus is worshipped everywhere" (Burkert (1985) 130; Farnell I (1896) 36). Hammond, *CAH* III^2 1 740, suggests Zeus and Athena, following Plut *Lyc* 6.1, which names official cults of Διὸς Συλλανίου καὶ Ἀθανᾶς Συλλανίας in the first clause in the Lycurgan rhetra. "Syllanian" is not otherwise known, and some amend to Ἑλλανίου/ας, known as a cult of Zeus on Aegina (Theophr *Sign* 24, Welter (1938) 10, (1962) 39, 96; cf Paus 1.44.13, 2.30.3–4)). With or without the amendment, those are different cults to those here, and Lipka (2000) 221 suggests that "Syllanian" refers to Spartan boundaries, the rites being those detailed at Xen *Lac Pol* 13.2 (see on στρατευομένων, infra). Apart from here, there is no firm evidence for male priests at Sparta before the Roman period (Parker (1989) 143–4). Even if not the city god, Zeus would have a special place in Spartan worship as the father of Heracles, and so ancestor of the kings (§52.1). Cook (1925) 2.436 discusses whether the worship of Zeus was connected with the perception that the kings were incarnations of Castor and Polydeuces (cf next note); at (1914) 1.8 he gives further references to Zeus Ouranios. There were many other cults of Zeus at Sparta, often linked with Athena: see Cook (1914, 1925), indices to vols 1 and 2 sv "Sparta"; Wide (1973) 1–7; several are conveniently at Paus 3.11.9, 11; 12.11; 13.6, 8; 14.5; 17.4, 6, and perhaps 9 (though perhaps some were the private cults of particular families). For the worship of Zeus and Athena in war, see on στρατευομένων, infra.

πόλεμον ἐκφέρειν . . . μηδένα . . . διακωλυτήν The rest of §56 details the honours on campaign; Xen *Lac Pol* 13 stresses the practicalities. Since 506, this γέρας would only be exercised by one king (note to §§49.2–55 para 3). If the kings had ever had the right to declare war, it had long since been taken over by the assembly, which also appointed the commander, not necessarily one or both kings: *ibid* paras 3–4. The ephors then had the duty of announcing mobilisation, including which age-classes should serve (Xen *Lac Pol* 11.2; Hdt 9.10; Andrewes (1966) 10). As with any other decision, no doubt a king of strong character could influence the assembly. It is possible that once the assembly had taken the decision, the king then repeated

it as a public declaration: "it was the habit of the Greeks to make a formal declaration of war": Adcock and Mosley (1975) 202. Subject to that, the powers of the king formally began when the army crossed the frontier: Carlier (1984) 257–60; Andrewes (1966); cf Ste Croix *OPW* 124–151. Hence πόλεμον ἐκφέρειν, not declaring war, but waging war: Powell sv ἐκφέρω 7; Xen *Hell* 3.5.1, 5.2.34; Dem 1.21, 14.35. There is a problem about ἐπ' ἣν ἄν χώρην. It can scarcely mean that if the assembly voted for war on Argos, the king could attack Sicyon instead. In the context of a list of privileges, it is probably an old formulaic phrase, recalling a time when the kings had (or were believed to have had) the power to declare war. If it had contemporary significance, χώρη could mean the territory of a polis (cf Carlier 258 n. 111), i.e. the king could choose which part of a polis' χώρη he attacked (as Cleomenes did at Argos, §76). Herodotus does not remind us of 5.75.3, that an image of one of the Dioscuri accompanied the king, a matter of considerable symbolic importance, "the model and divine guarantee of the Spartan dyarchy" (Cartledge (1987) 109, 339; Carlier (1984) 298–301).

ἐν τῷ ἄγεϊ Even when the kings had sole power to declare war, this cannot be read literally; it would mean that no one, in council or informally, could advise a king not to go to war. It makes even less sense once the right had passed to the assembly. It probably applied once the king was in command of the troops, as a major sanction to ensure discipline: the king's orders were not to be questioned (Carlier 257–8). Although ἐνέχεσθαι ("be caught", Powell sv 2) might suggest that the mere act of opposition put the man under a curse, there was probably a recognised procedure (Carlier (1984) 251), e.g. a formal proclamation; though there is no recorded case of it being invoked. The ἄγος was an accepted Greek punishment for a man who committed serious crimes, e.g. against the state or the authority of magistrates (*IG* IV 506 (Argos, sixth century: Jeffery (1990) 158); ML 30, noted on φρουρῇ, §26.1; Connor (1985) 86–8; Parker (1989) 153–4, (1983) 192–3). At Athens, the man cursed was excluded from civic life (i.e. from the agora) and religious cults; in practice it meant social ostracism, and in an extreme case the man could be stoned to death, or otherwise killed, or his house demolished, or, as with Alcibiades, his property confiscated; exile might be the only practicable solution for him (Dem 20.158 (exclusion from religion and agora); Plut *Alcib* 22.4 (confiscation); Parker (1996) 19, 125,

194–5; Ste Croix *OPW* Appx 43 (agora); MacDowell (1986) 146–9 (exile); cf on τὰ οἰκία, §72.2). Such a curse could be reversed by political decision. According to Plut *loc cit*, all priests and priestesses had been ordered publicly to curse Alcibiades. Subsequently, the assembly voted to restore his property (possibly not in specie but by the grant of other property, as at Isoc *Big* 46), for the priests publicly to uncurse him, and for the stelae on which the original order had been inscribed to be thrown into the sea (Plut *op cit* 33.3; DS 13.69.2, which alone reports the stelae). If it be true that the Alcmaeonids were cursed after Cylon, the curse must have been rescinded: note to §§121–124. Formally, we should distinguish a "legal" curse from the deemed curse thought to arise from sacrilege, as at §91.1.

στρατευομένων δὲ πρώτους ἰέναι Xen *Lac Pol* 13.2 adds more detail: the king sacrifices to Zeus Ἀγήτωρ before leaving Sparta; the "fire-bearer", πυρφόρος, precedes him to the frontier, where he sacrifices to Zeus and Athena before crossing it (Thuc 5.54.2, 55.5, 116.1 notes specific instances). Ἀγήτωρ is also known as a title of Apollo at Argos: Cook (1914) 1.373. The reference to returning (ὑστάτους δὲ ἀπιέναι) is not in Xenophon; we might speculate that he makes further sacrifices at the frontier as a token of safe return, and then waits while the army crosses back into Sparta.

ἑκατὸν . . . λογάδας . . . φυλάσσειν There may have been differences between (a) the theoretical honour (which is what Herodotus was recording) and the arrangements in practice; (b) the fifth century and what Xenophon records (on which see Lazenby (1985) 41–2); (c) on the march and in battle. Xen *Lac Pol* 13.2 says that after the initial sacrifice (previous note), the "fire-bearer" (πυρφόρος) led the way to the frontier; if old practice, that was a ceremonial detail. At 13.6 he says that, once across the frontier, Sciritae (Arcadian scouts: *HCT* on Thuc 1.67.1; Lazenby 10) and scouts, προερευνώμενοι ἱππεῖς, precede him. Herodotus implies that the bodyguard are Spartiates. This excludes the Sciritae, but leaves open whether his λόγαδες, picked men, are Xenophon's ἱππεῖς. Other evidence shows that ἱππεύς was an honorific title at Sparta (cf LSJ sv II, though their deducing a royal bodyguard from 8.124.3 is at best misleading). They did not possess horses: Strabo 10.4.18; cf Thuc 4.55.2, that the 400 Spartan cavalry raised in 424 was unusual. Retired ἱππεῖς at 1.67.5 perform

special tasks, and Xen *Lac Pol* 4.3–4 says that the ephors choose three ἱππαγρέται, "leaders of ἱππεῖς", who each select 100; service in these units was an honour. Their duties are unspecified, but they fulfil a police role at Xen *Hell* 3.3.9: cf on §57.4. They are probably the same as the 300 "λόγαδες, οὗτοι οἵπερ ἵππεες καλέονται" who escort Themistocles at 8.124.3 as a special honour. At Mantinea, 424, Thuc 5.72.4 notes 300 ἱππεῖς, fighting on foot, around the king (οἱ περὶ αὐτόν). At Leuctra, 371, there seems to be a distinction between the cavalry and the king's guard (number unspecified), in the MSS called ἵπποι: Xen *Hell* 6.4.13–14. At Corinth, 390, Agesilaos has to act quickly and goes with some δορυφόροι, spearmen: *ibid* 4.5.8. These may just have been the men most readily available; in any case, ordinary foot-soldiers could be selected to fight by the king, if we can trust Plut *Lyc* 22.4 (athletic victor so picked). At Tegea, 387, the king sends the ἱππεῖς on a special mission: Xen *Hell* 5.1.33. Generally, see Lazenby 10–12, 53; in the context of similar "horsemen" in other poleis, van Wees (2004) 59–60. While §56 by itself indicates no more than that 100 men were chosen for the occasion, the whole of the evidence suggests that the king on the march was guarded by one troop of ἱππεῖς under their ἱππαγρέτης, the other two troops either being left at Sparta as police, or marching with the rest of the army, and stationed with him in the battle line. In any case, there is no reason why the king himself should not have led the army on horseback.

προβάτοισι This is explained more fully in Xen *Lac Pol* 13.3–5: when on campaign, the king may sacrifice in the early morning in the presence of his officers (and the fire which has preceded him to the border, previous note, is never quenched so that it can be used at these sacrifices); Herodotus' ὁκόσοισι . . . ἐθέλοισι and Xenophon's ἀεὶ δὲ ὅταν θύηται suggests that he had some discretion; if done in sight of the enemy, it was done with special ceremony (*Lac Pol* 13.8). See, further, next note.

τῶν δὲ θυομένων This detail is not in Xenophon. The skins were also reserved for the kings after special occasions at home (§57.1). They had value: at Athens, we hear of them being sold for public revenue (Lyc fr 1; *IG* II^2 333, 1496). Carlier (1984) 78–9 with n. 431 discusses Pylos tablet PY Un 219 for the economic importance in Mycenaean times of the skins of sacrificed animals, which perhaps

went to the wanax. At Sparta, giving them to the kings may have been a way of giving them, in effect, a salary. Alternatively, they may have been expected to give the proceeds of sale to the polis. The νῶτα (chines) are the king's portion in Homer: *Il* 7.321, *Od* 4.65. The usual convention was that after an animal sacrifice, the ἔντερα, the digestive organs, were burnt for the god; the priests and state dignitaries had the σπλάγχνα, the hearts liver and kidneys; and the flesh was eaten by the people (Bowie (1995) 464–5). We may thus assume that the meat apart from the chines went to supplement the men's messes on campaign. On campaign, the polis provided a mess for the king and his senior officers: Xen *Lac Pol* 13.1. The inference is that men were still expected to provide their own food, but there may have been some provision from polis stores: Appx 13 para 2, and see Hodkinson (2000) 197–8. The train of 500 mules at Plataea, 9.39.2, merely shows that provisions were on their way.

57.1 κατὰ τάδε To the honours at home, Xen *Lac Pol* 15.3, 5–6 adds a grant of good lands in the perioikic communities, the entitlement to a piglet from every litter for sacrifices generally (cf on ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου, §57.2) and for all, except ephors, to stand in his presence (but it was said that Spartans always stood for their elders: Hdt 2.80, cf Plut *Lyc* 20.6); Cartledge (1987) 109 would add not to lay hands on the king in the light of Plut *Agis* 19.6 and 21.2; though that did not extend to the ephors, at least if they had cause to arrest him (Thuc 1.131.2; cf on §70.2).

ἢν θυσίη τις δημοτελής Xen *Lac Pol* 15.2 says that the king performed all public sacrifices on behalf of the polis (a traditional role for the Greek basileus: introductory note). Herodotus subdivides them: special ones here, regular monthly ones at §57.2. The special ones could include annual festivals in honour of Zeus and Athena (cf on §56); perhaps one in honour of Lycurgos; perhaps a sacrifice initiating festivals such as the Carneia and Gymnopaidia. For the significance of δημοτελής, see next note and on ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου, §57.2.

τὸ δεῖπνον . . . τὰ δέρματα As noted on τῶν δέ, §56, it was routine practice after a sacrifice for the meat to be divided and eaten; Herodotus indicates that on these special occasions in Sparta, the kings hosted a meal afterwards, perhaps for a selected number of invitees. They sat down first, were served first, with double portions,

made a special libation, and were perhaps symbolically presented with the skins. The double portions as such were not special: they had them in the ordinary royal messes (§57.3); they also had the skins from wartime sacrifices, §56 (see τῶν δέ). As the meal is presented as an integral part of the whole ceremony, δημοτελής presumably indicates that the whole of it, not just the animals and therefore the meat, was publicly funded, with the kings getting double portions of everything, πάντα. It is unclear if one or two animals were sacrificed, just for the kings and their co-diners, or more, with the meat going to the common messes. σπονδαρχίας is a hapax, but the forms -αρχος and -αρχεῖν occur once each; the ἀρχή component means "beginning", not "controlling". Pouring a libation to the gods before drinking was the equivalent of grace before (or after) the meal; Herodotus noted that the Persians do not do it (1.132.1).

57.2 νεομηνίας . . . ἑβδόμας νουμηία is attested at Sparta on an inscription: Samuel (1972) 94, but a sacrificial meal for the new moon was general in the Greek world, and goes back to Homer: see Russo on *Od* 20.156. It is attested at Athens, Dem 25.99; Priene, *IPr* 108 vi 48–9 (late second century); and Erythrae, *Syll*^{3} 284.16 (third century). Different days of the month were sacred to different gods (hence ἱερομήνια, a day in the month so treated, Thuc 3.56.2, 65.1; Schol Thuc 5.54; Dem 21.34, 35; 24.29); here, both sacrifices are said to be at the temple of Apollo. The 7th seems to have been universally sacred to him: Hes *Op* 770–1, with West *ad loc* and on 765–828. Schol Ar *Plut* 1126 says the same, and adds the 4th as Hermes'. Hes *Op* 770 names the 1st, 4th and 7th as sacred days (ἱερὸν ἦμαρ). However, it would probably be importing modern ideas to see them as "sabbath" festivals, at least at Athens. Pritchett *GSW* I 119 points out that no Athenian decree has been found dated to the 1st; but other business was transacted: Ar *Nub* 1191–6 (courts); Plut *De Vit Aer* 828a (money lending); Ar *Eq* 43–4, Alcid 3.25, 3.26 Schlepers (slave market; the reference to buying an ass, Ar *Vesp* 170–1, may evidence a cattle market but may be a joke). Lys fr 9.1–3, attacking a man for having a meal with friends that was not in celebration of the new moon, may be forensic humbug.

ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου . . . Λακωνικήν There is a linguistic difference between δημοτελής in §57.1 and ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου (avoided by de Sélincourt; Mandilaras offers δημόσιες for the first, από την περιουσία του δημοσίου

for the second): "paid by taxes" (though Hesych sv δημοτελῆ ἱερά does not help, as it refers to Attic demes) as opposed to "from polis property". Whether there was a difference in practice is more questionable. The little we know about Spartan taxes, other than the monthly mess contributions, is discussed in Hodkinson (2000) 187–90. The actual animals, one per king, are described as τέλειον, "full grown", though Waterhouse offers "unblemished". Unless the polis owned land where such animals were raised, they were presumably bought in. We could interpret the alphita and wine in two ways. As the alphita is double the ordinary Spartiate's mess contribution (Appx 13 para 1), and the king got double portions, this might be the mechanism by which the royal messes were provisioned. This is almost certainly a false friend, apart from the point that the list of honours is presented in a fairly logical order, and the kings' messes are dealt with in §57.3. The key is the occasion. The animal was to be sacrificed, and so there would be a meal afterwards (cf on τὸ δεῖπνον, §57.1); the polis provided the staples, as Hodkinson (2000) 197 correctly puts it: "for use in their ritual duties". If we allow 1 *choinix* per man (cf Appx 13 para 2), a *medimnos* would enable each king to invite some 48 men; on the probable size of a Laconian quart, it would give 55 litres of diluted wine, over a litre for each diner (*ib* para 5). Who provided the other items, such as cheese and figs, as with royal messes, is unclear (*ib* para 4).

προεδρίας The best seats were a common privilege in Greek poleis for priests and magistrates (Carlier (1984) 267); at Sparta, Deceleans were entitled to them: 9.73.3. It was no doubt the place from where Leotychidas taunted Demaratos (§67.2).

προξείνους A πρόξενος ("consul") was a citizen of polis A who looked after the interests in A of citizens of polis B; polis B contracted a relationship with the man in A on the model of *xenia* (Mitchell (1997) 28–37, esp text and note 38; Herman (1987) 132; cf 8.136.1, 9.85.3). Normally polis B chose its consul in A. Some, e.g. Cartledge (1987) 108, 245–6, see the control of τούτοισι προσκεῖσθαι as an instance of Sparta wanting to control foreign contacts. But in practice it may have meant only that the kings gave formal approval to B's choice; or, as suggested by Mitchell 33, Mosley (1970) 433–5, the kings' power supplemented the usual practice. We know of several Spartan *proxenoi* (see Hodkinson (2000) 340); in one case certainly he was

appointed in the usual way: in 368 Athens appointed Coroebus (*IG* II^2 106 = Tod 135). If the kings merely had to give formal approval, there is no need to postulate that this reflected a change in practice, e.g. after Leuctra. More interesting is the appointment in c475 by Argos of one Gnostas (*SEG* XIII 239). He was from Oinous, a perioikic polis probably by the river Oinous (Shipley (1997) 233 no 15). Argos may have deliberately chosen a perioikos as *proxenos* rather than a Spartiate, but he may just have been their *proxenos* in Oinous itself, conveniently near the frontier (cf on ὁδῶν, §57.4). We do not know if Spartan *proxenoi* in other poleis (list, Hodkinson *loc cit*) were also chosen by the kings or by, say, the ephors. In Athens they were members of the Callias family from the latter part of the sixth century, starting with the Hipponicos of §122.1: Xen *Hell* 6.3.4.

Πύθιοί . . . θεοπρόποι ἐς Δελφούς The usual word for a delegate to an oracle was θεωρός (e.g. Thuc 5.16.2, there of a Spartan delegation): Herodotus, however, uses θεοπρόπος, which elsewhere usually means "seer". The fact that the Spartans called them "Pythii" (also noted Xen *Lac Pol* 15.5), coupled with their eating with the king, is one piece of evidence to support the view that Delphi and Sparta long enjoyed close relations (Parke and Wormell (1956) I 83–98, where the other evidence is discussed). The appointment had practical as well as honorific value: since they ate in the royal mess at public expense (next note), they were presumably exempt from having to make the usual monthly contributions (cf Hodkinson (2000) 358). But when the occasion arose, it would enable the kings, in the absence of the ephors, to discuss whether to consult and in what terms; and afterwards the implications of the advice received. The kings kept the archive of responses: §57.4

σιτεόμενοι . . . τὰ δημόσια As Xen *Lac Pol* 15.5 makes clear, this refers to the ordinary daily messes. There is a nice Homeric touch to the king and his closest advisers eating at public expense: van Wees (1992) 32–45. See also on διπλήσια, §57.3.

57.3 μὴ ἐλθοῦσι This reads as though, except when there is a public feast, kings can choose where to dine, and can be invited to others' houses (cf on τὠυτό, infra). The *Lac Pol* gives no such indication, and the case of Agis II (late fifth century) at Plut *Lyc* 12.2–3 implies that like other Spartiates, kings had to dine in mess, unless delayed

by a private sacrifice or hunting. The story was that Agis returned home victorious from Athens and insisted on eating at home; the polemarchs would not send him his rations. The next day, he omitted a sacrifice out of anger, and they fined him (the ephors fined him, per *id Apophth Lac* 227a). That the polemarchs ("colonels": Xen *Lac Pol* 11.4, 13.1, etc) were in charge of the rations suggests that the army was still formally mobilised; and the fine may have been as much for omitting the sacrifice. Herodotus may just be referring to occasions when the king or his host had been sacrificing or hunting. But one view of the story of Agis II is that Cleomenes had insisted on eating more often at home; after his death the ephors or gerousia sought to reimpose the strict rule, and later kings sought to rely on the precedent of Cleomenes (Fisher (1989) 32).

ἀλφίτων δύο χοίνικας . . . οἴνου κοτύλην The alphita was, in effect, a double portion, perhaps fixed on the basis that one *choinix*, probably the basis of a day's consumption in an ordinary mess, was thought too little for a king, and two was the most practical way of giving him his entitlement; it would also be enough should he have a guest, e.g. with whom he had been hunting (cf previous note). See Appx 13 paras 2–4. The wine is another matter. The ordinary Spartiate had to provide 8 choes of wine per month, 3.2 *kotylai* per day. Even if only half was drunk by the man himself, it would still be considerably more than the king's *kotyle*, 0.386 litre (*ibid* para 1 and n. 2). It would dilute to a litre or a little more; enough for one man, modest for two. Spartiates were known as modest drinkers (Hodkinson (2000) 195, and the king could always supplement it from his own store.

διπλήσια πάντα Herodotus does not expressly say that the kings' mess was provided by the polis, though it is implicit in the reference to the Pythii, §57.2; it is explicit at Xen *Lac Pol* 15.4–5, and arguably implicit here, if we understand that it is the polis which does the giving, δίδοσθαι. It is counter-productive to speculate in terms of *choinces* or *kotylai* for the size of the royal portions: as pointed out in Appx 13 para 4, we need only envisage 2x ladles of broth where the rest got x, and bowls of cheese or figs visibly larger than others'. We should further note the kings getting "double". Xen *Lac Pol* 15.4 says that the kings got a διμοιρία, double portion, to enable him to have a guest; if so, all bowls would be more or less the same. *Id*

Ages 5.1 implies that if there was no guest, the king could eat the lot, and praises Agesilaos for not doing that. Kings got double everything, πάντα, not just alphita and wine, though it is speculative as to how the other items were provided (Appx 13 para 4). The double portions were notorious: Herodotus makes Xerxes refer to it in addressing Demaratos, 7.103.1. They were not needed in terms of nourishment; they would be an especial mark of honour in a society where there was always the risk of a food shortage (Appx 13 paras 1, 6).

τὠυτὸ . . . πρὸς ἰδιωτέων κληθέντας See on μὴ ἔλθουσι, supra, for when the ordinary Spartiate could dine at home and might be able to invite the king. The "same" is presumably 2 *choinices* of alphita and 1 *kotyle* wine; again, if the polis also provided the figs and cheese, etc, it is not said here.

57.4 τὰς δὲ μαντηίας This is not mentioned in Xen *Lac Pol* 15. The Pisistratidae did it at Athens, 5.90.2, so other poleis may also have done it. The passage is one piece of evidence that there was modest, though not significant, literacy at Sparta (Cartledge (1978): §57.4 referred to at 29). Millender (2001) 129–30 argues for a fair general degree of literacy, 143–9, and thinks that the kings kept state archives, probably including a copy of the Rhetra in the form of an oracle. The procedure at Delphi was that the utterances of the Pythia were given out by the priest, who reduced them, usually into hexameters, occasionally into prose or iambic trimeters. The enquirer could have his in writing, including in a sealed tablet (Parke and Wormell (1956) I 17, 33, with nn. 68–70). Thus the Pythii might know the oracles because they received them orally, perhaps also bringing them back in writing, or because, if written, they were present when read by or to the kings. The archives would be either those writings, or the oral responses reduced to writing in Sparta. Some consultations were by individual Spartiates rather than "the Spartans": see the index in Fontenrose (1978), sv Sparta, Spartiates; Carlier (1984) 266–8. One king alone could consult: §76.1.

δικάζειν Deciding disputes was a traditional role of the basileus, but (whether or not we see it as part of their wider loss of political power, note to §§49.2–55 para 2) most legal cases at Sparta were tried by the ephors (Richer (1998) 431–53; MacDowell (1986) 129–32),

with the gerousia as a supreme court: see on παρίζειν, §57.5 and on §66.1. The first and third cases where the kings retained jurisdiction are family matters relating to the ownership and inheritance of land; the second is perhaps tied up with state security. There was a fourth category, what Arist *Pol* 1285a6–7 calls τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θέους, perhaps boundary disputes between dedicated and secular land, perhaps whether a sacrifice should be carried out or had been correctly carried out. The kings also had some legal powers when on active service: see MacDowell 124–6 for how we might reconcile the differing emphases of Xen *Lac Pol* 13.11, Plut *Ages* 7.6–7, and Arist *Pol* 1285a7–10.

πατρούχου "Holder of patrimony", found also in Gortyn (*IC* IV passim), spelt πατροιοκος, but otherwise occurs only in grammarians or similar, where it is glossed as ἐπίκληρος, the usual word for an heiress. It here means an unmarried girl who had inherited her share of her deceased father's property, and had not yet been betrothed. Sparta was probably one of the poleis where partible inheritance extended to daughters as well as sons: Hodkinson (2000) 81, 100–3; cf next note. Some (e.g. Nenci) amend to πατρωιούχου, but it is always cited as πατροῦχος. Two of the citations (Suda sv Ἐπίκληρος (I), Schol Plat *Leg* 630e) give another word, ἐπιπ(τ)αματίς (also in Hesychius); it has been suggested as the Spartan word, but doubted MacDowell (1986) 96. This reference to heiresses is one piece of evidence that economically, Sparta was not an egalitarian society: see on ὀλβίων, §61.3. At Athens, the comparable jurisdiction was exercised by the archon (*Ath Pol* 56.6).

ἐς τὸν ἱκνέεται ἔχειν It is probable that many Greek cities had laws as to marrying an unbetrothed heiress, but we only get guidance on detail from Gortyn and Athens. Schaps (1979) 42–3 finds evidence for such laws, apart from Sparta, in Tegea, Naupactus, Thermus, and Thera. The Gortyn law code laid down detailed provisions, based on kinship, as to who could marry the girl, with the object of keeping the property within the family (Willetts (1965) 50–61). Athenian law was broadly similar, to judge from references in the orators. There was a judicial process, the ἐπιδικασία, in which the archon adjudicated between competing claims for her hand, and gave formal approval for her marriage (Harrison (1968) 1.9–12); it

is arguable that until he did so, she had no formal κύριος (cf *ibid* 19–20, 109–111). Schaps 38–42 argues that it was as much designed to protect her from an unscrupulous relation as protect family property. It differed from Gortyn in at least two respects, but not affecting the actual choice of husband. At Athens, daughters did not, in the absence of a will, inherit if there were sons, so the ἐπίκληρος was an heiress without brothers; and at Gortyn the girl kept her property on marriage, whereas at Athens her husband would be become the *de facto* controller of it, though passing to her sons when they became adult (Harrison 1.132–8; Schaps 26–42). Spartan law was probably similar to the Gortynian and Athenian pattern, and closer to the former, as we may infer from daughters sharing the inheritance with sons (previous note), and from Arist *Pol* 1270a26–9: if a man dies without making a will, his *kleronomos* may give [the heiress] to whomever he likes. Aristotle seems to be using *kleronomos* to include not just "heir", but what we would call both "executor" and "guardian". As Hodkinson (2000) 110 n. 56 points out, Herodotus is listing the kings' honours, not telling us about Spartan law. At 94–8 he discusses the present passage, Aristotle, and the story of Agis IV's widow, Plut *Cleom* 1.1. He concludes, not that there had been a change in law or practice by Aristotle's time (as some argue, based on the rhetra of Epitadeus, e.g. MacDowell (1986) 99–110; the rhetra is probably an invention: Hodkinson 90–4), but that at Sparta the kings had discretion. In particular, if her father had named a husband in his will, or her *kleronomos*, a close male relative, did so after her father's death, the kings would recognise that. Only if neither was the case would the kings have to apply the sort of rules found at Gortyn and deducible for Athens, and betroth her to her nearest male relative (who might be the *kleronomos* himself); even there they might have to decide between competing claims. One should not follow MacDowell 95–9, that they had to choose a man who did not own land in his own right: that depends on assuming (a) that Sparta did not have partible inheritance, and (b) that there was a law against owning more than one estate (cf previous note on economic inequality). There was a further point. Although Plut *Lyc* 15.4 just says that girls married when "prime and mature", many assess this as 18, e.g. Lacey (1980) 106–7, 162, 194–208, or 20, e.g. Cartledge (1981) 94–5; Hodkinson (1989) 90; certainly much later than the 12 permitted at Gortyn. In the case of a young girl, and

especially if her mother was also dead, it would be important to name her future husband in order to have a man to manage her estate and control the helots working it.

ὁδῶν δημοσιέων ὁδός connotes a public highway (e.g. *Ath Pol* 54.1); δημοσιός underlines the fact (e.g. Men *Dysc* 115, Strabo 5.3.7, Timaeus *FGrH* 566 F26a). Most poleis took care of their roads: Arist *Pol* 1321b18–27 stresses its importance, adding that in most cities it is the function of the ἀστυνομία, City Commission (and modern Greek for "police"). Graham (1998) 39 cites regulations from Thasos and Pergamum not to build on streets and keep them clean; so on Paros, IG XII 5.107. At Athens it was done by ὁδοποιοί, *Ath Pol loc cit.* Arist *Oec* 1347a5 says that Hippias raised money by selling back to the owners parts of houses that projected over the public highway (Polyaen *Strat* 3.9.30 attributes this to Iphicrates (373–2)). One can understand the emotional logic in letting the kings retain jurisdiction in family matters (cf on δικάζειν, supra); but why roads? One might envisage cases where a road was taken in for cultivation, or built on, or otherwise obstructed (cf MacDowell (1986) 123). Local inhabitants, perioikoi or helots, may have been responsible for the maintenance of roads, e.g. clearing fallen trees or rocks, or filling in holes, and keeping bridges in repair; the east-west routes into Messenia, in particular, were over mountain passes, where landslips may occur. Perhaps the kings dealt with cases of dereliction of duty. The reasons for leaving this jurisdiction with them will long since have been forgotten, but may (for example) date back to a time when they regularly needed good roads to lead an army to Messenia during the long years of the fighting there, and it became an accepted part of state security; whatever view one takes of the long-term problems of control especially in Messenia. In any case Spartiates would want good access to their estates, wherever they were; while the need to make monthly mess contributions (Appx 13 para 1) would generate a regular traffic in pack animals and carts.

It is more doubtful whether we should understand refusing travellers passage into Sparta as within this jurisdiction; even seen as a matter of state security, it was probably dealt with by the ephors. All Greek poleis seem to have accepted a law or custom for travellers to use their roads; they had a word for a road leading to another polis: ξενίς (Polyb 11.11.5; *Syll*^{3} 636; *IG* V.2 443.45, XIV 352.15). The right of free access to Delphi was confirmed in the armistice between Sparta and Athens in 423, Thuc 4.118.1; trav-

ellers were thought of as under divine protection. A "traveller" could even include an army, if it was passing through to fight elsewhere: cf Plut *Lys* 22.2. But a polis could refuse entry: Brasidas was initially refused passage through Thessaly (he eventually got it on the footing that he was the ξένος of his Thessalian guides, and his army went with him as his entourage: Thuc 4.78.2–4); in 413 Croton refused passage to the Athenian army (id 4.118.1); in 395, the Thebans permitted the retreating Spartans passage on the strict terms that they did not deviate even an inch off the road itself (Xen *Hell* 3.5.24); and Sparta differed from many other poleis as being only a destination, not a transit polis. We know of no specific case of a traveller being refused permission to enter Sparta (though it would be unlikely to leave a trace in literature); but it is hinted at in Thuc 1.146, 2.1, noting the difficulties of travel between Athens and Sparta just before the Peloponnesian War; and it could explain why Argos wanted a *proxenos* near the frontier (see on προξείνους, §57.2), to help her citizens having trouble entering Sparta. We could envisage that the duty of patrolling *xenides* fell on units of the ἱππαγρέται, whose police duties have been noted under §56 (not the φρουραί of Xen *Hell* 6.5.24 (370), who were a response to the particular situation, not a permanent frontier guard.). But it is probably importing modern notions to suggest that a traveller who was refused access could appeal to the kings; irrespective of whether we think that Sparta's attitude to the panhellenic custom was governed by the isolationism reflected in *xenelasia* (note to §§49.2–55 para 4).

57.5 θετὸν παῖδα This is our only explicit reference to the Spartan law of adoption. The phrase does not depend on δικάζειν; the key words are ἤν τις . . . ἐθέλῃ. It is for the adoptor to choose his heir; the kings are then the official witnesses to the adoption, not judges deciding whether the adoption should proceed. The suggestion of some, e.g. MacDowell (1986) 97–8, that the king had to ensure that the adoptee was an otherwise landless man, is not what Herodotus says, and has no basis in the wider context of Spartan property distribution: see Hodkinson (2000) 82–3. Of the many situations in which a man might want to adopt someone, typically because his own children had predeceased him, three may be noted. Spartan law required (Xen *Lac Pol* 1.7) or permitted (Plut *Lyc* 15.7) an older man (A) to allow a younger one (B) to father children on A's wife. The children would be A's, and not inherit B's property: Plutarch uses ποιήσασθαι, in the context meaning "accept as a child of his

own family". It permitted a man (C) to father children on another's (D's) wife, with D's consent: *Lac Pol* 1.8, Plut *loc cit*; the children would be C's and not inherit D's property (Xenophon uses τεκνοποιεῖσθαι, "make children for himself"; Plutarch says he was ποιούμενον, making children for himself). Polyb 12.66.8 speaks of polyandry, several brothers sharing one wife. In any of these cases, the parties might wish to adopt to override the legal position, or to clarify the position, or to avoid disputes, e.g. as to who the real father was. The case of Demaratos illustrates how problematic that could be. Adoption would make the adoptee's entitlement to inherit certain (generally, Hodkinson 81–2).

παρίζειν . . . The gerousia consisted of 28 men over 60, elected by acclaim: Plut *Lyc* 7.5, 26.1–2; curiously, Xen *Lac Pol* 15 gives no hint that the kings were members, but Herodotus is confirmed by Thuc 1.20.3 (next note). Apart from Tyrtaeus fr 4 West, Herodotus is our earliest reference to it: he shows it in action at 5.39–40, where it joins with the ephors in pressing Anaxandridas to beget an heir (cf on §66.1). Basically a deliberative body, it also acted as the supreme court, including cases where death or exile was the penalty (Xen *Lac Pol* 10.2; MacDowell (1986) 127–9). For its political role, see Andrewes Ste Croix and Carlier cited in the note to §§49.2–55 para 2. Richer (1998) 345 n. 177, following Macan *ad loc*, notes that παρίζειν just means that the king attends, not that he presides over, the sitting.

δύο ψήφους τιθεμένους A king did not have two votes; there was a popular belief that he did, expressly stated to be erroneous by Thuc 1.20.3. Herodotus does not quite say that he did. He has tried to cover in one sentence several situations: both kings absent, represented either by one man or two men, and just one king absent. When both kings were away, he indicates that it was possible for one man to represent both, though there cannot have been many who were related to each royal house. The reality, whatever Herodotus says, was almost certainly that the proxy had his own vote and one for the king he was representing: cf *HCT* on Thuc 1.20.3; Carlier (1984) 271–2.

58.1 ἀποθανοῦσι The ceremonies described in §58 (see also next note) contain two special features: the requirement for persons from

the whole state to attend the funeral, and the suspension of public business (§58.3). All the others are traditional features of Greek funerals; and Sparta, in common with many other poleis, had significantly curtailed funerals for ordinary citizens, and expenditure on them: Plut *Lyc* 27.1–2, *Apophth Lac* 238d, probably from c550: see Hodkinson (2000) 237–262, noting some exceptions for fallen warriors (249–62). Garland (1989) gathers evidence for 9 other poleis, including Athens, some post-dating the fifth century; cf Alexiou (1974) 14–23. Such legislation was sometimes designed to minimise pollution and ensure that the corpse was treated with respect, but it was often aimed at their scale, partly to prevent them being a financial burden to poorer families, and partly with a political purpose, to prevent a large public gathering, e.g. of the deceased's *genos*, which might turn into a disorderly and even political display. The specifics of royal funerals are only here, though Xen *Lac Pol* 15.9 says that the kings were honoured as heroes, and *id Hell* 3.3.1 comments on the splendour of Agis' funeral.

ἱππέες . . . πᾶσαν τὴν Λακωνικήν As a toponym, **ἡ** or τὸ **Λακωνική/όν** in Herodotus refers to Laconia proper: 1.69.4, 7.235.3; cf 8.73.2; the Spartan state is Λακεδαίμων, as §58.2, though usually in a political or similar context which centres on Sparta the polis. Thus the text says: riders announce the death throughout Laconia; the women in Sparta itself (τὴν πόλιν) beat vessels, and a free man and woman from each household (apparently in Laconia, so presumably including perioikoi) must ritually mourn; ἐλευθέρους, as Waterfield' translation stresses, means that they cannot be helot servants. The ζημίαι could perhaps be enforced by the messengers. Helots from Messenia came to the funeral, so presumably other riders took the news there: for helot villages see Cartledge (2003) 25; Hodkinson (2003) 270–5. The implication of this passage, taken with Paus 4.14.4–5 cited on §58.3, is that helots were no longer required to indulge in ritual mourning. Whether in practice there was a rigid distinction between Laconia and Messenia is another matter.

λέβητας κροτέουσι Cook (1902) 14–19 cites considerable authority (not this passage) for beating bronze, e.g. a gong, as part of a purificatory ritual or to ward off evil spirits, including at funerals, to avert pollution from the corpse. Women traditionally play an important role in mourning rituals: Alexiou (1974) 6, 8, 10–11, 102–3; for

Athens, for which we have most evidence, Stears (1998); cf next note and at §58.3.

ἐπεάν . . . καταμιαίνεσθαι As suggested supra, ἐξ οἰκίης ἑκάστης means from each free perioikic household in Laconia. καταμιαίνω, not uncommon in late writers, but also Pind *Pyth* 4.100 and Plat *Leg* 937d, means "defile"; the middle, "defile oneself" connotes going into deep mourning, e.g. cutting or tearing the hair or face or clothes, and throwing dust on oneself (cf §21.2, and 3.66.1; generally for mourning immediately after the death and before the funeral, Alexiou (1974) 4–7. It is not clear whether this was to be done within the house or in some form of communal ceremony.

58.2 ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ The δέ in νόμος δέ has the force of "indeed"; for Herodotus, the Spartans differed to some extent from other Greeks, and were like Asiatics (so 2.80, and on Αἰγύπτιοι, §53.2); it touches on the wider questions of his attitude to non-Greeks, and how he presents their customs and compares them to those of the Greeks: pp. 26–7. He has not said how kings in Persia were buried (he touches briefly on burial for ordinary Persians at 1.140.1, and Babylonians at 1.198), nor in Egypt, but he does describe funerals for men of standing there: the townsfolk defile themselves with mud and parade round town beating their breasts (2.85; he goes on to describe embalming). At 4.71–2 he deals with Scythian royal funerals: people join the procession as it progresses to the burial place, and they shave their hair and mutilate themselves. Plut *Sol* 12.8, one of the passages dealing with Athenian restrictive legislation, states that the reform removed τὸ σκληρὸν . . . καὶ τὸ βαρβαρικόν, ᾧ συνείχοντο πρότερον αἱ πλεῖσται γυναῖκες. But, as noted on §58.1, the rites are all traditional Greek ones (though no doubt not dissimilar to many oriental cultures); the formal difference is the number of mourners. However, the obligation to attend could be seen as a mark of servitude (as with oriental subjects): Paus 4.14.5, cited on τῶν εἱλωτέων, §58.3, speaks of the compulsion; perhaps the Megarians felt the same, when compelled to attend the funeral of a Bacchiad (Demon *FGrH* 327 F19): see van Wees (2003) 62–3.

χωρὶς Σπαρτιητέων In addition to the Spartiates: Powell sv χωρίς, II.2. While Herodotus specifically notes the perioikoi here, stressing that all sections of Lacedaemonia came to the funeral, he may have

had them in mind as the inhabitants of Laconia at §58.1: see on ἱππέες. The question whether they were citizens of Sparta or of their own poleis (Mertens (2002); Eremins (2002) with n. 2, p. 277 for bibliography) does not affect the present obligation.

ἀριθμῷ "In a fixed number", as Thuc 2.72.6. The implication is that as many Spartiates as possible were expected to attend, while each perioikic settlement had to send a specified contingent. If the roads were properly maintained (cf on ὁδῶν, §57.4), they could not use that as an excuse for non-attendance.

58.3 τῶν εἱλωτέων For Herodotus, the helots are just "part of the Spartan landscape", and he does not investigate their status: e.g. §75.2, 7.229.1, 9.28.2, 29.1; Whitby (1994) 93, 95–101. As he here speaks of Lacedaemon, it appears that helots had to attend from Messenia as well as Laconia, presumably messengers went there also (cf on ἱππέες, §58.1). Herodotus does not say that, as with perioikoi, there was a quota, but there was likely to be some control. Too many helots amongst the πολλαὶ χιλιάδες of mourners would have presented a considerable security problem to the Spartan authorities; especially if those in Messenia had rather more freedom within their own communities than has traditionally been credited (Hodkinson (2003) 270–8; for differing views on their status generally, van Wees (2003) and Luraghi (2002), (2003)). It is not clear how far Paus 4.14.4–5 helps here. He cites Tyrtaeus fr 7 West, that they and their wives had once had to mourn the death of their own master; he adds that they were compelled to go to the funerals of their kings, wearing black, with a penalty (ποινή) on failure to do so, but adds, the funerals of other dignitaries (τῶν ἐν τέλει) also. See Hodkinson (2000) 237–8). For the problems of the reliability of the passage see van Wees 35–6, esp nn. 7, 12; cf Luraghi (2003) 129–32.

τῇσι γυναιξὶ κόπτονταί τε τὰ μέτωπα . . . οἰμωγῇ . . . ἄριστον As can be seen from Alexiou (1974) 4–7, 10, 102–3, these were all common Greek funeral practices, in which women played an important role; it was traditional for them to sing dirges in praise of the deceased.

εἴδωλον Plut *Ages* 40.3 says that the custom was to bring the corpse back to Sparta for burial; as with Agesipolis I, killed in Macedonia in 381 (Xen *Hell* 5.3.19; DS 15.93), and Agesilaos, who died in

Libya in 360 (Plut *Ages* 40); the bodies were preserved in honey or wax. Also, prior to 480, the only Spartan king whom we know to have been killed in action was Teleclos, on the border of Messenia, c740 (Paus 4.4.2–3); it would have been no great distance to bring him home (Polydoros was probably murdered in Sparta in c665, Paus 3.3.3). Thus the image may have been an innovation for Leonidas, whose body and severed head had apparently remained in Persian hands after Thermopylae, 7.238. No account of Leuctra, 371, says what happened to Cleombrotos' body, merely that the Spartan dead were recovered under truce (e.g. Xen *Hell* 6.4.15, DS 15.55.4). Presumably this image procedure was not used for either Leotychidas (§72.2) or Pausanias (exiled 395), as they did not die in war; in any case, though Leotychidas remained nominally king while in exile (see on §71.1), Pausanias did not, being succeeded by Agesipolis. We might speculate that the image was of wood, and draped or garlanded, and given insignia of office such as the σκῆπτρον of §75.1.

ἀγορή . . . ἀρχαιρεσίη It was conventional throughout Greece to hold a period of mourning after the funeral; for ordinary Spartans it was restricted to 11 days (Plut *Lyc* 27.2). It is possible that Herodotus was wrong to say that both market and public business were suspended for 10 days; the Aristotelian *Lac Pol* (Heracl Lemb fr 373.10 Dilts = Arist fr 611.10 R) says that the market was stopped for 3 days (and sprinkled with chaff). The market was not unimportant in everyday life (Hodkinson (2000) 134, 180–2), and the resumption of some trading after 3 days is plausible. The phrase ἀρχαιρεσίη συνίζει is difficult. The sense is clear: public business was suspended, and συνίζει is entirely appropriate to a sitting of a council, e.g. the ephors or the gerousia. But ἀρχαιρεσία means "election of archons", and συνίζει is an odd verb to go with it, unless it here connoted "a meeting to elect". That would also mean that, unless the death happened to coincide with an election, public business carried on as normal. The ephors were elected annually; *gerontes* by acclaim only when a vacancy arose on death; other magistracies (see on ἦρχε, §67.1) were also probably annual. Herwerden, followed by Powell, proposed the emendation οὐδ' ἀρχαὶ <οὐδὲ γε>ρ<ου>σίη συνίζει. The ἀρχαί would probably mean the ephors, as with τοὺς ἄρχοντας at §106.1. Apart from the gerousia they are the only magistrates of whom we know who were active in day to day public business. We

could accept that formal meetings were suspended, but we would expect the ephors to be actively on duty at a royal funeral: with large numbers of perioikoi and helots gathering in Sparta, they would be more concerned than normal to exercise their police functions. The MSS reading was known to the Suda (tenth century AD); sv Ἀρχαιρεσία ("περὶ ἀρχῶν ἐκλογή") it also cites Herodotus, albeit with the puzzling definition τὸ πρὸς χάριν πολλῶν ζῆν, ἢ τὸ ἐπιδόσεις χρημάτων ποιεῖσθαι; the latter, contributions of money to the state being made, might reflect confusion with the reference to remitting state debts in §59; cf Eust *Il* 2.23 *ad* 5.63.

59 συμφέρονται . . . τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι Herodotus now adds, in effect, a couple of footnotes comparing oriental practices to Spartan, the first leading on from royal funerals; cf on Αἰγύπτιοι, §58.2.

ἐλευθεροῖ ὅστις . . . ὤφειλε Herodotus said that Smerdis remitted taxes, to the citizenry's approval, 3.67.3, but not that it was the custom. But it is assumed that Herodotus is here correct for Persia: it underlies our understanding of several fifth century events (Appx 11 sec 2(3)). For the ruler of a Greek state to do it would presumably sound oriental and unusual to Herodotus' readership. A new Spartan king could have personal debts for two main reasons. An heir apparent (or king) was no different to other Spartiates of property. He would often need to make what we would call commercial deals arising from the ordinary management of his estates: for the general position, Hodkinson (2000) 176–82. Further, he might use his wealth to buy political influence, e.g. by making loans, perhaps on a loose understanding as to repayment: Hodkinson 359–65. The remission of these in particular would help carry that influence over into his kingship. But it is less clear what was involved in remitting public taxation. Remitting the mess dues, Appx 13 para 1, would upset the system unless the supplies were made up from some other source (the new king himself, or perhaps from the surplus, para 2?). It may refer to other Spartan taxation, about which we have some references but little tangible detail, whether as to its regularity, its amount, how it was assessed, or how it was paid: Hodkinson 187–90. One can only say that any remission would be likely to be popular. The use of Σπαρτιητέων indicates that it did not extend to perioikoi or helots.

60 Αἰγυπτίοισι Apart from Heracles' ancestry, §58.2, Herodotus has already said that the Egyptians resemble the Spartans in the matter of the young showing respect for the old (2.80; Plut *Apophth Lac* 237d), and the honour in which the military are held (2.167). The occupations mentioned here are not found in his Egyptian *logos* (though 2.164–168 indicates some sort of caste distinctions), but they all had important roles in Sparta. Apart from the use of heralds in diplomacy, they accompanied the army and announced orders to parade or dismiss: Xen *Lac Pol* 12.6–7 (cf 11.6). We see them on campaign at §§77.3, 78.1. At 7.134.1 he calls the heralds or their family the Ταλθυβιάδαι. Pipe players were the military band when the army was on the march, and accompanied the marching paian as well as the paian before battle: Thuc 5.69–70; Pritchett *GSW* I 105–8. Both heralds and pipers messed with senior officers (*Lac Pol* 13.7). Cooks (presumably the Spartiates who managed the messes, not the helots who did the work (Plut *Comp Lyc Num* 2.4)) were essential for the public messes, as well as to feed the army in war (cf 9.82); they had their own cult statues of Matton ("kneader") and Keraon ("mixer") (Athen 2.39c, 4.173f). Herodotus' use of Λακεδαιμόνιοι argues that at least some of these positions could be held by non-Spartiates.

λαμπροφωνίην The construction is awkward, but the sense is clear; the occupations were hereditary, and a man could not become a herald simply because he had a loud voice. The word and its cognates are rare in classical literature (λαμπρόφωνος in Hipp *Airs* 5 and Dem 18.313).

παρακληίουσι Another rarity ("exclude", "displace"): next (and otherwise only) in the Septuagint, 2 Macc 4.34, and perhaps Polyb 5.39.3.

§§61–70 *Cleomenes engineers the deposition of his co-king Demaratos, relying on the circumstances of his birth, which suggested that his real father was not the then king Ariston. A trial is inconclusive, and the Spartans consult Delphi; Cleomenes ensures success by bribery. Leotychidas becomes king, while Demaratos is appointed to a magistracy. Leotychidas insults him. He asks his mother who his father was, and she hints that it was a demi-god. He leaves Sparta and goes to Persia.*

The main narrative now resumes from §51. The deposition of Demaratos was probably summer 491, with his flight to Persia in summer 490, possibly 489: Appx 12 paras 3–4. By the time Herodotus talked to his sources some 100 years after Demaratos' birth, the whole story had political as well as folkloristic overtones, reflecting on the one hand support for one or the other royal house (cf note to §§49.2–60 para 3 and on §82.1), and on the other the wish of all Spartans to put the best face to an outsider on a story that did little credit to the institution of kingship, especially if their traditions said that in both royal houses until now son had continuously succeeded father, for which see on Λευτυχίδῃ, §65.1. It is hard for us to decide how much of the story went back to when Demaratos had been born, and how far it had been shaped by the present events. Burkert (1965), esp 175–6, analyses it thus: Agiad supporters sought to downgrade Demaratos by saying that his mother was indeed pregnant when she married the king, but by her first husband's stable boy; Eurypontid supporters sought to bolster his image: she had twice been favoured by gods, once as a child and then by the hero Astrabakos; while his cryptic remark about great good or great evil for Sparta, §67.3, showed how wise he was. Burkert 169–70 notes one or two other cases of divine ancestry being asserted at this time: particularly the athletes Theogenes of Thasos and Euthymos of Locri, referred to Paus 6.11.2, 6.6.4: Demaratos too was an Olympic victor, §70.3. In the mid fifth century, few Spartans of any allegiance could have been completely happy with either king's family; even if, as the Theasidas episode, §85, shows, they respected the institution. Ariston's co-king Anaxandridas had had to be pressed by the ephors to produce an heir, and in the result had two wives. Cleomenes' right to succeed his father, as opposed to Dorieus', and then his behaviour as king, were controversial: note to §§49.2–55 paras 4, 7, 8; his madness and death dishonourable. Pausanias, regent for Pleistarchos, was accused of treachery and died in dubious circumstances: Thuc 1.132–4. In the other house, apart from the problem of Demaratos' birth, and then going to Persia, Leotychidas, who had remained king when the removal of Demaratos was shown to be fraudulent (§§66, 74), had been disgraced and died in exile, though nominally still king (§§71–2).

The folkloristic accretions to the story which reached Herodotus are indicated by other details. Logically, Demaratos should have spoken to his mother when Leotychidas launched the claim; no mention

is made of how he defended the proceedings. Why should he leave Sparta because of what his mother told him (see on §70.1)? The account attributed to mother is full of folkloristic features, as variously noted on §69.1–4. Further, how did the details of his conversation with mother became known? One view is that the story of Astrabakos' role in the disputed birth circulated long before the trial, in which case Demaratos already knew it, and the conversation with mother is essentially overlay in the tradition. Another is to assume that the conversation took place in the hearing of the attendants who assisted at the sacrifice; or to infer that Demaratos confided it to friends before leaving Sparta. A fourth, perhaps a variant of the last two, is that the story, with its Heracles resonance (cf on §69.1), was put about as propaganda by supporters in 480, to make him acceptable should Xerxes install him as ruler of Sparta: for that see on παρὰ βασιλέα, §70.2, and cf Burkert 174–6.

The last could also explain an odd feature of the Astrabakos story. According to Paus 3.16.9, Astrabakos' human origin was Agiad; he and his brother Alopekos ("fox") were great-great-grandsons of Agis, the next king after the Eurysthenes of §52.7, presumably by a cadet line. Giving the Eurypontid Demaratos an Agiad, but divine, father would make him a scion of both houses, divinely favoured, and improve his chances of being accepted by Spartiates generally as a buffer between them and Persia. Interestingly, his descendants, probably grandsons, were named after both branches (see on γῆν, §70.2). In another direction, both Astrabakos and his brother had associations with Artemis Orthia. They were said to have found her cult image, and then went mad (Paus 3.16.9). "Astrabika" is given in Probus III 2.324.20 as the songs sung by men at a Spartan ceremony to Diana (= Artemis). Alopekos' name is synonymous with φούαξιρ, "foxing", the name given to the exercises undertaken by young men prior to their ceremonial whipping at her shrine (Hesychius sv; φοῦαι = foxes, id sv, Herodian *Orth* 3.2.608; Burkert 171–2; though see also Ducat (1999) 50). Astrabakos would also recall "mule" to a Greek. Probus connects astrabika to astraba, a mule cart; ἀστραβεύω and ἀστραβίζω mean to ride a mule, and ἀστράβη is a mule's saddle. Thus a non-literary word for mule based on ἀστραβ- is likely. The mule went a long way back in Spartan legend: Oxylos, who showed the Heraclids the way into the Peloponnese, rode one, (Paus 5.3.5–6), and is said to have invented the ἀστράβη (Schol Pind

Pyth 5.10b; Burkert 172). Demaratos' opponents could turn the story against him: with a mule for a father, he was not qualified to be king. Their joke could go further: his father was not the mule god but the mule boy (ὀνοφορβός, "stable boy", §§68.2, 69.5); perhaps all the more plausible if mother had had the reputation of being free with her favours (cf on ἐκ τῶν ὀνοφορβῶν, §69.5).

Thus if Demaratos already knew the Astrabakos story, he might be reluctant to use it precisely because while for some it would strengthen his claim, for others it would carry pejorative implications. For the same reason he would be reluctant to use his mother as a witness, assuming that Spartan law accepted a woman's evidence. There is further point: the Greek mindset which, to judge from Athens, made it difficult for a litigant to put a woman's evidence before a court. We may argue whether Athenians did not wish to expose a woman in a public arena and a man's forum (Goldhill (1994) 358–60), or regarded her testimony as inferior and untrustworthy, or both; but she could not be a witness: the speaker of Dem 47.68–70 could not prosecute for an assault witnessed only by his wife and children. She might make a sworn statement out of court, and her κύριος could apparently then report her evidence to the court (Harrison (1971) 2 136–7, 150–2; Goldhill (1994) 357–8; Todd (1993) 93, 201: in the one clear case, Dem 39.3–4, 40.10–11, the woman did swear that she was the mother of the plaintiff; the woman was prepared to swear in Is *Euphil* 9). This attitude might have inhibited Demaratos from asking his mother about his paternity when the case was first brought. Whatever defence he actually offered, the inconclusive result shows that he was not without support.

61.1 Τότε δέ . . . When Cleomenes was in Aegina, §50.3, and Demaratos was slandering him in Sparta, §51.1. Legrand accepted Hude's suggested amendment διέβαλλε, the form at §51.1; but the aorist indicates that the slandering is over, and the story moves on.

κοινὰ τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἀγαθά . . . φθόνῳ καὶ ἄγῃ The sentiment, implicit at §50.1, is now explicit: Cleomenes was the patriot who wanted to protect Greece from the Persians, and Demaratos opposed this; ἄγη here has its sense of envy or grudge, cf 8.69.1. How far this corresponds to the situation in 491 is hard to unravel, and we should not assume that Herodotus' sources were totally pro-Cleomenes, even if

critical of Demaratos: note to §§49.2–55 para 8. Further, after 480 Sparta had an interest, in rivalry to Athens, in claiming credit for resisting Persia in 491–490. As a motive, a grudge is typically Herodotean (cf p. 36), but φθόνος, envy, is rare: 3.146.1, of Maeandrius; Immerwahr (1966) 314 n. 19 (the word at §137.2 is a citation from Hecataeus).

ἐβούλευε . . . παῦσαι Spartans were likely still to recall the controversy when Demaratos was born, with or without Astrabakos' alleged role. Cleomenes clearly knew it. As this was not the first time the two had differed (note to §§49.2–55 paras 3–4), why did he only raise it now? It may be that the issues raised by his recent conduct in Aegina, e.g. whether to support Athens or how to react to the apparent Persian threat (*ibid*), were particularly controversial. He may have feared another prosecution, especially as that after Argos was probably only a few years earlier (Appx 15 para 1), and took preemptive action.

'Αρίστωνι βασιλεύοντι Joint king with Anaxandridas; his dates were c550 to 520 (Cartledge (1979) 142) or 515 (Forrest (1980) 21). The story is also at Paus 3.7.7. It is coincidence that Anaxandridas also had problems in producing an heir (introductory note). In a hereditary monarchy, it is clearly important that a king should have an identifiable, legitimate, son: Cartledge (1987) 110–11.

61.2 οὐ . . . αὐτὸς . . . αἴτιος At this time, the ordinary Greek, and some thinkers, believed that the seed came from the man, the womb providing the receptacle for its growth: Aesch *Eum* 658–70, Eur *Or* 552–3, Plat *Tim* 50d, 91d; Anax 59 A107 DK = Arist *Gen Anim* 763b30–6. It is implicit at §68.3; see also Cartledge (1981) 98. Most intellectuals and doctors recognised that the woman also contributed seed, e.g. Alcmaeon 24 A13 DK, Parmenides 28 A54, B18 DK, Hipp *De Sem* (late fifth century) 6–8; Aristotle came to this view: see Balme (1991) 26–30, 487–9.

φίλος Named as Agetos, §61.5; his wife is not named.

61.3 καλλίστη ἐξ αἰχίστης Even without the superlatives, the folkloristic story that follows of the plain girl who grew into an attractive woman is quite charming.

ὀλβίων Spartiates might be ὅμοιοι politically, but economically some were more equal than others. Both Herodotus (here, 4.146.3, 149, 7.134.2) and Xenophon (*Lac Pol* 5.3) refer to wealthy and prominent families as a matter of course; see Hodkinson (2000), esp chapters 3, 5 and 11; Cartledge (1981) 96, (1987) 168; Finley (1975) 166–8; so the provisions for heiresses and adoption, §57.4–5. The Glaucos of §86 is portrayed as rich. If ἀνθρώπων is not just a variant for γονέας, it would indicate that the wider families were wealthy; but wealth is often exaggerated in oral tradition. There is some distinction between ὀλβίων and κειμηλίων (§62.2): the first particularly includes land, the second is just moveable property.

ἐν τῇ Θεράπνῃ . . . Φοιβηίου ἱροῦ The Phoibaion was near Therapne according to Paus 3.14.9, but has not been identified in excavation. One possible site for Therapne is some 20 km away (Cartledge (1979) 189, 338), but that is too far for the nurse to go regularly. Pausanias' Phoibaion seems to be near the town, and Therapne should be that of Paus 3.19.7–9, by the Menelaion, on a ridge above the confluence of the Eurotas and Magoula rivers (maps, Cartledge (1979) 43, 105). There is literary and archaeological evidence for the cult of Helen at Sparta: Alcman frr 7, 14 Page; Theocr 18.48; Isoc *Hel Enc* 63; Wide (1973) 340–6; West (1975) 5–6 (two shrines).

61.4 γυναῖκα Herodotus puts the story in *oratio obliqua* (pp. 23–4, 32); perhaps as a matter of diplomacy, and only implying an epiphany, if his Eurypontid sources said that it was the goddess, the first of two divine favours to the girl, and Agiad sources denied this (cf introductory note). Paus 3.7.7 makes the old woman the goddess, perhaps so recalling his Herodotus, or because later Spartan historians so expressed it.

61.5 μεταπεσεῖν τὸ εἶδος Since many girls blossom out at puberty, this is another nice folkloristic touch: a god could easily change a person's appearance, as Athena regularly does to Odysseus, Hom *Od* 6.229–35, 13.429–38, 16.172–6, 454–7, 23.156–62.

62.1 ἔκνιζε "Vex"; not very common in classical literature. The imperfect suggests that Ariston had been looking for a third wife for some time, had fallen in love with this woman, and perhaps knew that she was not indifferent to his overtures. But it is also likely that

one of her attractions was her land (cf on ὀλβίων, §61.3, and see Hodkinson (2000) 153).

μηχανᾶται The Spartans had the reputation of saying one thing and meaning another, but normally in dealings with non-Spartans, not each other: e.g. the truce story attaching to Cleomenes at Argos, noted on §78.1; generally on their trickiness, e.g. the Glaucos story, §86, Bradford (1994). Presenting Ariston as devious may come from anti-Demaratos sources. He could just have asked Agetos to divorce his wife (or her to divorce him). It would, however, have been awkward to ask his permission to father a child on her (cf on §57.5), as the child would not have been entitled to succeed unless Ariston had adopted him (*ibid*), and he would have had to ask his co-king to authorise that. See also on ὅρκους.

τὸν ἑταῖρον Here, as at §62.2, Agetos is more than a φίλος (§61.2): an ἑταῖρος was perhaps a hunting-companion or periodically invited to eat with him.

ὅρκους ἐπήλασαν For oaths generally, and the use of ἐπελαύνω, see on ὅρκους, §23.4. The Greeks appear to have accepted that a tricky oath was acceptable: Hermes taught Autolycos the skill, Hom *Od* 19.396. With this story cf 4.154, where Etearchos, king of Oaxos in Crete, made his friend swear an oath to do whatever he asked, in fact to drown his daughter; the friend found a way of nominal compliance while saving the girl; and 4.201, where the Persians made a sworn agreement with Barca using a deceptive form of words. Glaucos thought of lying on oath: §86β–δ. Euripides makes Hippolytus say (612): ἡ γλῶσσ' ὀμώμοχ', ἡ δὲ φρὴν ἀνώμοτος, for which sentiment he was reproached (Arist *Rhet* 1416a28–37; Ar *Ran* 101, 1471, *Thesm* 275). In the commercial world, however, Greek law seems to have given relief for misrepresentation: see Todd (1993) 237–40, 255–7.

62.2 τῶν κειμηλίων See on ὀλβίων, §61.3.

ἀναγκαζόμενος Because the oath was binding despite the παραγωγή ("deception", Powell sv); cf on ὅρκους, §62.1.

63.1 ἐσηγάγετο γυναῖκα Agetos and his wife must also have divorced. Subsequent events suggest that her change of husbands only required

a few days. Just as marriage was a matter of private contract between the families (cf on ἐγγυῶ, §130.2), so was divorce. The Athenian evidence suggests that it was simply a matter of the husband formally dismissing the wife from his house, somewhat like the Muslim *talaq* (Harrison (1968) 1 39–40; the wife could divorce but the procedure was more cumbersome, 40–44), perhaps in the presence of witnesses, as at Lys 14.28; hence the vocabulary: ἀποπέμπω (here the middle), ἀφίημι, as 5.39.2, ἐκπέμπω, as 1.59.2; Herodotus also has ἐξίημι, 5.39.2, rare if not unique in this sense, and ἔξεσις, at 5.40.2, a hapax except for citations, Eust *Od* 1.392 *ad* 10.515; 2.247 *ad* 21.20. MacDowell (1986) 82 suggests that she was sent back to her father's house, though here, she may have gone straight to Ariston's.

τοὺς δέκα μῆνας 10 (lunar) months was the common expression for a full term pregnancy: Bacch *Epin* 1.125; Ar *Thesm* 741; Men fr 307 K–A; Machon fr 11.153–4 Gow. To the Greek doctor a full term baby was one born after 7 periods of 40 days in its mother's womb, Hipp *Sept Part* 7, *Oct Part* 10; or after nine months and in the tenth, *id* Hipp *Nat Puer* 30 (more realistically: few babies are born on the expected date). Modern doctors still reckon 280 days from the first day of the girl's last period, and express a full term pregnancy as 266 days, on the basis of deemed conception about 14 days after that, when she is at her most fertile. The girl would probably be able to date her last period with reasonable accuracy from a festival, e.g. x days after the new moon. For premature births see on §69.5.

63.2 ἐν θώκῳ κατημένῳ μετὰ τῶν ἐφόρων There clearly had been some controversy: cf on ἐβούλευε, §61.1; but it is hard to extract historical fact from the folkloristic and perhaps political overlay of this story. If Ariston denied paternity in front of the ephors, they are clearly one route by which the denial became public knowledge. See further on μετέμελε, infra. Although θῶκος connotes a ceremonial chair or royal throne, as *Od* 2.14, Plut *Ages* 4.3, Ar *Ran* 1515, ἐν θώκῳ here really denotes "sitting in meeting with . . .". The kings were *ex officio* members of the gerousia, but neither at §57.5 nor elsewhere are we told of a formal requirement to meet the ephors; though at some date there was an obligation to exchange monthly oaths with them (Xen *Lac Pol* 15.7). But there is nothing improbable in periodic meetings between them; the narrative does not say whether Anaxandridas was also there.

ἐπὶ δακτύλων συμβαλλόμενος . . . ἀπομόσας Counting on the fingers is only recorded here and Poll 3.156, ἐπὶ δακτύλων θεῖναι τὸ λογίσασθαι. The notes to Juv *Sat* 10.249 usually say that the Romans counted units and tens on the fingers of the left hand, and hundreds on the right. Paus 3.7.7 adds the nice touch that Ariston forgot his Homer: Eurystheus was a 7 month baby (*Il* 19.115–17); though the account of the *agoge* at Xen *Lac Pol* 2 and Plut *Lyc* 16–17 (esp 16.6) does not encourage us to think that Homer was a staple of Spartan education. Perhaps the king's eldest son, exempt from the *agoge*, learnt more literature than other boys. According to his wife's story, he had also forgotten that he had acknowledged paternity: ἔγνω δὲ καὶ αὐτός, §69.5. Perhaps he now suspected that a premature birth was not necessarily so, as with the plots of Menander's *Epitrepontes* and *Hecyra*. In c399 Agis II computed the months and saddled Leotychidas III with Alcibiades as his father, which enabled Lysander to put Agesilaos on the throne when Agis died (Xen *Hell* 3.3.4; Plut *Lys* 22.3–6). In view of Ariston's earlier exchange of oaths with Agetos (§61.1–2), it is a nice touch to make him now swear an oath which he will shortly be able to withdraw (μετέμελε, infra).

πρῆγμα . . . οὐδὲν ἐποιήσαντο As we see with Anaxandridas at about the same period (introductory note), one of the duties of the ephors was to ensure the succession. Yet here, they are said to accept the denial, so that there was still no heir. Perhaps they did so because they too thought that the wife could have been pregnant when she married him, especially if she had a reputation for extra-marital affairs (cf introductory note). It might be attributing hindsight to them to suggest that they should have told him to wait and see if the baby grew to resemble him. Perhaps they expected him to father his own child on her in the near future.

μετέμελε Clearly, the controversy was resolved in some way. It is hard to reconcile the story that Ariston changed his mind as the boy grew to resemble him with the latter being called Demaratos, "prayed for by the people"; that would presumably be done soon after birth; perhaps father's statement to the ephors only became generally known sometime after the naming. Ariston may have been persuaded to accept the boy, because by the time he could be said to look like him, he (Ariston) had had no further son by his new wife; that is clear, since the throne passed to a collateral: see on

Λευτυχίδῃ, §65.1. Thus political pressure, from Spartiates generally if not the original or new ephors, and perhaps also his wife, might have persuaded him to accept the boy.

63.3 ἀρήν See previous note for when the naming took place; perhaps mother chose the name. There is nice irony in the name, which must have been obvious to Greek ears: ἀρή meant either "prayer" or "curse", with a homophon meaning "bane" or "disaster": see notes to Hom *Il* 12.334 (Kirk-Hainsworth), 14.484–5 (Kirk-Janko), and *Od* 17.534–40 (Russo), 22.208 (Russo-Heubeck); cf 'Αρήτη, the daughter of Alcinous, *Od* 7.54. Even if there had been prayers, presumably when it was known that his wife was pregnant, the name is not unique: it is known at Athens, Dem 38.11 and in Corinth, Plut *Alex* 9.12, 56.1.

64 ἔδεε "It was fated" (Powell sv A II 2); for the divine in Herodotus to explain why things happen see pp. 31–3. The substantive meaning is not affected by the MSS problem (Nenci and Legrand following Richards print διότι; Rosén διά τ'ἅ).

μεγάλως . . . ἐξ Ἐλευσῖνος In c506 both kings led an army of Spartans and allies against Athens, to avenge Cleomenes' defeat in c508 and restore Isagoras (5.74–5); it was done in liaison with Boeotians and Chalcidians: cf Appx 12 para 2 and on §101.1. If Athens was then allied to Sparta, which is questionable, the expedition may have been technically justifiable; but it was controversial. At Eleusis, the allies, and also Demaratos, decided to withdraw; presumably at least part of the Spartan army with him. He and they probably saw that it was politically undesirable and militarily risky. It led, says Herodotus, to a new Spartan law, that in future only one king should lead the army. It is just possible that it was this occasion when Cleomenes allegedly committed sacrilege, as to which see on 'Ελευσῖνα, §75.3. As Herodotus adds μεγάλως to διεβλήθη ("fell out with", Powell sv I 2; LSJ III) for the two occasions, Eleusis and now, one wonders if, given the two men's different temperaments, he had hints of other occasions after Eleusis (which he says was the first time, 5.75.1) when they had disagreed; though his Spartan sources would not wish to tell an outsider all the details of their two kings not being *ad idem*. See note to §§49.2–55 paras 3–4, 6.

τοὺς μηδίσαντες Called "the most blameworthy" at §50.1, but at §73.2 those arrested are "the richest". There was little distinction between Πέρσαι and Μῆδοι (see on τοὺς τυράννους, §9.1), but περσίζω meant to adopt Persian dress or customs, and μηδίζω to side with the Persians: Graf (1984a).

65.1 ἀποτίνυσθαι This is the first of three cases in the story involving a slight on a man's τιμή, his sense of social status and honour. Leotychidas' τιμή had been slighted by the loss of Percalos, §65.2; Demaratos' τιμή is slighted by his removal from high office, even more so when he is insulted by Leotychidas. For Herodotus' audience it was appropriate to describe Cleomenes as seeking revenge, and Leotychidas as keen to do the same. Also, for Herodotus τίσις restores a balance that has been upset: p. 35. See van Wees (1992) 67–77, 158–9, 161; Cairns (1993) 13–14, 94–5, 232–3 (discussing Tecmessa's speech, Soph *Aj* 485–524, as an appeal to Ajax' concern for his τιμή, and sense of αἰδώς at the diminution of that τιμή); summary at 432–4. Cairns shows that αἰδώς and τιμή are fundamentally linked; cf on κατακαλυψάμενος, §67.3, and on ἐξέτεισε, §136.3. The right to remove a king is assumed, though never before exercised; the ephors are said to have threatened it to Cleomenes' father when he had not produced an heir (introductory note). Cleomenes' enterprise was bold only in the sense of putting the right into practice.

Λευτυχίδῃ While there was no point in Cleomenes causing Demaratos to be removed if Leotychidas turned out to be a deutero-Demaratos, as it were, Leotychidas must have been the closest male collateral. There is no evidence of a rival candidate; his right to succeed was not questioned; and his descendants provided the kings down to Archidamos V (died 227). In that sense Cleomenes could not καταστήσῃ him king; he was entitled as nearest kin. The rules of inheritance would be traditional and probably similar throughout Greece. A Locrian law of the late sixth century, ML 13, says that in default of a son or daughter or brother, the rights to property pass ἀνχιστέδαν . . . κὰ τὸ δίκαιον ("by kinship according to law"); ἀγχιστεία meant the right to inherit. We know them in detail for Athens: Harrison (1968) 1.130–49; for collaterals, 143–9; Todd (1993) 216–27. In default of a son, the priority was (1) brother by same father, or his descendants (2) sister ditto (3) paternal uncle and his descendants (4) paternal great-uncle and his descendants; in default, the same relations on

mother's side; in default of either, ὁ πρὸς πάτρος ἐγγυτάτω κύριος ("the nearest on the father's side"), Dem 43.51. The Spartan kingship was not quite like property, in that females could not succeed, but otherwise there is no reason to think that different rules applied in selecting a successor. From the mid fifth century there were many cases where collaterals succeeded. On Cleomenes' death his younger brother Leonidas succeeded; Leonidas' son Pleistarchos had no son, and rule passed to the grandson of Cleomenes' youngest brother Cleombrotos, Pleistoanax. In the Eurypontid line, Agis II was deemed to have left no heir and was succeeded by his half-brother Agesilaos II (cf on ἐπὶ δακτύλων, §63.2). For the precise way that successors were chosen see Carlier (1984) 240–7; stemmata for both houses, Forrest (1980) 21–2.

The precise relationship of Leotychidas to Demaratos is uncertain. The problem is tied up with three points. One is whether we should infer that Herodotus' king lists, 7.204 (Agiads) and 8.131 (Eurypontids) come from mid fifth century Spartan traditions which represented son regularly succeeding father in each royal house, at about the same time in each generation. The second is how to resolve the discrepancies between 8.131 and Paus 3.7.1–8. The third is whether any of the names have got misrecalled, e.g. those beginning Anax-, Aga-, and Archi- or ending -damos or -laos. The stemmata are shown in Appx 22. The Eurypontids are essentially the same down to Theopompos. The names of some of his ancestors can be queried as artefacts: Soos, Prytanis, and Eunomos ("Saviour", "President", "Goodlaw"), though they were also known to Plutarch (*Lyc* 1–2); that tells us something about how oral genealogies develop, but does not bear on the present problem. Herodotus says that all Leotychidas' ancestors except the last two were kings. Pausanias begins by saying that his account of the Eurypontids is what he had learnt (τοιάδε ἤκουσα): oral Spartan tradition of his day, or authors other than Herodotus (cf on §61.4 for his sources)? While those from Prytanis to Theopompos are expressly said to have been kings, after him only Anaxidamos and Demaratos are so described, though from Herodotus we can add Agasicles and Ariston, and Pausanias implies as much. Most editors solve the problem by accepting an amendment to 8.131.2, proposed by Paulmier (1668), changing Herodotus' "two" to "seven", to bring it into line with Pausanias. This is methodologically questionable; it assumes that Pausanias and his sources were more accurate than Herodotus and his; and/or that, if not an original error

by Herodotus, the numbers got corrupted in transmission. In any case, as noted, Pausanias does not expressly attribute kingship to all seven men. It is almost certainly wrong, given that Alcman fr 5 Page (POxy 2390) indicates that Leotychidas I was indeed king; and see Gilula (2003) 79–80. Also, if the Zeuxidamos and Hippocratidas of POxy 2623.1 (attrib Simonides, fr 519a Campbell, S319–386 Page), are from an epinician, and are ancestors rather than fifth century Eurypontids, it would further confirm Herodotus. As Agasicles is king at 1.65.1, it has been proposed that Agasicles was the elder son of Hippocratidas, and Agesilaos the younger; but as West (1992b) 1–2 points out, Pausanias has Archidamos as the latter's father. Cartledge (1979) 341–6 has a useful discussion; also West, who refers to many earlier discussions; though he does not offer an explanation for Agasicles' rule, other than to say that "for some reason" he pre-empted Agesilaos' throne. The solution proposed here is that Pausanias was giving Demaratos' ancestry, rather than a king-list; and subject to the accurate transmission of names, we may accept Herodotus for kings from Anaxandridas down to Hippocratidas. He died leaving his wife pregnant, and this enabled the collateral Agasicles to rule. That may have been controversial, e.g. if some thought that there should be a regent, and wait to see if the baby was male or female; thus one reason that Ariston was being pressed by the ephors to produce an heir was to avoid another dispute over the succession. Pausanias' king Anaxidamos could be right; if we allow for some error in the transmission of names in one or both versions, he could be Herodotus' Anaxilaos or Archidamos. It is likely that Spartans did offer an ancestry down to Ariston and Demaratos which represented regular succession, though probably not true; they could also make synchronisms such as Leon-Agasicles. There is a further point in favour of such a solution. If we have go back seven generations to find the eligible collateral to succeed Demaratos, the more chance there would be of a man with a better claim to succeed, descended from the younger brother of a more recent king than Theopompos. Another question lurks in the background, in the light of the later pattern of succession; the apparent lack of fertility in both royal houses. One factor in the gradual decline in Spartan power during the fifth century may have been inbreeding among a comparatively small population of Spartiates, exacerbated in the case of the royal families by the limited choice of marriage partners (Cartledge (1987) 37–43; cf on §71.2).

τοῦ Ἄγιος His grandfather is called Agesilaos (Ἡγησίλαος) in the Eurypontid stemma at 8.131.2, at least in the **a** MSS. The modern balance favours this as correct, e.g. Cartledge (1979) 341, 344 (cf previous note).

65.2 ἐχθρός The loss of the marriage, especially into a prestigious family (infra), would certainly slight Leotychidas' τιμή (cf on §65.1).

ἁρμοσαμένου The Greeks did not have the concept of "engagement": Vérilhac and Vial (1998) 247–8, 254; marriage was a matter of contract between the families. ἁρμοσαμένος is better translated "betrothed", not "engaged". For the betrothal see on §129.1.

Πέρκαλον τὴν Χίλωνος Her family was connected by marriage to both royal families, in itself evidence that it was one of the more powerful Spartiate families. Her older cousin was the daughter of Prinetades son of Demarmenos, and married to Anaxandridas, mother of Cleomenes (5.40–1). As Cleomenes was king from c520, and Demaratos from then or c515 (see on 'Αρίστωνι, §61.1), we might postulate birth dates as follows: Demarmenos, c605; Prinetades, elder son, c595–0; his daughter, c570–65; Chilon, younger son, c590–85; Percalos c540–35. The problem is whether her father was the Chilon who figures in various texts as the sage, ephor, and member of the gerousia, or a collateral. At 1.59.3 he is an adult, advising Hippocrates, father of Pisistratos, in cryptic terms before the latter was born, i.e. c605–600 (*APF* 11793 II); at 7.235.2 Demaratos, to whom he would be at least distantly related, calls him σοφώτατος for more cryptic advice, this time about Cythera. Plato *Prot* 343a names him as one of the seven sages (i.e. wise statesmen) of Greece, and he so appears in many later texts; including helping to draft the quasi hexameter at Delphi, μηδέν ἄγαν· ἐγγύα πάρα δ᾽ἄτα· γνῶθι σεαυτόν; Plut *Quo Adul* 35f refers to the Χίλωνος παραγγέλματα. The fourth century Alcidamas said that he was a member of the gerousia (Arist *Rhet* 1398b14). DL 1.72 has him as γέρων in the 52nd Olympiad, i.e. 572–68; whether we translate that as "member of the gerousia" or "old man", the date is consistent with someone born c630. However, DL 1.68, drawing on third and second century writers, says that he was ephor in the 56th Olympiad, 556–3, one source putting him specifically in 556–5, when Euthydemos was archon at Athens (Develin (1989) 43); he is ephor in PRyl 18, for which see note to §§49.2–55

para 4. DL 1.68 also has him as the first "to introduce the ephors to be coupled (παραζευγνύναι) with the kings". If this means created the ephorate, it is wrong: that dates back to Lycurgos or king Theopompos (Richer (1998) 21–92. It could mean "put on a par with", i.e. increased the powers of the ephors. But παραζεύγνυμι can also mean couple in marriage, and so refer to the family marrying into both royal houses; considered Richer 131–2. He was thus recalled as a man with a reputation for wisdom which he applied to Spartan politics; after his death he had a heroon, for which we have archaeological evidence (Richer 129). See also note to §§49.2–55 para 4. The story that he died at Olympia, after his son won at boxing (DL 1.72, citing the third century Hermippus, F12 W), if true, does not help on dating, as there are too many gaps in our knowledge of Olympic victors. It could be in any game between 560 (Teisandros of Naxos, Moretti (1957) no 105) and 520 (Glaucos of Carystos, no 134), except 544 (Praxidamas of Aegina, no 112) and possibly 532 (Eurymenes of Samos, no 123). Moretti no 1024 doubts it, noting the same story of Diagoras of Rhodes (Plut *Pelop* 34, Cic *Tusc* 1.111).

It is possible to imagine a man born c630, influential in Spartan politics, elected ephor, and campaigning as an old man in c556 (Agesilaos campaigned in Egypt when 83 or 84 (Cartledge (1987) 331)). However, he could scarcely be Percalos' father. Where his own father is given, admittedly in later texts, he is Damagetos, not Demarmenos (Damarmenos in Doric): DL 1.68, Stob *Anth* 3.1.172, Suda sv. We might explain that as confusion of similar names, comparable to that for Leotychidas' grandfather, §65.1. But his wife would be surely beyond child-bearing age to be the mother of Percalos. The problem is not solved if we reject the Hippocrates story as a folkloristic accretion, enabling us to downdate the ephor's birth. There are two basic solutions. The common one is that Percalos' father was a relation of the ephor, perhaps grandson, e.g. H&W, Nenci, whose "nipote" could also be nephew; so Richer (1998) 129–31; Hart (1982) 156, Huxley (1962) 149; cf Cartledge (1979) 139, 155; (1987) 110, 149; Jones (1967) 45, 173. The second is that Percalos' father was the ephor, and that two men, both prominent in their own day, became one in later tradition, as happened with the two Miltiades (see on Μιλτιάδης, §34.1). The fact that Herodotus adds the patronymic here and not in his other two Chilon references (where he is the sage, not the politician) suggests that he knew that there were two men; but leaves open which of them did what.

ἁρπάσας Wedding by capture is described in Plut *Lyc* 15.3–5. This is the only recorded case, and it is not clear how common it was, or what effect it had where, as here, it overrode a betrothal and upset the property arrangements between the two families. A different custom is described by Hermippus F 87 W = Athen 13.556b–c: numbers of bachelors and spinsters are put into a dark room and pair off. If true, it would be suitable for families with little property, or where the parties were still unmarried in their twenties. MacDowell (1986) 77–81 offers a discussion of the Plutarch passage.

65.3 προθυμίης "At the eager insistence of Cleomenes . . .". Cleomenes is always portrayed as acting energetically: cf Appx 14 para 3. But he was also shrewd. Even if it was open to any Spartiate to assert that a king was disqualified, tactically it was preferable to have the claimant to the throne make the complaint rather than Cleomenes himself.

κατόμνυται The word connotes initiating legal proceedings; so καταωμοσίην, and ἐδίωκε: the plaintiff probably made a complaint to the ephors, §86γ1 suggesting that he had to swear to the truth of the allegation. If the complaint was accepted, there was a hearing, when witnesses could be called: ἔδίωκε; not "persecute", as Powell sv 4, but prosecute or bring to trial, as at §§82.2, 104.2, 136.1. For the tribunal see on §66.1.

65.4 ἐπιβατεύων "Basing his claim upon". Elsewhere in Herodotus, the word carries the connotation of making a false claim: 3.65.3, 67.2, for the Magus assuming the name of Smerdis; and 9.95, of a man who adopted the name of Deiphonus son of Euenius to pretend to be a seer.

τοὺς ἐφόρους μάρτυρας This is hard to take literally. As noted on Πέρκαλον, §65.2, Demaratos had been born some 50 years earlier. Any surviving ephors would be nearly 80; although there is no direct evidence, it is probable that they were not eligible for election before 30 (Richer (1998) 289, 291; *CAH* III^2 3 332 (Hammond)). Presumably the witnesses said what the ephors, when alive, had told them; or Leotychidas simply told the tribunal what the ephors had allegedly heard.

66.1 ἔδοξε Σπαρτιήτῃσι Does "the Spartiates" mean the assembly rather than the court (cf MacDowell (1986) 133–5)? Many trials of kings are recorded (e.g. §§72.2, 82.1, 85.1), but only once is the tribunal specified: Paus 3.5.2, that when king Pausanias was tried in 403, the court was the gerousia, the ephors, and the other king. In ordinary disputes the gerousia was the supreme court (see on παρίζειν, §57.5); it is plausible that it was augmented if a king was the defendant, as accepted by MacDowell 128–9. This would be consistent with the vocabulary: that noted on κατόμνυται, §65.3, the δικαστήριον of §72.2, and κατέκριναν at §85.1; for the majority decision of §82.1 see on τοὺς ἐφόρους. No real help can be gleaned from other cases, and in any case, it may be a false friend to import a modern notion of precedent. The ephors and gerousia threatened to refer Anaxandridas' lack of heir (introductory note) to "the Spartiates"; this could mean in a court or the assembly. Thuc 5.63 has "the Lacedaemonians" in 418 doing various things, including penalising Agis when prosecuted for his alleged failure at Argos, and passing a new law. This does not define who did either, and, as pointed out by MacDowell 134, the two decisions need not have been made by the same body; *HCT ad loc* Xen *Hell* 3.3.4 says that ἡ πόλις decided whether Agesilaos or Leotychidas should succeed Agis II (cf on ἐπὶ δακτύλων, §63.2). This is *prima facie* the assembly; but in c262 the gerousia decided between Cleonymos and Areus (Paus 3.6.2). For the similar problem at Athens, see on §104.2(a)–(e). The problem is partly linguistic: οἱ Σπαρτιᾶται could connote anything from the whole population to a few men acting in some capacity within the framework of the polis. MacDowell 123 was probably right in saying that there was no concept of separation of powers in Sparta; even if Spartans and other Greeks had the verbal distinction between a tribunal, e.g. δικαστήριον, and a deliberative council or assembly, possibly constituted by the same men. The present case was without precedent, and of great importance and with wide implications; it would be natural for the gerousia to refer it to the assembly; so Richer (1998) 411–12, who also treats the verdict against Agis in 418 as by the assembly. However MacDowell 135 wrongly argues that νεικέων does not sound right for the gerousia: Pausanias was acquitted by a 19–15 majority. The word, repeated §68.2, shows only that the case was controversial, reflected in public opinion, the "much talk Sparta" (λόγος πολλός) of §68.3. Whether gerousia or assembly, public opinion would influence the decision to refer the matter to Delphi. Many, not just Demaratos

supporters, would regard the sanction of Delphi as essential if they were to take such an important step as remove a king (next note); it probably transcended the political divides noted in the introductory notes above and to §§49.2–55 paras 2–4, 8. Whatever the legal niceties, and whatever defence he offered (cf introductory note) Demaratos had significant support, now and as shown by his subsequent election to office, §67.1.

ἐπειρέσθαι τὸ χρηστήριον It would be entirely consistent with the general ethos of Spartan government to consult Delphi over such an important matter: cf previous note and on Πύθιοι, §57.2. Tradition said that Delphi had confirmed the dual kingship, §52; she should be consulted now. The "shooting star" procedure, invention though it was (Appx 12 n. 1), shows that even in the third century it was felt that the removal of a king should be confirmed by Delphi. The phrase ἐκ προνοίης τῆς Κλεομένεος, §66.2, raises the possibility that Cleomenes himself suggested or encouraged the reference to Delphi when he saw that he was not going to get a clear majority in his favour.

66.2 προσποιέεται . . . Κόβωνα . . . Περίαλλαν In view of the repercussions, §§66.3, 74, the real meaning of προσποιέεται ("win over") and ἀναπείθει ("strongly persuade") is bribe. Paus 3.4.6 says that no-one but Cleomenes ever "dared to tamper" with the oracle. At best, that could only be true up to now, and depends on the view one takes of how the Alcmaeonids persuaded Delphi to act in c510: see on εἰ δὴ οὗτοι, §123.2; and why Cleomenes thought that bribery would work. There was probably a narrow line which divided official offerings to Delphi in the hope of a favourable response (e.g. the valuable ones from Croesus, 1.50–1), and those which, colourably official, also benefited the officials. Cleomenes' real sin was being found out, perhaps too indiscreet in crossing the line between the acceptable and the unacceptable; he failed where the Alcmaeonids succeeded. Thuc 5.16 says that Pleistoanax and his brother were regularly accused of bribing the Pythia to tell Sparta to get him recalled from exile. Ephoros recorded an attempt by Lysander in 403 to bribe the Pythia (and other oracles) to say that the Spartan kingship should be open to all Spartiates (*FGrH* 70 F206 = Plut *Lys* 25.3; cf DS 14.13.2–3); Plut *Lys* 26 speaks of a further occasion when he succeeded in bribing the priests, the outcome being foiled for

other reasons. The description of Cobon as δυναστεύοντα μέγιστον, very influential, suggests that he was one of those who determined Delphic policy, probably supported by an intelligence system: for one example, see on καὶ τότε, §19.2; cf on §135.3 for Timo. He is otherwise unknown. We know the names of only two other priestesses: the reputed first one, Phemonoe, and Aristonice, in office at the time of Salamis (7.140.1; Parke and Wormell (1956) I 44).

66.3 τῶν θεοπρόπων . . . ἔκρινε For τῶν θεοπρόπων see on Πύθιοί, §57.3. Herodotus does not or cannot cite the words of the oracle, but ἔκρινε suggests that it was unambiguous and told the Spartans to remove Demaratos.

ἀνάπυστα Neither here nor at §74.1 are we told how or when the bribery came to light. As to the when, ὑστέρῳ χρόνῳ or similar is a common Herodotean expression: cf §§73.1, 91.1, 126.1, 140.1. It was after Demaratos left Sparta, which was probably summer 490 or summer 489: Appx 12 paras 3–4. That Cobon's and Perialle's punishments were fairly mild (their conduct could have been treated as sacrilege) perhaps indicates that those judging them had themselves come close to the narrow line dividing offerings from personal gifts.

67.1 ἐς Μήδους Simply "to the Persians": see on τοὺς τυράννους, §9.1.

ἦρχε αἱρεθεὶς ἀρχήν Demaratos had otherwise done nothing wrong; if Cleomenes hoped also to get him exiled, he was disappointed. To what office was he elected? Xen *Lac Pol* 2.2 speaks of those from whom "αἱ μέγισται ἀρχαί" are filled: we know of membership of the gerousia, ephor, ἱππαγρέται (*ib* 4.3; see on ἑκατόν, §56), παιδονόμος, supervisor of boys (*ib* 2.2, 10), and the judge sent to try cases on Cythera (Thuc 4.53.2). The navarch (Thuc 2.66.2 etc) is not known before the late fifth century. πατρονόμος (Paus 2.9.1) was a third century creation; βιδιαῖος, responsible for the games for ephebi and νομοφύλαξ (*id* 3.11.2) are only attested for the Roman period: Jones (1967) 166. It is probable that there was one or more ἀρχαί for supervising the important religious festivals, Gymnopaidia, Carneia, Hyacinthia. The fact that Demaratos was elected to some office shows the strength of his support (cf on §66.1). He was now c50 (see on

Πέρκαλον, §65.2), too young for the gerousia. Ephor is possible, noted by Richer (1998) 293 n. 152, 526 n. 8; but would the newly elevated Leotychidas have risked insulting an ephor? Other best guesses are paidonomos, an important office in a city which controlled the upbringing of its children; there is no implication in Xenophon that it was a young man's appointment—he had a staff of younger men to exercise day to day discipline; or the archon responsible for the Gymnopaidia.

67.2 γυμνοπαιδίαι Held in the middle of summer (Plat *Leg* 633b); news of the defeat at Leuctra reached Sparta during the festival (Xen *Hell* 6.4.16, Plut *Ages* 29). It consisted of singing and dancing, by boys, young men, and older men: in the theatre, per Xenophon and Plutarch; Pausanias 3.11.9 records boys dancing in the Agora. It is assumed from the name that the boys, at any rate, were naked: so Schol Thuc 5.82.2. See also Huxley (1962) 54; Kennell (1995) 67–9; for its possible historical background, Shaw (2003) 176–82.

γέλωτί . . . λάσθῃ For both Leotychidas' use of mockery, and Demaratos' reaction, see Richer (1999) 96–7. λάσθη, mockery or insult, is a very rare word outside the lexicographers; it was perhaps a dialect word in Lesbos and Ionia, as γέλωτα καὶ λάσθην occurs in an epigram by Aeschrion of Mytilene (fourth century: fr 4 Lloyd-Jones and Parsons). The expression ἐπὶ γέλωτι is at 9.82.2 and Ar *Ran* 404, but not again until Hellenistic times.

67.3 ἀλγήσας . . . μυρίης κακότητος ἢ μυρίης εὐδαιμονίης The pleonasm εἶπε φάς underlines the anecdotal nature of the account. For ἀλγήσας see next note. It was not uncommon to attribute "wise" if cryptic (often paired) dicta to leading men: cf that attributed to Hecataeus in DS 10.25.4 (Appx 11), and to Chilon (see on Πέρκαλον, §65.2).

κατακαλυψάμενος . . . παρασκευασάμενος ἔθυε τῷ Διί The insult was an attack on Demaratos' τιμή, with its associated feeling of αἰδώς; but it also caused pain, ἀλγήσας. Covering the head was a standard response, both as a manifestation of αἰδώς and as a response to anger: Cairns (1993) cited on §65.1; (1996) 152–5; (2001) 18–25; see also Richer (1999) cited on γέλωτί, §67.2. It is shown on vases depicting Achilles upset over the loss of Briseis, and Ajax over the judgment

of arms (Cairns (1996) 155 with nn. 34, 35; (2001) 28–9 n. 2). There are many literary examples, e.g. Hom *Od* 8.92 (embarrassment at hearing the minstrel sing about himself); Soph *Aj* 245; Eur *Her* 1159–62, and Bond *ad loc; id Or* 459–61. It was not confined to mythical heroes or the élite: Socrates at Plat *Phaedr* 237a may be jesting, but Phaedo, *id Phd* 117a, who does it when he sees Socrates actually drinking the hemlock, is not; cf Aeschin *Tim* 26. For the worship at Sparta of Zeus, see on ἱρωσύνας, §56. As Heracles' father he was Demaratos' ancestor, but this was a private sacrifice to him as Guardian of the Household (ἑρκείου, §68.1).

68.1 ἐσθεὶς ἐς τὰς χεῖρας . . . κατικέτευε . . . ἱκετεύω See introductory note for the reliability of the story. The sacrifice may be factual, as he would do it in the presence of others; the conversation with mother is another matter. Demaratos uses two distinct (though often connected) religious formalities to stress the solemnity of the occasion: supplication, and an oath. Greek had a rich vocabulary for supplication: (καθ)ικετεύω here, μετέρχομαι, §68.3, λίσσομαι (e.g. Hom *Od* 2.68; cf λιτῇσι μετέρχεαι, §69.1), ἱκνοῦμαι (e.g. Soph *Aj* 539). The compound καθικετεύω is found only here and Eur *Hel* 1018, *Or* 324 in classical literature. Putting the entrails into her hands makes her more than a mere participant in the sacrifice (as at Polyb 6.11): one of the recognised ways of making a statement on oath was by touching the entrails of a freshly sacrificed animal (e.g. Ar *Lys* 202; Is *Apoll* 16; Aeschin *Tim* 114, Lyc *Leocr* 20; cf on ὅρκους, §23.4). Supplication was ritualistic, and the person supplicated was bound as a matter of αἰδώς to respect the person supplicating, and came under strong moral pressure to grant that which was being asked, here to answer the question: Gould (1973), esp 87–90; Cairns (1993) 209–210. It is common in literary contexts, Homer and the tragedians, where the suppliant physically touches the knees or hands of the other person. In historical cases, the touching is often of a religious object or place, e.g. by Cylon, 5.71.1; the Argive soldiers, §§79–80; the escaped Aeginetan democrat, §91.2; Themistocles touches king Admetos' baby, Thuc 1.136.3. Here, Demaratos touches his mother's hands, if not directly, at least by the entrails, which are treated as physically connecting the two persons. The choice of Zeus ἑρκεῖος is also significant: the hearth, the centre of the home, plays a prominent part in domestic supplications (e.g. the Themistocles instance: Gould 97–8); at Hom *Od* 22.334–9, the bard Phemius has

to make a quick decision whether to make for the altar of Zeus ἑρκεῖος or go straight up to Odysseus and grasp his knees; cf on §86δ.

68.2 νείκεσι . . . τὸν ὀνοφορβόν As noted on §66.1, νείκεα of itself is as consistent with divided public opinion as assuming that the case was transferred to the assembly; so λόγος πολλός, §68.3. The rest indicates that the episode had been long been contentious, and some promoted the canard that Demaratos' father was the stable boy: introductory note.

68.3 μετέρχομαι Here, "beseech": cf on §68.1.

μετὰ πολλέων That this expression is put into Demaratos' mouth is intriguing: what is it that many other Spartan women did? On a narrow view, it just means: they too were already pregnant to their first husband when they married a second. It might refer to the possibility of a woman legally having a child to a man not her husband, noted on §57.4. But does it refer to the mule boy allegation: many other Spartan women had sex with their servants? That is one view of the Partheniai, born during the first Messenian war, who were denied full citizenship but sent to found Taras (Antioch *FGrH* 555 F14; Ephoros *FGrH* 70 F216; Arist *Pol* 1306b29–31; Jeffery (1976) 115; *HG* 122).

λόγος πολλός See on §68.2. For σπέρμα παιδοποιόν see on §61.2.

69.1 νυκτὶ τρίτῃ . . . ἦλθέ μοι φάσμα Mother's story is full of the illogicalities of folklore; it can be used to argue a hostile source, in which she fails to give a straightforward answer; or a friendly one, in which the divine hero has priority over her husband. "Three" is a recurrent number in folklore (e.g. the three brother stories, 4.5, 8.137: Fehling (1989) 217–18, 221). We are left to wonder what happened, or mother said happened, on the first two nights. Boedeker (1987) 189 suggests that her story echoes that of Heracles' conception, at least to the extent that his mother was made pregnant by Zeus (cf §53.2). But a remote divine ancestor was not an uncommon claim: see on Αἰακοῦ, §35.1. Astrabakos, despite his connection with Artemis Orthia (introductory note) was of lower rank than Zeus; Heracles had a mortal younger twin brother Iphicles from Hes *Ehoiae* fr 195 M–W onwards (Gantz I 374–6; not in Homer, *Od* 19.98–9,

116–19); and is never a 7 month child, except as a comic invention in the (unidentified) Greek precursor of Plautus' Amphitryo, and in the late Iambl *Vit Pyth* 28.152, perhaps reflecting Pythagorean involvement with numbers.

τοὺς στεφάνους From this and §69.3 we deduce that the heroon and Astrabakos' cult statue were adjacent to Ariston's town house, both being near the temple to Lycurgos (Paus 3.16.6), and that the statue was decorated with garlands.

69.2 οὐκ ὑποδέκετο See next note.

69.3 ἔμαθε ὡς θεῖον When she first told him about the garlands, why did he not recognise them, if the shrine was by his house? If he then accepted her statement on oath, why did he consult the seers? If they confirmed the story, would he not then accept paternity, once she confirmed that she was pregnant? How could he later deny it, §63.2? Especially if the Astrabakos story goes back to the original events, we might suspect that she knew she was pregnant when she married Ariston, and had the garlands brought in to her room by her maid as a trick to deceive him; or at least others said as much.

τοῦ ἡρωίου . . . τῇσι θύρῃσι τῇσι αὐλείῃσι ἱδρυμένου See on τοὺς στεφάνους, §69.1. The word αὔλεια, singular or plural, with or without θύραι ("street door"), goes back to Homer: *Od* 18.239, 23.49.

οἱ μάντιες They only said that Astrabakos had visited her, not whether he was the father. ἀναιρέω here means "answer"; the middle at §69.4 "conceive" (Powell sv I 1, II 2).

69.4 ἤ 'Αρίστων· ἐν . . . τῇ νυκτὶ ταύτῃ Only in folklore could she know on which night she had conceived: unless she was saying that they only had intercourse the once, or the god supplemented his lack of fertility, §68.3.

ἀϊδρείῃ It is a nice touch for her to say that Ariston was ignorant of premature babies, τῶν τοιούτων: cf on ἐπὶ δακτύλων, §63.2. But if he had accepted paternity, §69.3, why should he not accept the baby, even if premature?

69.5 ἐννεάμηνα καὶ ἑπτάμηνα A full term pregnancy was 10 months: see τοὺς δέκα, §63.1. She omits 8 month babies: there was a belief that they had a poor chance of survival: clearest at Hipp *Oct Part* 10, though *Sept Part* 2.1, 6 says that all premature babies are at risk of not surviving, with the final forty days in the womb regarded as particularly critical for the foetus (*Sept Part* 2.2, 4.2, 5, 8, 9.7; *Oct Part* 10); so Arist *Gen Anim* 772b10–11; *Hist Anim* 584b7–14. The present passage and Arist *Hist Anim* show that it was a widespread popular belief; Joly (1970) 159 suggests that it was accepted by the school of Cos, whereas Cnidos stressed the risks to the 7 month foetus. Fanciful explanations were offered by Empedocles, 31 A75 DK = Aetius 5.18.1; Hipp *Oct Part* 12.

ἔγνω δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀρίστων At §63.2 (μετέμελε).

ἐκ δὲ ὀνοφορβῶν . . . Mother may have been from an élite Spartiate family, but in the anecdote she gives vent to a typical peasant woman's curse, all the more realistic if it really meant: I know others do it; I was one of them; as Demaratos has apparently just said, §68.3. As a footnote, adultery apparently carried no legal sanction in Sparta (MacDowell (1986) 87).

70.1 ἐπορεύετο There is no logical connection between learning his divine origin and deciding to leave Sparta. One factor could be hostility from Cleomenes and Leotychidas, and the slight to his τιμή at being downgraded from the royal mess to an ordinary one (cf on §65.1). But another might be economic: he could retain his mother's inheritance, and not Ariston's (cf Hodkinson (2000) 411). But it is speculative why he chose Persia. Did his τιμή make him unwilling to live elsewhere in Greece, or did he go to Persia in the hope of help in being restored? He could scarcely foresee that in 10 years' time he would accompany Xerxes, probably to be restored to power on a Persian victory: see on παρὰ βασιλέα, §70.2.

τῷ λόγῳ φάς It was said that Spartan law prohibited its citizens going abroad without permission: Arist fr 543 R = Harpocrat sv Καὶ γὰρ τὸ μήδενα, Isoc *Bus* 18, Plut *Lyc* 27.6; probably controlled by the ephors (note to §§49.2–55 para 4). That the penalty at least for Heraclids was death, Plut *Agis* 11.2 (presumably if the emigré returned)

is an invention of Lysander, as part of his attack on Agis: Flower (2002) 197: cf Appx 12 n. 1 (preferable to MacDowell (1986) 115–16). No actual case is known. Demaratos presumably asked: he could scarcely be refused permission to consult Delphi. The chase would begin when it was realised that he was not making for Delphi; the natural route would probably be by boat from Corinth or Sicyon to Crisa; his actual route (next note) makes unrealistic the suggestion of Hereward (1958) that he may have in fact been going to Delphi, to try and get its decision reversed. The Spartans might not know his ultimate destination, Persia, when they set off, but wanting him back would be as much a matter of policy as enforcing the alleged law: they would not want an ex-king circulating elsewhere; especially, perhaps, in Messenia or Arcadia. They were equally anxious to bring Cleomenes back, §75.1. Hegestratos, 9.37, is not in point: he was a fugitive from justice.

δρησμῷ ἐπιχειρέειν δρησμός usually has a pejorative connotation, as Aristagoras quitting Miletus, 5.124.1 (p. 62; cf ἀπέδρη, §2.1), even if used for the prudent withdrawal of the Greeks from Artemisium, 8.18. The Spartans are said to suspect that Demaratos was going abroad without their permission. The Elean coast opposite Zacynthos could be reached by a determined traveller in 2–3 days from Sparta (c130 km; for times see Appx 4). The natural route would be by the later Megalopolis and Olympia. He would leave Sparta by the main road north to Tegea, but turn left c5 km outside Sparta; if he was under suspicion and being watched, it would have been immediately obvious that he was not making for Delphi; in any case a determined pursuit with a prompt departure ought to have overtaken him while still on the mainland. As he reached Zacynthos, it probably took a day or so for news of his route to get back to Sparta and the ephors to decide what to do.

70.2 αὐτοῦ τε ἅπτοντο . . . τοὺς θεράποντας The Spartans would have the ephors' consent to lay hands on the king (see on §57.1); but, whether from his rank or the small size of the Spartan detachment, the Zacynthians would not give him up; he was luckier than Hegestratos, supra, who was killed. The servants were presumably helots, and the Zacynthians could justify their surrender legally, as the usual Greek rule was that "runaway" slaves could be reclaimed by their owner. Helots were arguably owned by the state, not their

individual masters: Cartledge (2003) 17–20. Demaratos may have been allowed to keep his immediate personal servants.

παρὰ βασιλέα Δαρεῖον He will have known of the Persians' willingness to welcome ousted Greek rulers (e.g. Hippias, and he may also have learnt of their treatment of Miltiades' son, §41), but it is intriguing that, already some 50 years old (see on Πέρκαλον, §65.2) he decided against exile in the Greek world—Magna Graecia perhaps, and chose to go to Persia. Did he hope for Persian support in being restored to power? He could not foresee that in 480 he would be accompanying Xerxes as advisor (7.101–5), probably with a view to being made ruler of the Peloponnese, or at least Sparta, on a Persian victory (for which see Macan *ad loc*; Whitby (1998b) 216; Wiesehöfer (2004) 216–18). Even if he left in summer 490 and he had heard that Datis was crossing the Aegean, it would be contrary to his cautious character (note to §§49.2–55 para 3) to take the multiple chances that he could join Datis, and the latter would quickly conquer Athens, march on the Peloponnese, and be willing to restore him.

γῆν τε καὶ πόλιας ἔδωκε For similar cases of largesse see on παρὰ βασιλέα, §24.2. It comprised Teuthrania, Halisarna and Pergamum, by the river Caicos a little to the east of Atarneus: Xen *Hell* 3.1.6, who describes it as Demaratos' reward for accompanying Xerxes. If not a confusion with his arrival in 490, perhaps he was given more land after 479. Xenophon names his then descendants as Eurysthenes and Procles, the names of the twins who were reputedly the first joint kings of Sparta (§51; Procles also at *Anab* 2.1.3, with another descendant Teuthranias at *Anab* 7.8.17). Herodotus perhaps knew of the estates, as it would appear from 2.10.1 and perhaps 8.65.6 that he had travelled in the area. An earlier Procles may figure in a poem by Ion of Chios, fr 27 West: see Whitby (1998b), esp 215–17.

70.3 ἀπολαμπρυνθείς This reads like a generalisation made to Herodotus by Eurypontid supporters, seeking to confer retrospective virtue on him: Boedeker (1987); Burkert, *loc cit* in the introductory note. The only "shining deed" of which we know is this Olympic victory, probably in 504 (Moretti (1957) no 157); otherwise we only know of him as opposing Cleomenes in Attica in 506 and over Aegina in 491 (note to §§49.2–55 para 3) and as the wise advisor to Xerxes.

§§71–75 *In a future expedition to Thessaly, Leotychidas is discovered to have been bribed; he goes into exile and dies. Now, both kings go to Aegina, take hostages, and deposit them in Athens. Cleomenes' deceit at Delphi is discovered; he flees to Thessaly and then Arcadia, where he raises an army. The Spartans bring him home, but his behaviour becomes bizarre and they imprison him; he goes mad and commits suicide. His madness was divine punishment for various acts of sacrilege, one at Argos.*

Leotychidas' expedition to Thessaly was 478–476: see on ἐστρατήγησε, §72.1. Cleomenes' deposit of the hostages in Athens was summer 491, spring 490 at the latest. The events of the last few months of his life fall in the period summer 490 to winter 489: see Appx 12 paras 3–4. When he fled Sparta, §74, the Spartans were faced with an unprecedented constitutional crisis: what should they do about Leotychidas? He remained in office probably from a mixture of pragmatism and continuing doubts about Demaratos' paternity (cf on μετέμελε, §63.2). The Spartiates needed him to carry out his duties, especially the religious ones of §57.2. He could say that he had not been a party to Cleomenes' dishonesty or bribery of Delphi, perhaps perceived as sacrilege; Demaratos would lose some support by fleeing Sparta; more once it was learnt that he had gone to Persia, the empire which attacked Greece shortly after he left, if summer 490, or had attacked her the previous year, if summer 489. Some might add to his apparent medising his *xenia* with Attaginos of Thebes (Plut *Mal Her* 864f; the man is referred to at 9.15.4, 88), if it was thought that Thebes might give, or had given, earth and water (cf on §49.1). The paternity argument in particular would discourage the notion of removing Leotychidas and making a son of Demaratos, if still in Sparta, king (it is unclear if Demaratos' descendants, noted on γῆν, §70.2, were by a Spartan wife or a local woman whom he married on arrival in Asia Minor). Pragmatism would also discourage looking for an alternative collateral in the Eurypontid house. In the event, Leotychidas remained nominally king even when in exile (see on ἐτελεύτησε, §72.2), and, as noted on Λευτυχίδῃ, §65.1, his descendants provided the Eurypontid kings for the next 270 years.

Scepticism has been expressed as to Herodotus' sources for Cleomenes' activities in Arcadia, §§74–5, and at Argos, §§76–84. No doubt he was a controversial figure in Sparta, and Griffiths (1989) 54, 70–2 argued that even Agiad input was likely to be hostile, as the family would regard him as the illegitimate interloper; and that

in general what reached Herodotus about Arcadia and Argos was so overlain with folkloristic motifs, paralleled in the account of Cambyses' madness, that one cannot safely extract history. That many thought that his half-brother Dorieus should have been king (note to §§49.2–55 para 8), and that his surviving half-brothers Leonidas and Cleombrotos were likely to inspire hostile stories about him is commonly accepted: e.g. Cartledge (1979) 143–4; Harvey (1979) 253–4; in relation to §75 the latter also points out that they and Gorgo had a vested interest in his imprisonment and death. But one must look at the whole of what Herodotus reports: in Aegina he is the one doing good for Hellas and Demaratos is the villain. Griffiths 71–2 conceded that there was some historicity behind the madness story, but declined to decide what that was. Many details of his final weeks would be public knowledge—being brought back from Arcadia, his odd conduct, his detention. If an untrue story of his final days was to be put about, it might have been one that was less uncomplimentary to both the institution of kingship and the Agiad house; also, it is uncanny how what Herodotus reports exactly fits the picture of mental instability: Appx 14 para 12 with n. 10 and paras 2–3, 13–17. We may also question whether Herodotus did intend a literary parallel with Cambyses. He reported the Egyptian view that Cambyses' madness was divine punishment for his sacrilege; but his own view was that it was organic: Cambyses suffered from hereditary epilepsy, which for Herodotus was not a divine visitation ("which some call sacred"); he could not have a healthy mind in a diseased body (Thomas (2000) 34–5; one example of Herodotus taking Hippocratic teachings on board (cf p. 6)).

71.1 διεδέξατο τὴν βασιληίην Early spring 490 at the latest: Appx 12 para 4. He was then aged c50, born c540 (see on Πέρκαλον, §65.2). Here, Herodotus needed to look beyond the date at which he closed his *Histories*, 479, to show that, like Cleomenes, Leotychidas paid for his part in engineering Demaratos' removal (cf on §72.1).

Ζευξίδημος . . . Ἀρχίδημον Zeuxidamos was probably born c515 and died soon after 490. Archidamos would then be a baby: see on Λαμπιτώ, §71.2. His nickname, Κυνίσκον, "puppy", was apparently taken on board as a family name: see Tuplin (1977) 6–8. His great-granddaughter was Cynisca, noted for winning at Olympia with her racehorses (Xen *Ages* 9.6; Plut *Ages* 20.1; *id Apophth Lac* 212b; Paus

3.8.1, 6.1.6); Moretti (1957) nos 373, 381 dates them to 396 and 392; the harmost of Xen *Anab* 7.1.13 was perhaps her son or a collateral.

71.2 γαμέει δεύτερην He would now be about 50–55 (see on Πέρκαλον, §65.2). The girl and her family are otherwise unknown, but because Herodotus names two male members, as if they needed no introduction to his readers, and given the importance of marriage as a way of concentrating and preserving wealth, they were probably from a prominent family. It cannot be proved that Spartan kings, when not marrying within the family (next note), only married other Heraclids, but where we know of wives, they are always well born: the female Chilonids who married Anaxandridas and Demaratos (§65.2, and see on Πέρκαλον); and Ariston's third wife (§61 for her parents' wealth).

Λαμπιτώ She is spelled -δώ in Plato (*Alc* I 123e) and Plutarch (*Ages* 1.1), perhaps reflecting Attic spelling of Doric pronunciation. Her marriage to Archidamos, her half-nephew, is one of several cases of kings marrying within the family: cf on ἐς τὸν ἱκνέεται, §57.4. It had the effect of concentrating the family wealth within the family; it is best attested for Sparta in the royal families. Thus Anaxandridas' first wife (introductory note to §§61–70) was his niece; Gorgo, the clever daughter of Cleomenes (p 59 n. 197) married his successor (and her half-uncle) Leonidas (7.239.4). There are other indications of accumulated wealth in the royal families, e.g. Agesilaos (Plut *Ages* 4.1), and his sister Cynisca, rich enough to breed race horses (supra). See Hodkinson (2000) 101–2, 407–9, 410–14, esp 412. Though we would doubt the eugenics, Lys 32.4 refers to a nephew-aunt marriage without comment that it was unusual. Lampito would be born in 489–88; Leotychidas died in c469 (see on ἐτελεύτησε, §72.2), and so would betroth her to Archidamos in the late 470s (cf supra).

72.1 τίσιν . . . Δημαράτῳ ἐξέτεισε The two men in book 6 who suffer τίσις ("divine punishment": see p. 35) are the two who engineered Demaratos' downfall: Leotychidas here, Cleomenes at §§75, 84.3. Herodotus qualifies τίσιν with τοιῆνδε τινά (not in de Sélincourt or Waterfield); he paid for his crime "in certo senso", Nenci. Herodotus perhaps saw that accepting a bribe was a defect of character, and exile the result of his prosecution.

ἐστρατήγησε He had led the Greek forces at Mycale in 479: 9.90.1, 98.2–3. Thereafter Pausanias took command, capturing Cyprus and Byzantium from the Persians in 478. It is not clear whether Leotychidas' expedition to Thessaly followed then, or was in 477–6, the later date being more consistent with an exile of 7 years (see on ἐτελεύτησε, §72.2). Paus 3.7.9 says that it was against the Aleuadae. Their pro-Persian attitude when Xerxes invaded is stressed at 7.6.2, 130.3, 132; cf 7.213–14, where they shelter Ephialtes after Thermopylae, and 9.58.1–2; Plut *Mal Her* 859d names the otherwise unknown Aristomedes and "Angelos" (Agelaos is a commonly accepted emendation) as being deposed. Lewis, *CAH* V^2 96–7, points out that in 478, it would be part of an allied policy against medising states, agreed after Plataea (7.132; DS 11.3.3), in parallel with Pausanias in the east. At 97 he notes the story in Plut *Them* 20.1–2, that in spring 478 Themistocles suggested burning the Greek fleet at Pagasae; Hammond, *HG* 255, added the imaginative interpretation that this is as far as Leotychidas got before being bribed to withdraw. But Herodotus does not suggest that his forces were other than Spartan, and an expedition in 476 (or even 477) could reflect a Spartan wish to assert hegemony in central Greece. The islands, Lesbos, Chios, Samos, had been antagonised by the Spartans after Mycale and gone over to Athens (9.106; Thuc 1.95); once Pausanias was recalled home Athenian hegemony in the east was assured. Spartan control in mainland Greece would be a counter-balance to Athens, the rise of whose influence in the east would not have been so easily foreseeable in 478; and Sparta might also have been able to influence the Amphictionic League. Thessalian medising was a justification but not the main consideration. These reasons persuade many for 477–6: *BM* 202; cf Connor (1985) 99–102; Johnston (1931). Lewis, *loc cit*, leaves the year open (35, 97, 476, 499). If so, the policy failed, not only because Leotychidas was bribed, but also because, if the story is true, Themistocles opposed the Spartans in relation to the League (Plut *Them* 20). The failure perhaps strengthened the isolationist faction in Sparta, hence the Hetoemaridas anecdote in the note to §§49.2–55 para 4.

ἐδωροδόκησε Paus 3.7.9 says that he won some battles, but, as Lewis, *CAH* V^2 99, points out, it is hard to decide what he failed to do, and what he was bribed not to do. There is no evidence that anything changed either within Thessaly or in her relations with Sparta.

See on ’Αθηναίων, §50.2, for the general reputation of Spartiates for being bribable. παρεόν . . . ποιήσασθαι is an accusative absolute, as at §47.2.

72.2 ἐπ’ αὐτοφώρῳ Being caught red-handed, doing what is legally or morally wrong; also at §137.3, 7.6.3; common elsewhere: Thuc 6.38.4, Ar *Plut* 455, in the orators, e.g. Dem 19. 121, 133, 293, usually with λαμβάνομαι or ἐξελέγχομαι. Was he caught because of his own incompetence at concealing it, or because someone on the Thessalian side, aggrieved by the invasion, tipped off the Spartans?

ἐπικατήμενος χειρίδι The MSS read χειρὶ διπλῇ. Wesseling’s amendment χειρίδι πλέῃ is generally accepted; Nenci proposes χειρὶ δὴ πλέῃ. We usually find χειρίδες, “gloves”, in the plural, e.g. Hom *Od* 24.230, Xen *Cyr* 8.8.17; outside the grammarians one χειρίς only at Plut fr 214 and Lib 40.26; the χειρίς of Xen *Hell* 2.1.8 is the long sleeve of a Persian outer garment, not applicable here. Whatever we read, the meaning is the same: caught red handed, literally or metaphorically sitting on a glove containing the bribe.

ἔφυγε . . . δικαστήριον . . . τὰ οἰκία οἱ κατεσκάφη For the court to try kings see on §66.1; so ὑπάγω, bring before a court, as at §§82.1, 104.2, 136.1, 9.93. Demolishing the house could be part of the penalty for a serious crime; there was always some other penalty: denial of normal burial, confiscation of property, curse (see on ἐν τῷ ἄγεϊ, §56), fine, or, as here, exile: see Connor (1985) 80–88, listing 11 cases of demolition down to 343/2, five of them prior to this, including a Locrian law from the late sixth century (ML 13), which prescribed the penalties of confiscation and demolition of the house. The Athenians razed the houses at Eleusis of Cleomenes’ (i.e. Isagoras’) supporters in 508: see on ’Ελευσῖνα, §75.3. It was proposed as part of Agis’ penalty in 418, noted on §66.1. Some defendants might escape with exile *simpliciter*, as Cobon, §66.2, or Cimon, §103.1–2. Connor points out that when coupled with the curse, or exile, it permanently removed the transgressor from society and, at least originally, his family, especially where his offence could be seen as a form of pollution (87–8, 88–96, citing from tragedy). At 102 Connor suggests that the ambitious Agiad Pausanias was behind Leotychidas’ punishment, as part of his plan to seize sole power, as Arist *Pol* 1307a2–5 says he tried to. As to the severity of the verdict, if Spartiates

had a reputation for accepting bribes, supra, some of his judges may not have had clean hands, and privately have thought that his real crime was being found out. Others might want to punish him for being party to Cleomenes' deceit as much as for the bribe.

Τεγέην Since he had been formally exiled (previous note), Greek custom meant that he was safe from the sort of chase that had tried to bring Demaratos back, §70: see, for instance, the references to an exile's safety in the laws attributed to Draco in *IG* I^3 104. Tegea, a polis formed from a cluster of nine villages, had withstood Sparta's attempt to subdue her; her defeat of Sparta in the mid sixth century seems to have persuaded Sparta not further to try to take Arcadia by force, but to initiate a series of alliances, the Peloponnesian league; that with Tegea was probably one of the first (cf note to §§49.2–55 para 5); though that from which Plutarch cites an extract, *QR* 277b–c, *QG* 292b = Arist fr 592 R, is probably from another one: an earlier sixth century one, Braun (1994) 42–4; mid fifth century per Cawkwell (1993a) 368–9, canvassed Braun 43–4. At Plataea, Tegea claimed to be old allies of Sparta, 9.26.7; she came fourth after Sparta Athens and Corinth on the Serpent Column, ML 27. Some Spartans had an interest in an independent Tegea ("a good place for Spartan bank accounts", Braun 45). She also received the seer Hegesistratos of Elis, wanted by the Spartans: 9.37; and king Pausanias in 395 (Xen *Hell* 3.5.25; Paus 3.5.6). At the practical level, Tegea could not prevent a Spartan army marching through her territory en route to, say, Argos; cf Jeffery (1976) 169–171; overall her relations with Sparta were cool rather than close: Andrewes (1952); Forrest (1960) 229. She had probably given a lukewarm response to Cleomenes: see Appx 14 paras 10–11. Around 470, she was involved in hostilities with Sparta, the battles of Tegea and Dipaia: Appx 14 para 10. Leotychidas may still have been alive at least when the first one was fought (cf Appx 15 para 17 with n. 31).

ἐτελεύτησε He probably died in c469, when he was about 70. The date depends on DS 11.48.1–2 and 12.35.4, who seems to have had an accurate source for the length of the reigns of Leotychidas, Archidamos, and Agis: 22, 42 and 27 years. Since we think that Archidamos ruled c469–c427, and Agis c427–c400 (see *HCT* 1 405–7, and on Thuc 3.26.2. 3.89.1; Hornblower on Thuc 3.1.1; *CAH* V^2 (Lewis) 499), it is logical to have Leotychidas rule from 491 (or spring

490 at the latest: Appx 12 para 4) to c469. This must include his exile, as DS 13.75.1 does for the 50 year reign of Pleistoanax, in exile from 446 to 426 (*BM* 281; *CAH* V^2 135, 137, 409 (Lewis)). At least in the fifth century, the Spartans were reluctant to deprive a king of his kingship. The proposal to remove Demaratos was controversial, §§65–6; Cleomenes was merely detained when his behaviour became irrational, §75.2; cf Pleistoanax, supra. Here, they may have been encouraged to keep him as nominally king because Archidamos was still a minor: see on Ζευξιδάμος, §71.2. In 418 Agis was allowed to continue under the supervision of 10 commissioners (Thuc 5.63). However, in 395 Pausanias was deposed on being exiled and his son Agesipolis I succeeded.

However DS places both Leotychidas' and Anaxilas' death in the archonship of Phaedon, 476–5. With the latter he was probably right (see on §23.2). But it does not give Leotychidas his 22 years. When we look to 469–8, DS 11.63.1 spells the archon Phaeon or Phaedon; his correct name was almost certainly Apsephion (*Mar Par FGrH* 239 A56, and other references cited Develin (1989) 70). While this may be error of MSS transmission, it is feasible that Diodorus or his source misread or otherwise got Apsephion's name wrong, and he then put Leotychidas' death into the archonship of the "wrong" Phaedon. Also, this 7 year difference in DS has led to the suggestion that the exile lasted for 7 years, and this helped Diodorus make his mistake. If that is right, it would fit Thessaly being in 476, or 477 if the exile began the following year; but not 478. For that see on ἐστρατήγησε, §72.1.

73.1 χρόνῳ ὕστερον This closes the digression of §§71–2: for the phrase see on ἀνάπυστα, §66.3.

ὡδώθη . . . So OCT Nenci and Rosén: "it was managed" (ὁδόω at 4.139.2). Most MSS have εὐωδώθη; S has ὠρθώθη, adopted Legrand. (εὐ)οδόω is very rare before Hellenistic times, but was probably good vernacular Ionic; εὐοδόω is common in the Septuagint. Legrand's ὠρθώθη, "it was arranged", almost "it was a set up" means much the same thing: the Demaratos business had been contrived. Herodotus' παραλαβών, "taking with", indicates that the initiative is still with Cleomenes, and αὐτίκα that he moved quickly. It was most probably summer 491 Demaratos would still be in Sparta: see Appx 12 paras 3–4.

ἔγκοτον . . . ἔχων "having a grudge"; cf §133.1; possibly a real motive in Herodotus' world: see p. 36. The word, together with ἐγκοτέω, occurs in Aeschylus, and Soph fr 1042 Radt; otherwise it is only post classical. In fact Cleomenes' purpose had not changed from §§49.2–50. If the grudge is not just overlay in the tradition, because he had since been insulted (προπηλακισμόν), it shows that he was more determined than ever to finish the job. As he presumably again took soldiers with him, Cleomenes would again secure the consent of the ephors (cf on Σπαρτιητέων, §50.2); the verdict on Leotychidas at §85.1 was that he, and by inference Cleomenes, had treated the Aeginetans badly, not that they had acted without authority (see on ἔγνωσαν).

73.2 ἀμφοτέρων τῶν βασιλέων As suggested on Σπαρτιητέων, §50.2, there was probably some dichotomy between the formal terms of Spartan law, and practical politics. In any case, whatever had been said within Sparta, the presence of both kings abroad raised the presumption that they did represent Sparta, and at §50.2 Crios had been made to say: we would accept the authority of both kings.

ἐδικαίευν ἔτι ἀντιβαίνειν For ἔτι in the negative sense see also §§79.2, 92.2; quite common in Herodotus (Powell sv 2b). There is a question as to why Aegina did not continue to resist. As noted on συλλαβεῖν, §50.1, even if Aegina was in the Peloponnesian league, it is unlikely that the treaty entitled Sparta to take hostages. At that time Sparta had no navy; Cleomenes had recently requisitioned ships, some from Aegina herself, §§76.2, 92, and it may say something for their assessment of his character that they thought he was quite capable of organising a seaborne force to attack them, e.g. with Athenian ships, since he was ostensibly helping Athens; they could probably have dealt with his then escort of soldiers. However, it may have been a matter of internal Aeginetan politics: see next note.

ἄνδρας δέκα Taking hostages was an old oriental practice: see on στρατιήν, §99.1. Its first recorded use by Greeks was Pisistratos sending the sons of potentially hostile Athenian families to Naxos (1.64.1). Herodotus records some later incidents (7.165, 222; offered at 8.94.3, 9.90.3); Thucydides has some 14 instances from Potidaea, 1.56–7, onwards. Crios was the spokesman at §50.2; Casambos is unknown, and his name is unusual (recorded on Thasos in the first century,

LGPN 1 253). The shift from "the most blameworthy" at §50.1 (see on συλλαβεῖν) and "the medisers", §64, to "the richest" here may simply reflect variety in the tradition, but it could be significant. The decision to give earth and water may have been controversial, and the current year's magistrates may have thought it prudent to identify those responsible to the Spartans. After Cleomenes' death, the Aeginetans tried to get the hostages released, §§85–6; later they were probably exchanged for Athenians seized by Aegina: see on λαβόντες, §87.

παραθήκην "Deposit": Cleomenes was leaving the hostages with a third party: see on §86. As noted on §§49.2, 50.1, it is not clear whether taking hostages was Athens' request or Cleomenes' idea; or if he had got them when he first went across, he would have brought them back to Sparta. If the latter, pressure at home even by those who backed his conduct may have persuaded him to change his mind; but if he saw himself as acting on behalf of Athens (cf on ἐδικαίευν, supra), he may have thought all along of taking them there.

ἐχθίστους While ἐχθίστους is a strong word, the mutual antipathy of Athens and Aegina was notorious, irrespective of the more recent hostilities: Appx 12 para 2. It does not mean that the hostages were lodged with men who were specific enemies. Some of them may have had Athenian *xenoi*; it was perhaps the archons who arranged lodgings for others.

74.1 ἐπάϊστον γενόμενον Neither here nor at §66.3 (see on ἀνάπυστα) does Herodotus tell us how or when (or where) the discovery was made, but it would be between summer 490 and summer 489: Appx 12 paras 3–4. For the constitutional dilemma it created for Sparta, see introductory note.

ὑπεξέσχε Whether an intentional piece of irony or not, Herodotus used the same word for Cleisthenes leaving Attica in 508 when Cleomenes ordered the expulsion of the Alcmaeonids: 5.72.1 (so 8.132.2 for the escape of a group of conspirators). Compound verbs of movement beginning ὑπεκ- denote getting out of the way, usually secretly or quickly: e.g. ὑπεξῆλθε, 1.73.3, of Scythians emigrating after an internal quarrel; ὑπεξεχώρεον, 9.13.2, of Mardonius' retreat

from Attica; see also LSJ svv beginning ὑπεκ- and ὑπεξ-, e.g. ὑπεκδιδράσκω and ὑπεξελαύνω.

Θεσσαλίην There is no obvious reason why Thessalian chieftains should want to help restore a Spartan king of doubtful reputation, whatever the general attitude of any of them towards Sparta. They would be even less likely to support the man who had recently dealt with Aegina for medising; especially if, in 490, they were then minded not to oppose, or even support, Persia, as they were to in 480 (cf on §49.1 and on ἐστρατήγησε, §72.1). Dickins (1912) 31 doubted Thessaly, and Hereward (1951) proposed emending to Σελλασίην. Sellasia (Shipley (1997) 239–40 no 28, (1996) 285 site EE 54, 56, 57) was a perioikic town, probably within Laconia from an early date (Cartledge (1979) 100), though outside it in the early fourth century (Xen *Hell* 2.2.13, 19; recaptured by Sparta in 365, ib 7.4.12). It was more than 15 km inside Laconian territory: the frontier with Arcadia was at or just beyond Oion (Shipley (1997) 233–4 no 16, (1996) 283 site DD 43) and Karyai, a little to the south-east (Shipley (1997) 238–9 no 24, (1996) 284, either site DD 45 or 46). Cleomenes might pass through Sellasia on leaving Sparta, but it is hard to see why Herodotus would mention it, irrespective of the propriety of a gratuitous amendment of the MSS. If he had stayed in a small perioikic town, he was vulnerable to being caught and brought back (cf the pursuit of Demaratos, §70). But if one accepts that his plans were ambitious but unreal, the notion of going to Thessaly would seem sensible enough to him; once there, the Thessalians gave him short shrift; ἐνθεῦτεν suggests that he was not there for long. See Appx 14 para 15. In any case, it is his doings in Arcadia that matter.

νεώτερα ἔπρησσε πρήγματα, συνίστας . . . It is not easy to translate Herodotus without being influenced by what we think Cleomenes was doing. The phrase is how he presents what his presumably Spartan sources chose to say about events some 40 years earlier; that is not the same thing as describing what Cleomenes was actually doing. That is discussed in Appx 14 paras 7–11. Herodotus commonly uses νεώτερα in the sense of "mischievous" (Powell sv νέος, comparative, 3) in a political sense, e.g. Alexander's plan to kill the Persians, 5.19.2 (note to §§42–49.1 para 6); the Ionian revolt, as when Histiaeus advises it via the slave, pp. 53, 64, and Darius accuses him of doing it, p. 65; or plotting against the Greeks, when the

Chians arrest him, §2.2. Elsewhere the context usually indicates a change of government by revolt or revolution, e.g. Thuc 6.27.3; Xen *Hell* 5.2.9; Isoc *Areopag* 59. At DS 11.88.6 it just means innovation; at 15.77.1 revolution; at 17.48.1 a change in political thinking. The imperfect ἔπρησσε looks forward to §75.1: Cleomenes' plans are interrupted when the Spartans bring him back. The basic meaning of συνίστημι is "combine", though it is often necessary to use other words to convey its meaning (see LSJ sv); but here it is not specific as to whether he was recruiting an army or uniting the Arcadians politically; either would be ἐπὶ τῇ Σπάρτῃ from the Spartan perspective; politically, because of their alliances with Arcadian poleis. We may translate "he was causing mischief ("stirring up trouble", de Sélincourt and Waterfield), uniting the Arcadians against Sparta, taking oaths from most of them to follow him where he led them; he was keen to take the leaders to the Styx . . .". Nenci's "provoked an uprising" for νεώτερα . . . πρήματα interprets, not translates; as does Powell's "mustering" for συνίστας (sv 2), followed Nielsen (1996a) 45–6. For ἄλλους see Powell sv A 6a.

ὅρκους προσάγων . . . ἕψεσθαί . . . τῇ ἂν ἐξηγέηται As pointed out by Nielsen (1996a) 45–6, joining this to συνίστας with τε shows that the oaths are part of the uniting. For the expression ὅρκους προσάγων cf on ὅρκους, §23.4. The wording of this oath, while reminiscent of how Miltiades got the Athenians to support his mystery enterprise, §132, seems to be based on the language of the symmachies of the Peloponnesian league. That between Sparta and Aetolia is preserved: hεπο] | [μ]ενος hoπυι κα Λα[κεδαιμονι] | [ο]ι hαγιονται και κα[τα γαν] | [κ]αι καθαλαθαν . . ., "following where the Lacedaemonians lead by land and sea" (it continues "to have the same friends and enemies as the Spartans"): ML 67 bis, Cartledge (1976), Peek (1974) 3–15; for literary citations of the terms, Xen *Hell* 2.2.20, 5.3.26; Ste Croix *OPW* 108. Peek dated the inscription to 500–470, but it is probably mid fifth century: Pikoulas (2000–3) 466, or c426: Cartledge and ML. Whatever its date, the present oath suggests that its wording goes back to the sixth century treaties in force in 490.

καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Νώνακριν From the waterfall, the river Styx flows for about 5 km north-east, and then joins the Crathis. Nonacris (in ruins in Pausanias' day, 8.17.6) was near to the confluence of the rivers Styx and Crathis, at or near the modern village of Mesorrougi, 2

or 3 km from both Peristera and Solos: Müller (1987) 806–7; Morgan (1999) 420 (based on work by Pikoulas). The Crathis then flows north for c18 km to the Corinthian Gulf at Aegae (1.145). Adding πρὸς Φενεῷ, §74.2, suggests that there was no closer settlement; though "near" is relative: Pheneos was some 25 km to the south, near the modern Pheneos, over a mountain track. Immediate access to the Styx may have been easier in 490 BC than in 1895 AD; Frazer on Paus 8.17.6 spoke of an "exceedingly fatiguing" ride and then walk from Solos; even today it is at least 2 hours from a motorable track: Appx 14 n. 9.

πρόθυμος ἦν . . . τοὺς προεστεῶτας Herodotus only says that Cleomenes was keen that they should go to the Styx, not that he succeeded in getting any of them to do it: see also Appx 14 para 11. For the identity of τοὺς προεστεῶτας see *ibid* paras 7, 10.

τὸ Στυγὸς ὕδωρ In myth, the Styx was one of the rivers of the underworld (so often in the Iliad, e.g. 2.755, 8.369, etc). It was also the oath of the gods: Hom *Od* 5.185; Hes *Theog* 383–403, 775–806 with West *ad loc*, cf Gantz (1996) I 25–6, 29–30. Hesiod details the ritual, making a libation of its water (*Theog* 784–6), and the perjurer is paralysed (793–804). West on *Theog* 400 doubts that behind Hesiod lies an old (Arcadian) custom to swear by it, and treats §74 as an eccentricity by Cleomenes. If it was an Arcadian oath, it would not involve going there to make it: supra and Appx 14 para 11. It attracted several stories. That Thetis dipped Achilles in it, holding him by his ankle, is late, in art and literature (first in Stat *Ach* 1.133–4: any Greek precursor is lost), though there are illustrations from the sixth and fifth century of him being fatally wounded by an arrow in either the leg or the ankle: LIMC 1 181b–185b, esp nos 850–1; 40b–45a for Roman depictions of his baptism. Steph Byz sv Νώνακρις says that Νωνακριάτης means Hermes, and quotes Lycophron *Alex* 680 Νωνακριάτης τρικέφαλος φαιδρὸς θεός. This may just have been a fancy of Lycophron, though Hermes conducts the souls of the dead suitors to the underworld, Hom *Od* 24.1–14. Hesiod *Theog* 786 calls its water cold; even if a poetic reference to the underworld, it is true: it is fed by melting snow (next note). But in the fourth century it was nonsensically said to be corrosive or poisonous. Theophrastus (fr 160 W) credulously said that it had the power to "break" (διακόπτειν) any container except one of horn, repeated Paus

8.19.4–6. Aristotle was alleged to have discovered that it was poisonous, and to have helped Antipater send some to Babylon to poison Alexander the Great (e.g. Arr *An* 7.27.1; cf Plut *Alex* 77.2).

74.2 ὀλίγον φαινόμενον ἐκ πέτρης στάζει . . . The Styx was the only waterfall in mainland Hellas. Waterfalls were thus outwith the experience of most Greeks (καταρράκτης was used for the falls on the Nile: LSJ sv). The nearest was at Edessa in Macedonia, probably the Gardens of Midas of 8.138 (Müller (1987) 265–8, though not all agree that Edessa is to be identified with Aegeae: Hammond and Griffith (1979) 13–14). Herodotus does not say that he has seen it, and it has been suggested that he drew on Hecataeus (p. 15). It is fed by the snows on Mt Chelmos (2338 m) and comes down a sheer face of rock for some 200 m; in summer it is just a trickle, or nothing. It is now called Mavroneri (Blackwater). The rocks are limestone, and at the base of the waterfall there is a cavity, and spray disappears underground (description and photographs, Müller 856–8). The (real) river Styx starts here and flows down a glen to join the Crathis near Mesorrougi: see on Νώνακριν, §74.1; Levi's note and Frazer on Paus 8.17.6. Herodotus' ἄγκος (hollow basin) and αἱμασιῆς . . . κύκλος (circular dry stone wall) indicate a man-made structure. Strabo 8.8.4 gives the Styx a passing mention only.

Νώνακριν . . . Φενεῷ See on **καὶ δὴ καὶ**, §74.1.

75.1 δείσαντες Whatever Cleomenes' plans (Appx 14 paras 7–9), and however the Spartans thought that the Arcadians were responding to them, it is easy to see that they wanted to neutralise him; it is feasible that Arcadian chieftains had a hand in ensuring his removal from Arcadia (*ib* paras 10–11, 16). With or without a trip to Thessaly, §74.1, Cleomenes was probably away from Sparta around 4 to 8 weeks.

ἐπὶ τοῖσι αὐτοῖσι . . . πρότερον He had not been removed from the kingship, but during his absence from Sparta it is probable that Leonidas acted as regent. It is likely that he was granted immunity from prosecution.

μανίη νοῦσος . . . πρότερον ὑπομαργότερον His reputation for being unbalanced had been mentioned at 5.42.1, and was found in the

source for Paus 3.4.1. The questions of how Greeks judged someone "mad", whether we should say the same about Cleomenes, and the implications of this for his doings in Arcadia as well as back in Sparta, are discussed in Appx 14 paras 12–18.

ἐνέχραυε "thrust in", a very rare word, apart from citations of this passage such as Const VII Porph *Virt Vit* 2.17, Suda sv. It is probably a falsa lectio at 7.145.1.

σκῆπτρον At 1.195.2, an ordinary staff or walking stick; at 3.142.3 and 7.52.3 symbolising the office of tyrant (Samos) and king (Persia). Powell sv opts for the first, but the second is equally likely in the context. It does not matter in terms of his behaviour, for which see Appx 14 para 17.

75.2 οἱ προσήκοντες Whether or not Spartan law allowed a contract or will to be set aside for madness (cf Appx 14 para 12), it would be expected that the family of a mad person would keep him out of the way: cf Harrison (1968) 1.79–81, esp 80 n. 2. Here, the closest family were his half-brothers Leonidas and Cleombrotos, and his daughter Gorgo, now about 17 (cf p. 59 n. 197), just or soon to be married to Leonidas, who would now almost certainly act as regent. It is not clear where he was detained, but from the helot reference, infra, we might infer that it was in his own house. The detention would adversely affect his mental health: see Appx 14 para 17.

ξύλῳ We find τὸ ξύλον or τὰ ξύλα for any type of restraint (there were also specific words, τύμπανον, a crucifix type of structure used for execution; κύφων, wooden collar; ποδακάκκη, stocks: generally Hunter (1994) 157, 178–180, who canvasses whether τὰ ξύλα at And 1.45, 92–3, Dem 24.146 might refer to something designed to limit movement in prison. At 9.37.2 it is used for some form of stocks in Sparta, but not in a secure prison, and confining the man by one leg only: Hegesistratos escaped by cutting off his foot. While no one should lay hands on the person of a Spartan king (see on §57.1), that presumably did not apply to his family in the present circumstances, but might suggest that he was subject to the minimum restraint possible, and the description of how he committed suicide is consistent with a wooden shackle round one or both ankles that left him freedom of movement within a restricted area; more likely

than a neck restraint, which would have been a deliberate humiliation (Arist *Pol* 1306b2–3, of political opponents in Thebes (a κύφων); Xen *Hell* 3.3.11, of Cinadon (a κλοιός)).

τὸν φύλακον μουνωθέντα . . . This suggests that there was a group of helots, perhaps working "shifts", with just one or two on duty at any one time.

ἀπείλεε . . . εἱλωτέων While the precise status of helots is open to debate (see on §58.3; for those employed domestically, Ducat (1990) 54–5), they were still slaves or serfs, and the threat of a man even in Cleomenes' situation would carry weight. Jeffery, *CAH* IV^2 366, speaks of a knife "borrowed" from the guard. While it is not impossible that a trusted helot house servant might be permitted to carry a knife, all that Herodotus says is that Cleomenes ordered him to fetch one.

75.3 Κλεομένης δέ . . . It is argued that the account of Cleomenes' imprisonment and suicide is disinformation, to cover his murder (or perhaps judicial execution); that view is rejected here: introductory note. There is no merit in the argument that in myth, suicide is associated with women more than men: Jocasta, Phaedra, Laodameia (Graves (1955) 162d with nn. 6–7), Cleite (Ap Rh 1.1063–5), the quasi-historical daughters of Scedasus (Xen *Hell* 6.4.7); but also Haemon (Soph *Ant* 1231–43), and see Parth *Narr Amat* 10.4, 31.2. There are many historical cases: apart from the non-Greeks Adrastus, 1.45 and Boges, 7.197, Cratinos and Aristodemos of Athens: Neanthes *FGrH* 84 F16 = Athen 13.602c-d; in one version, Pherecydes the teacher of Pythagoras, DL 1.117–122 (aliter Plut *Pelop* 21.3, DS 10.4); the Messenian commander Deinocrates, responsible for Philopoemen's death (Plut *Phil* 18.4–21.2); cf the story that Themistocles drank bull's blood (Thuc 1.138.4, Ar *Eq* 83–4). DS 12.12.2 says that when Charondas made laws for Sybaris which included penalties for making false accusations, several guilty men committed suicide. Indeed, Plat *Phaed* 68a speaks of suicide as a common response to grief. But it troubled the Greeks: it brought blood-guilt (μίασμα) on the polis (Parker (1996) 42, 52, 188 with n. 48), and Arist *EN* 1138a4–14 discusses the ἀδικία done to the polis by a suicide. Murder or suicide, it raises the question whether Cleomenes received a normal royal funeral.

καταχορδεύων A rare word, apart from citations of the passage.

ὡς μὲν οἱ πολλοί In addition to the three explanations given here, at §84 Herodotus gives us the Spartan, and also states his own preference. Since by the Greeks' own standards Cleomenes was (or went) mad, they were quite right to see it as a punishment from the gods (see Appx 14 para 12). What is interesting, especially in terms of assessing the accuracy of our information, is that wherever he went, he left a story of sacrilege. It is hard to think that there was smoke without fire. The Delphi incident is at §§65–6.

Ἐλευσῖνα We know of an enclosure at Eleusis sacred to Demeter and Kore (Persephone), the χθόνιαι θεαί of §134.1, from an incident which was perhaps one of the excuses for the Megarian decree: Pericles accused Megara of having occupied it and executing the herald Anthemocritos, sent to complain (Dem 13.32; Plut *Per* 30.2; cf Paus 1.36.3). Demosthenes refers to it as τὴν ὀργάδα (ὀργάς is a fertile meadow); Plutarch as τὴν ἱερὰν ὀργάδα. Cleomenes would pass through Eleusis en route to Athens in c508, and had to halt there in c506 (see note to §§49.2–60 para 4). While Athenians would know that ὀργάς in relation to Eleusis meant the sacred enclosure, others might not: hence Herodotus uses the generic τέμενος. As recorded, probably in one or more Atthides, it was associated with c508: Paus 3.4.2, probably drawing on them, reports it as Cleomenes ravaging the countryside including the place called Orgas, because the Athenians resisted him. Schol Ar *Lys* 273, while not mentioning the sacrilege, says that he "held" Eleusis after his expulsion from the Acropolis, and the Athenians razed the houses of his (Athenian) supporters: that detail could be evidence that some of Isagoras' supporters were in Eleusis (Tritle (1988) 458).

ἐξ ἱροῦ . . . καταγινέων ἀγινέω is the epic and Ionic form of ἄγω (so §74.1), but the only other classical occurrence of the compound is Hom *Od* 10.104, of bringing timber down from the mountains; as the present context is a grove of trees, there may be an unconscious echo. The incident is described at §§79–80. But Herodotus' use of ἀλογίῃ ("disregard", so 7.226.2) shows that the Argives either did not accept that Cleomenes acted in ignorance that it was a sacred grove, or attributed retrospective knowledge to him. There is, in fact,

good reason to think that he knew it was sacred before he left Sparta: see Appx 15 para 3.

§§76–84 *Cleomenes had an oracle that he would capture Argos, and attacked it. The armies met near Tiryns, where he tricked the Argives and overran their camp. The survivors fled to a nearby grove. He claimed to have their ransom, but executed the men as they came out. He then burnt the remainder in the grove. He now learnt that it was sacred to the hero Argos. He said this fulfilled the oracle, sent the army home, and forced his way into the Heraion. He was prosecuted for not capturing the city, but said that Hera had sent a flame from her statue which signified that he would not capture it; he was acquitted. The Argives had to enfranchise their slaves to make up for the losses, though later the slaves were ousted. The causes of Cleomenes' madness are reviewed.*

The expedition against Argos was probably in the mid 490s (Appx 15 para 1). The narrative contains a number of problems, as discussed in that Appendix. As with the Arcadia narrative, Griffiths (1989) 57–60 and 71 stresses the folkloristic motifs and literary parallels: (a) the false command of §78.1; (b) possibly 50 as a conventional number for those butchered, §79.1 (but see on κατὰ πεντήκοντα); (c) the incineration of the rest, §80; (d) his capturing the "wrong" Argos; and (e) flogging the priest, §81. But, as with Arcadia and his madness, the narrative as a whole makes sense. We may, however, reject the historicity of the story in Plut *Apophth Lac* 223a–b, that he made a truce for 7 days, and attacked on the third night, saying that to attack at night did not breach the agreement. That was an "urban myth", told by Cicero for an anonymous general and a 30 day truce (*De Off* 1.33); the significance is that it attached to Cleomenes (Appx 14 paras 2–3). For the particular problems of §83 see *ad loc* and Appx 15 paras 11–16.

76.1 μαντευομένῳ . . . Ἄργος αἱρήσειν Herodotus cannot quote this oracle, and in view of its alleged content, §80, its authenticity has come into question. Fontenrose (1978) 65–70 at 68 treats it within his discussion of misleading name oracles (Q136) and thinks it not genuine. The best known of these is the "wrong Ecbatana" oracle to Cambyses, 3.64.3–4; it is tempting to treat this oracle on the same basis, because Cambyses was also a "mad" king who attracted stories, and the folkloristic overlay is more certain because we do not know

of an Ecbatana in Syria. See also Crahay (1956) 170–1, with his references to *id* 48–50 and 138–40, the "wrong Cyrnos" oracle (1.167). The basic questions here are whether Cleomenes consulted Delphi; if so, how the response was phrased; and whether his response to it is accurately reported. The second and third are discussed on ἐπείρετο, §80. It is very probable that he did consult Delphi. Whatever Cleomenes' motivation for the attack (Appx 15 para 2) he would have to persuade the ephors to authorise the call up (cf on πόλεμον, §56), and a favourable oracle would be hard for them to resist. It would be natural step for a Spartan king to take. Also, it was part of his defence at his trial (§§80, 82), a point taken by Parke and Wormell (1956) I 159, PW 86, who treat it as genuine. As the Pythii would know whether he had consulted or not, it would be difficult for him to invent a consultation without bribing them (unless we argued that since they got fed at public expense, §57.2, they might be persuadable to keep quiet rather than expose him). He may have had to quote it, or at least state its effect on a favourable interpretation, to the ephors, or later at his trial.

Ἐρασῖνον South-west of Argos, high ground effectively blocks access to the city, but from Kefalari, c5 km south of Argos, to the sea the land is flat. The Erasinos emerges from rocks near Kefalari: Paus 2.24.7 accurately describes it as emerging from Mt Chaon (Megavouni): Müller (1987) 766–7, with photo. It then flows some 7–8 km eastwards to the sea. The plain has been drained since Pausanias described its outflow, 2.36.6–7, and its modern course and outflow near Nea Kios is not exactly as it was; but this does not affect our understanding of what happened. It is no more than a stream and would present no real physical barrier to an army. The belief that its waters flowed some 55 km underground from the chasm into which lake Stymphalos poured (so Strabo 6.2.9, 8.6.8, 8.8.4; Paus 8.22.3) has been proved correct by modern tests (Pritchett *SAGT* I 123, 133; III 55), which raises the interesting question whether the ancient belief was based on evidence or merely an inspired guess. It was not the frontier with Sparta (cf next note). Cleomenes had four basic routes to reach it. The best and easiest was past Tegea and along Mt Parthenion, and thence via Hysiai (near Achladokambos): *SAGT* III 54–101, IV 80–87, VI 107–111; Pikoulas (1999) 258–60, route 3. However, it would give the Argives early warning of his approach, as their fort at Hysiai offered long views to the south. A second

turned east at Tourniki, to reach Kefalari by a track such as that now through Krioneri and Kriavrisi (Pikoulas 260 route 4). Either would bring him to the source of the Erasinos, and the plain began a short distance further on. The other two would take him to Lerna, on the coast a short distance south of the Erasinos; he would use one of them when he retreated, §76.2; they avoided Arcadian territory. A little beyond Sellasia (see on Θεσσαλίην, §74.1) the road went north-east via Ag Petros and Ag Ioannis to Astros (map, Cartledge (1979) 186). He could then go inland along the west side of Mt Zavitsa, or to the coast and along its east side: *SAGT* III 102–142 with map, 140; IV 64–74 with map, 74. The latter was the more difficult until the modern motor road was cut. Cartledge 149 prefers the first route, but that west of Zavitsa would take him past the probable site of Anthene (Appx 14 n. 3; map, *SAGT* III 140). The Erasinos rules out the other routes, past Mantinea and along roads that would bring him to Argos from the north-west, via the Inachos or Charadros valleys (Pikoulas 260 routes 5–6).

ἐσφαγιάζετο αὐτῷ If the narrative means what it says (but see on §76.2), there could be two reasons for the sacrifice. The simpler is that it was a formal sacrifice to the river god, known from an early fifth century inscription: *SEG* XI 329, Tomlinson (1972) 220. If so, did it have to be done at a shrine to him, or could it be done by invoking his name anywhere along the river? Further, or alternatively, since kings routinely sacrificed before crossing the frontier (see on στρατευομένων, §56), Cleomenes may have wished to signify that the Erasinos was now the Spartan frontier, at least until he had completed his task and captured Argos. If he had come through Arcadia, he had crossed the frontier with Argos on an approximately north-south line halfway between Tegea and Hysiai. If by the third or fourth routes (supra), he would cross the river Tanaos, c25 km south of Argos and c20 km south of the Erasinos. Nearer the coast it had probably been the frontier since Thyrea, c546, though its then outflow may have been south of the harbour of Paralion Astros (Pritchett *SAGT* IV 64–5); further inland, if Anthene is correctly located (supra), Spartan territory extended a few km north of the river. On any view, and by any route, Cleomenes could now claim to be in occupation of some 20 km of Argive territory.

76.2 οὐ . . . ἐκαλλιέρεε . . . ἄγασθαι . . . οὐ προδιδόντος "The omens for crossing were unfavourable, but he admired the Erasinos for not

betraying his citizens". The retreat from a river that was easily crossed, and the considerable effort now put into getting the troops back to the Argolid, suggests that the retreat was tactical. Macan *ad loc* suggested that the march to the Erasinos was a feint, to decoy the Argives away from the city. But they would have found it difficult and dangerous to pursue him into the hills on either of the routes from Thyrea noted on §76.1; and there is no suggestion that they did. It is more likely that the real reason that the sacrifice "failed" was that the Argives were waiting for him on the opposite bank: so Cartledge (1979) 149; Tomlinson (1972) 93. It is clear from §77.1 that they took care to keep themselves informed of his movements (cf the reference to Hysiai, on §76.1). But their presence was particularly inconvenient for Cleomenes, if, as suggested in Appx 15 para 3, he did not want to fight the Argives there; he wanted to reach Tiryns, and they were blocking his way. See also on πλοίοισι, infra.

κατήγαγε ἐς Θυρέην The physical features of the coast show that the nearest anchorage for embarking troops was the modern Paralion Astros, some 20–25 km from the Erasinos. The later Aeginetan τεῖχος of Thuc 4.57.1 was hereabouts, perhaps Shipley (1996) site AA6 (cf *id* (1997) 231). "Thyrea" was a district, as at 1.82.2, as well as a settlement; it is unclear if the polis some 10 stades or 2 km from the coast of Thuc *loc cit* existed before the Aeginetans were settled there in 431: for that see Shipley (1997) 230–1 no 10.

σφαγιασάμενος We might cynically say that this further sacrifice was a continuance of the pretence that the retreat from the Erasinos was purely for religious reasons. But the Spartiates, at least, would expect it before entrusting themselves to the sea.

πλοίοισι From Aegina and Sicyon, §92.1; Aegina was to say by compulsion. As to why they were provided, see on ἀνάγκῃ and τῶν Σικυωνιέων, §92.1. Cartledge (1979) 149 suggests that some were provided by locals. Corinth might seem to us a more obvious choice; perhaps the Corinthians were unwilling to help Cleomenes upset the status quo in their part of the Peloponnese: cf their earlier opposition to Sparta (note to §§49.2–55 para 4); they may now have been unwilling to let the Sicyonians use the diolkos. When were the ships ordered? The narrative implies only now; Macan, as part of his feint theory (supra) suggested in advance; that might also be the case if

the reason for the retreat was as proposed on οὐ . . ., supra, and Cleomenes foresaw the possible problem. If only now, they could not have arrived for about 6 days: two for the messengers to get to Sicyon and Aegina, the same for the ships to be prepared, and the same again to sail to Paralion Astros (in the case of Sicyon, assuming she could use the diolkos), c170 km from the eastern end of the diolkos (cf Appx 4 para 1).

Τιρυνθίην χώρην καὶ Ναυπλιήν Thus between 2 and 4 km from Tiryns; Tiryns is c7.5 km from Argos. Hall (1995) argues that mentioning Tirynthian χώρα helps to show that she, unlike Nauplia, was independent of Argos (587–9 at 589; cf Appx 15 para 18); but it may just mean that, as Tiryns had no port, he used a beach in part of her territory, whereas Nauplia had a harbour.

77.1 ἐβοήθεον This suggests that the Argives had kept themselves informed of the Spartan movements, whether or not we place them at the Erasinos a little earlier (see on §76.2). For the imperfect see on ἐξεβοήθεον, §16.2.

Σήπεια The location of Sepeia is unknown: Pausanias merely mentions the grove: 2.20.7, 3.4.1. Thus it is unclear if the two armies met on the Argos side of Tiryns, or between Tiryns and the coast; all we can say is that a place near Tiryns would be around 7 or 8 km from Argos. The name is variously spelled in the MSS, but Σήπεια, although a hapax, is the preferred reading. It is probably connected with σήψ, snake, an animal associated with Argos: ἀργάς or ἀργᾶς means "snake" in Doric, per Suda, Harpocration sv; cf Eur *Phoen* 1134–40 (but probably not Soph *Ant* 125, where on any reading, δράκων refers to Thebes and not Argos: Jebb or Kammerbeek *ad loc*); so ὄφις in the oracle, §77.2, which would refer to Argos if the Spartans won (Appx 6 para 8; cf Crahay (1956) 174).

δόλῳ This raises the issue of Herodotus' source, and behind that the genuineness of the oracle. As discussed in Appx 6, the oracle was probably genuine, and δόλῳ reflects either the Argive interpretation, or what the Spartans attributed to the Argives as their interpretation, that since the female is normally subservient to the male (infra), she (Argos) could only be defeated by a trick. How far either side

logically analysed this obscure oracle at the time is another question. Cf next notes.

77.2 εἶχε τὸ χρηστήριον . . . ἐπίκοινα Here, εἶχε means pertained or related (Powell sv B 3b); ἐπίκοινα looks back to §19.1. The context (ἐς τοῦτο τὸ πρῆγμα) suggests that the Argives had had the oracle for some time and sought to apply it now to the present situation. It had been given to them, per §19.1, when Argos they consulted Delphi "about her safety". The authenticity of the oracle, and therefore whether there was such a consultation, has been questioned; but, as discussed in Appx 6, esp paras 8–10, it is probable that there was such a consultation, most likely when Aristagoras asked them for help in Ionia; less likely when she heard that the Spartans were intending to attack; and the oracle is authentic.

ἡ θήλεια τὸν ἄρσενα . . . Nenci reads ἀέλικτος ("without coils") in v 5, without affecting the basic problems. For ὄφις see on Σήπεια, §77.1. Like the Milesian part, as noted on καὶ τότε δή, §19.2, the oracle is full of Homeric words and echoes of Homeric phrases: Piérart (2003) 286–7; Appx 6 nn. 3–4. It is not hard to translate, but the meaning is obscure: "when the female beats the male and drives him away, and wins glory amongst the Argives, it will make many Argive women tear their cheeks. In future men will say: a terrible thrice twisted snake perished, subdued by a spear". As discussed in Appx 6 paras 9–10, Delphi thought that fighting between Sparta and Argos would ensue, and gave an oracle that could be interpreted "correctly" whichever side won. Before the battle, the Argives could readily think that the female could only beat the male in tricky circumstances: hence δόλῳ, §77.1. If they knew of the oracle to Chalcis, DS 8.23.2, where part of the directions for locating her colony, Rhegion (cf on §23.2), included (where) . . . τὸν ἄρσενα θῆλυς ὀπυίει, it is doubtful if it would have helped them, though elsewhere ὀπυίω is of the male to the female (see Malkin (1987) 34–6, noting the ancient interpretation that it meant a vine twined round a wild fig). Afterwards, both sides, and indeed other Greeks who heard about it, might understand the first line or so in a way which Delphi could not have foreseen: Hera had driven Cleomenes from her temple (he said so); a victory for Argos, since it prevented him capturing the city, though otherwise she lost the battle as per the rest of

the oracle. A more subtle possibility is if the women of Argos did help guard the city while the army was at Sepeia (Appx 15 para 10). As the city was not captured, they could be the "female" of v 1. To the extent that either female victory was after the Argive army had been destroyed, ὅταν in v 1 and τότε in v 3 would be understood as "on the occasion when", not as indicating what came first; cf also Appx 6 n. 14.

77.3 ταῦτα δὴ πάντα συνελθόντα The phrase simply means "in those circumstances"; cf Nenci *ad loc*. Herodotus used it to introduce Aristagoras' meeting with this supporters when deciding to revolt (p. 53). The circumstances φόβον παρεῖχε because they feared defeat if there was δόλος. At least, that is how Herodotus tells it; cf next note.

ἔδοξε . . . χρᾶσθαι One can argue with equal persuasion that the story came from either Argive or Spartan sources. As with the Brygi attack on Mardonius' camp (see on πολλούς, §45.1), we should be slow to impute the systematic and disciplined camp guards of a Roman, or modern, army to the Greeks of the early fifth century. The Argives would expect a line up of opposing hoplites when battle was eventually joined, and quite reasonably think that if they had their meals when the Spartans had theirs, all would be well. They failed to take into account Cleomenes' lateral thinking and tendency for unconventional action.

78.1 παραγγέλλει . . . The story is retold, Polyaen *Strat* 1.14; Lysander did something similar at Aegospotami, Xen *Hell* 2.1.27. Immerwahr (1966) 243–4 notes other cases where Herodotus relates battles won with the aid of a deception, but what Cleomenes does here is entirely in character and likely to be accurate. Although ἄριστον is often translated "breakfast", which it means in Homer, by Herodotus' day it probably meant a meal around mid-day, as is clear from several passages in Thucydides: 4.90.3; 7.39.2–40.2, 81.1; 8.108.4. If the rest of the events all happened the same day, the army would set off for home in late afternoon, and Cleomenes reach the Heraion a little later. It is possible that they stretched over two days.

78.2 τὸ ἄλσος τοῦ Ἄργου It is clear from τὸ ἱρον in §§75.3 and 82.1, and τέμενος at §79.2, that it was sacred to Argos. Argos was

descended from the Argive river god Inachos and his son, their Urmensch Phoroneus (see on §53.1): he was the son of Niobe by Zeus, and ancestor of Io; stemma, Appx 23: Paus 2.16.1, 3.4.1 and Apollod 2.1 (differing as to the intervening generations). The various mainstream traditions (though not necessarily the Argive) often cast him as watcher of Io, sometimes with four eyes: Gantz (1996) I 198–202, 219, 232; his grave was in the city (Paus 2.22.6).

79.1 ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὁ Κλεομένης . . . The next events are sacrilegious: misusing the herald, which was deliberate, and burning the grove, also deliberate unless he genuinely could not know that it was sacred. The Argives said that he knew: see on ἐξ ἱροῦ, §75.3; the presumably Spartan story that reached Herodotus, §80, also suggests that he knew: see on ἐπείρετο. Admittedly both were speaking with hindsight. The reality depends on two points. One is whether he knew about it before leaving Sparta, and it was where he intended to fight the Argives; hence the trouble he took to get there: Appx 15 para 3. The second is that, even if confronting the Argives there was happenstance, a sacred τέμενος (§79.2) typically had features, such as a wall round it and a shrine, which would tell any Greek that it was sacred to someone (cf Burkert (1985) 84–95). The use of ἱρόν here and at §§75.3, 82.1 may thus be significant: it would connote not just a piece of ground consisting of or including trees, but including a shrine or other structure. If it was obviously sacred, it is unlikely that he would not also know (or learn) to whom it was sacred.

ἔχειν τὰ ἄποινα . . . δύο μνέαι For the possible lacuna in the narrative, and its implications, see Appx 15 paras 4–5, 10. In the context, ἔχειν could mean an undertaking to pay, not that he actually had the money. Herodotus uses the Homeric word (*Iliad* passim) for ransom, here and at 9.120.3; the normal prose word was τὰ λύτρα, 5.77.4. Arist *EN* 1134b21–2 implies that one mina per man was usual, and Schol *ad loc* = Androtion *FGrH* 324 F44 says that it was proposed between Sparta and Athens in 408–7. But Herodotus' usual Peloponnesian tariff was also that paid to Athens by the Boeotians captured in 506. In an adverse market, the price would rise steeply: in 479 the captured Persian governor of Sestos, Artayktes, offered 300 talents for the life of himself and his son (9.120.3), and Nicias at Syracuse suggested 1 talent per man (Thuc 7.83.2); for the 250 Corcyrean captives at Corinth in 427, Thuc 3.70.1 with 1.55.1, if

we read ὀγδοήκοντα for the MSS ὀκτακοσίων talents it is still about 20 mina per man. See Pritchett *GSW* V 284–97 for the mechanics of private ransoming and 247–83 for the literary passages and one inscription for the attested amounts.

κατὰ πεντήκοντα Herodotus is being careful: more than a few were killed, but he qualifies the round number with κατά, = some, approximately (cf §44.3). Even Fehling (1989) 216–39 cannot find anything to say about 50 as a significant number.

80 ὕλῃ Griffiths (1989) 57 argues that as brushwood is not very necessary to set a grove alight (as opposed to a building, as 2.107.1, 4.164.2, Thuc 2.77.3), its mention here might make us suspicious: not that the grove was not set on fire, but that tradition has added a lurid detail. But brushwood is a realistic detail: it would ensure that the fire caught strongly and quickly. Burn (1984) 230–1 more sensibly suggests that by using helots and brushwood, Cleomenes could claim that he himself did not set fire to the trees and cause the death of the men inside. If he knew that it was sacred (see on §79.1), the sacrilege involved in firing it would not worry him (Appx 14 para 3). Fire as a weapon is recorded at 2.107.1, 4.164.2, and used or threatened several times in Thucydides: 2.4, 77; 3.98 (a forest, trapping the enemy); 4.115; and at Syracuse: 6.102, 7.53.

ἐπείρετο . . . Ὦ Ἄπολλον In real life you did not blame the god for misleading you; it was your fault for misunderstanding his oracle. As Herodotus records the story, Cleomenes asked to which god the grove belonged, as if he already knew it was sacred to someone (cf on §79.1); and then said that his oracle had been fulfilled. The "which god" may reflect hostile tradition, but does not help on assessing what he actually said. He would presumably say that the expedition was over, and the army could go home. If he did not refer to the oracle, the story is invention; of a sort that implies considerable ingenuity and verbal dexterity by those making it up. On balance, he probably did make some reference to the oracle and its being fulfilled, and the story has a factual basis. Indeed, the ability to make quick-witted responses is entirely in character (Appx 14 paras 2–3). While it is arguably inconsistent with his defence at his trial, §82, that is not a transcript: the oracle could also have been mentioned, and one side or the other refer to what he said at the

grove. For going to the Heraion see on §81. There remains the grammar point (which did not trouble Herodotus). Even if the oracle had said, you will take Ἄργος (neut acc), a Greek speaker could easily assimilate that to the eponym, whose accusative would be Ἄργον. In any case, one can think of various phrases in which an oracle would refer to Argos, and it is unlikely to have been a straightforward statement (e.g. "you ask me about Argos"; or "at Argos there are many prizes"). There would be special irony in the situation, if Spartan tradition accepted Agenor and Belos as brothers (see on §53.1): the Heraclid Cleomenes would be burning a grove sacred to his own ancestor: stemma, Appx 23.

81 ἀπῆκε . . . χιλίους This clearly shows that he had no intention of taking his army to the city; 1000 men are too few for a siege, though impressive enough as an escort. Powell (1937) 104 sees a pun here, as ἀπιέναι could be either from ἀπίημι or ἄπειμι. The temple of Hera, city goddess of Argos, lay 8 km north of the city, and 10 km from his location near Tiryns. If he was really going there with an open mind, he would not have sent his army off in the opposite direction; see also on οὔτε, §82.1. By the time he and his escort start for home, they are some distance behind the main army. References to the king's escort of 100, §56, and to units of 300 (see on ἑκατόν) are false friends. This escort was selected *ad hoc*: ἀριστεύς, mainly Homeric, connotes "picked (for excellence) soldier". He probably went to the temple to make a symbolic gesture, that he was master of Argos (the polis); or, as he was to put it at his trial, to ask Hera if she would give him her city. However, it was in Mycenaean territory, not Argive, and Mycenae seems to have been sufficiently independent of Argos to control it, a claim disputed by Argos: DS 11.65.2, Strabo 8.6.10; Hall (1995) 579, 611; cf Coldstream (2003) 393–4; Forrest (1960) 230. Hall 588–92 argues that Cleomenes went there not to make a symbolic capture of Argos, but as the most important local sanctuary for guidance as to what to do. We may question whether that is how Cleomenes approached religion: cf Appx 14 paras 2–3. This was political: if not a symbolic capture, he used the visit to give him the excuse for returning to Sparta (perhaps both).

ἱρεύς The Heraion had a priestess at its head, in accordance with the usual Greek practice that a woman officiated for a goddess (Burkert (1985) 98); this man was presumably an assistant.

ἀπηγόρευε Greek cults tended to be exclusive (so §38.1, and the priestess on the Acropolis who tried to exclude Cleomenes in 508, Appx 14 para 3); the cult of Hera may have been for Argives and Mycenaeans. But as with the Acropolis incident, the priest here would have other reasons for excluding him. If news of Sepeia had reached him, he would think that Cleomenes was unclean after his sacrilege there. In any case, whatever Cleomenes' reasons for going there (supra) the priest would think that, if admitted, he had symbolically taken the city of the goddess. It would be sacrilege to whip the priest. Also, the whip is the mark of the oriental tyrant; Cleomenes is the only Greek to use one in this way (Millender (2000) 19), though it was also a method of Spartan discipline (Xen *Lac Pol* 2.2, 9). Its use shows that he was determined to enter, and supports a political interpretation for his visit.

82.1 οἱ ἐχθροί This is the earliest recorded actual legal case in Sparta; the prosecution of a king was probably unprecedented, though some action against Anaxandridas had been threatened (see on §66.1). While we can see differing views on policy within Sparta which antedated Cleomenes and his controversial activities (note to §§49.2–55 paras 3–4, 8), the use of ἐχθροί suggests that there were "parties" in some sense in Sparta (Hooker (1989) 124–5, cited *ibid* para 3). After this, Spartan kings were often prosecuted: in book 6 alone, Leotychidas will be in 490, §85, and again in c476, §72. Cleomenes' present conduct would be controversial for several reasons. Since he had eliminated a substantial part of the Argive army, many would complain that he had not then taken steps to make Argos at last acknowledge Spartan hegemony and enrol her in the Peloponnesian league; a point sharpened by the emotional argument that (unless the army returned by sea), the first part of their march home, from Sepeia to the Erasinos, was arguably within sight of the city they were supposed to capture. Some might complain that the Spartan army had not really won: there had been no pitched battle between hoplites. Those who favoured an isolationist policy would have opposed the expedition, and would now be more hostile because of its perceived failure. See further on δωροδοκήσαντα, infra.

τοὺς ἐφόρους The duties of ephors included investigation as well as trial; in a serious case they would send the case to the gerousia (see

Richer (1998) 431–53; MacDowell (1986) 136–9; cf the cases of Pausanias, Thuc 1.132–3 and Cinadon, Xen *Hell* 3.3.4–11 and their investigation of Pharnabazus' accusations against Lysander, Plut *Lys* 19.4, 20.3–6). Herodotus might just mean that the ephors investigated the claim and rejected it, πολλόν, §82.2, indicating a 4–1 majority. But a "large" majority suggests that the ephors sent the case to the gerousia, perhaps augmented as noted on §66.1. In any case, that would be the safer course for them to take with such a contentious issue. Herodotus was not writing a manual of Spartan legal procedure.

δωροδοκήσαντα . . . εὐπετέως The first of two occasions on which he is so accused, the other being over Aegina. It was an easy accusation to make, especially after a military failure; see on Ἀθηναίων, §50.2. As noted on οἱ ἐχθροί, supra, there were several reasons why Spartiates would be displeased with the result. If there is merit in the point suggested in Appx 15 para 3, that Cleomenes always hoped to seize the grove and claim that as victory, the accusation was probably untrue. But it cannot be ruled out, especially if the "interval" proposed in paras 4–5 is accepted. It would permit men to come from Argos and offer, either ransom (which he then appropriated), or a straightforward bribe to go away. If that did happen, he did not keep his part of the bargain, which would involve freeing his prisoners.

οὔτε εἰ ψευδόμενος . . . Herodotus expresses this as his own doubt, though it may also have been in his sources (cf on οἱ ἐχθροί, supra). If Cleomenes had made a public statement at the grove that the oracle was fulfilled (cf on ἐπείρετο, §80), and it justified sending the army home, his story that he wanted confirmation from Hera must have seemed doubtful both to Herodotus and his Spartan sources. As there noted, you do not ask one god if you have correctly interpreted another's oracle. Also, if Hera had said that he could capture the city, how would he do it with most of his army on their way home?

82.2 ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς The symbolism seems to be that the head would be associated with the walls and citadel of a city, and a flame coming from the head would symbolise its capture and sacking; from any other part of the body, the opposite: see Griffiths (1989) 59–60. So,

as the story is told, the answer confirmed his statement at the grove. Did he mention the flame to the ἀριστέας as they made their way back to Sparta? As in 3 or 4 years' time with the Styx oath in Arcadia (§74.1), it shows him adept at using religion for his own ends.

πιστά τε καὶ οἰκότα . . . διέφυγε πολλὸν τοὺς διώκοντας But his story was not "credible and reasonable" to all: it was a majority verdict, for which see on τοὺς ἐφόρους, §82.1. Whether or not Cleomenes was sincere in offering this story, the religious explanation would be persuasive to the Spartan mindset of the time, but it remains open whether the acquittal was influenced by that, or pragmatic, to preserve the dignity of the king's office. So far as we know, this was the first time a king had been prosecuted (cf on §82.1).

83.1 ἀνδρῶν ἐχηρώθη In 480, Argos expressed her losses as 6000 (7.148). This is no doubt an exaggeration, but given her population it probably corresponds to her army at maximum strength: Appx 15 n. 21. Paus 3.4.1 had a source which put the losses at "some 5,000" (like Plutarch, we may reject the fanciful "7,777", Appx 15 n. 14). Unless we imagine that every single man ran into the grove, and none managed to run further, back to the city or to their homes in the Argolid, we should be cautious as to the aftermath; but we may accept that a substantial majority of the army was killed (cf Tomlinson (1972) 96). The text assumes that the army was entirely citizen hoplites; it takes no account of attendants and servants, or any lighter armed troops who were not full citizens (cf Appx 15 n. 22). The phrase might be an unconscious echo of Solon fr 36.25 West (*Ath Pol* 12.4), πολλῶν ἄν ἀνδρῶν ἥδ' ἐχηρώθη πόλις; the verb χηρόω ("make desolate", LSJ) is not very common in classical literature.

οἱ δοῦλοι . . . ἔσχον πάντα τὰ πρήγματα . . . The remainder of §83 is problematic, though in principle Herodotus was not concerned to write up events after Mycale. As discussed in Appx 15 paras 11–19, it is best explained as input from aristocratic Argive sources who regretted the consequences of Sepeia, which was to solve their manpower problem by enfranchising members of the "lower orders", basically non-Dorian *perioikoi* whom they called δοῦλοι. Many of the Sepeia widows were married to these new men, and that too was resented. With the franchise, eligibility for office was widened; although there was a temporary recovery of power by the aristocrats, by c451

Argos was a democracy, broadly on the Athenian pattern. Further, she sufficiently recovered to take an aggressive part in Peloponnesian affairs by the late 470s, including re-establishing her authority in the Argolid.

μάχῃ Purely linguistically, this could go with ἐξωθεύμενοι or ἔσχον. But except at 4.97.4, where there can be no ambiguity, Herodotus always puts μάχῃ (and usually τῇ μάχῃ) with adverbial force immediately next to the relevant verb, either before or after. This would suggest that it qualifies ἔσχον; but here it could go with ἐξωθεύμενοι, if his sources claimed credit for expelling the slaves by force. What actually happened is another matter. A temporary recovery of power by the aristocrats may have been accompanied by some violence; a violent occupation of Tiryns is more problematic. The most likely dates for the aristocrats' recovery of power are the late 480s or c468: see Appx 15 paras 16–18.

Τίρυνθα The settlement is established by archaeology (cf Tomlinson (1972) 41). If she was subject to Argos, or at least autonomous, after Sepeia she was able to (re)assert her independence, send troops to Plataea, and have that independence recognised on the serpent column at Delphi: Appx 15 para 18. Whenever it was, many of the "new men" would already have homes in the Argolid, so we do not have to imagine that every one went to Tiryns. If we take μάχῃ with ἔσχον (previous note), and it is historically correct, it need no more than that there was some violence as the new men got themselves settled in to the existing polis, and ἄρθμια, §83.2, suggests that there was no great upheaval; that would be all the more true if we date it to the later 480s, in view of the troops at Plataea.

83.2 τέως μὲν δή We should bear in mind Herodotus' aristocratic sources in understanding §83.2. They would object to Tiryns' new independence (previous note): its inhabitants were the slaves and they still the masters (δούλους, δεσπότῃσι); secondly, they wanted to justify their attack on Tiryns (and expelling their inhabitants, infra), which was probably during their interregnum, and wrongly alleged that it was Tiryns which attacked Argos (ἐπιθέσθαι; next note). We can accommodate τέως whatever the period between the two events (Appx 15 para 18). It is not obvious why those expelled should want to be on good terms with those expelling them. The reality is that when

Tiryns became independent, she would take care to be on good terms with Argos; all the easier because the new government there after Sepeia would be sympathetic to any perioikic settlement; this did not immediately change when the aristocrats recovered power, and Tiryns had to take in the men from Argos.

Κλέανδρος The man is not otherwise known. Herodotus' use of ἀνήρ is probably stylistic only, as with Hermippos, §4.1. While the taking of Tiryns was probably under the aristocratic interregnum (cf previous note), it has to be seen also in the light of a wider Argive policy of reasserting control of the Argolid, as well as taking part in Peloponnesian affairs more widely: Appx 15 paras 16–19. Given the alliance of Argos with Tegea at the battle there, but not at Dipaia (Appx 15 para 17), Forrest (1960) 230 n. 9 canvasses whether the Arcadian Kleandros was stirring up trouble against Argos because Argos had recently ended that alliance. But that admitted conjecture also assumes that Tiryns was subservient to Argos and was only now asserting her independence. Whether a historical Kleandros did something to give Argos the excuse to recover Tiryns now must remain conjecture; he was irrelevant to Argive aims over the Argolid. It may simply be that he happened to be there when Argos attacked and helped to lead the resistance.

This reduction was probably in the mid 460s, whether or not we accept Forrest's dating that it occurred during the siege of Mycenae, or at least between the first attack on Mycenae and its final reduction: Appx 15 para 17. Paus 8.27.1 says that Argos brought Tiryns and Mycenae and other places into subjection, καταλύσαντες, while Strabo 8.6.11 describes her as expelling the inhabitants, ἠρήμωσαν: cf Piérart (1997) 330. There were two traditions about where the Tirynthians went: Halieis in Ephoros *FGrH* 70 F56; cf 7.137.2; to complicate matters, Steph Byz sv Τίρυνς says that Tiryns' old name was Halieis; Epidauros in Strabo 8.6.11. Strabo's source sent the refugees from a different Argolid town to Halieis, though the name has dropped out of our MSS. As both are east of Tiryns, it could be one migration confused in the tradition; equally it could reflect two reductions of Tiryns, one in archaic times and one in the fifth century; or refugees from Tiryns and the other town now.

84.1 Ἀργεῖοι . . . Σπαρτιῆταί φασι The narrative now resumes from the end of §75 with a characteristic μέν νυν.

ἀκρητοπότην Normal Greek practice was to water their wine: Dalby (1996) 102–3. Athen 2.36b and 10.426b–427c has a plethora of quotations for differing mixes, typically between 1:2 and 1:3 and emphasising that neat or slightly watered wine is undesirable, but 1:4 is too watery; in Theophr *Char* 4.9, to drink neat wine is a mark of the ignorant ἄγροικος; though small doses of neat wine are occasionally prescribed in the Hippocratic Corpus, e.g. *Mul Affect* 1.34 (for four days after a woman has given birth); cf *Diaet* 3.79. One can see the Spartans not wanting to say that the gods had sent their king mad as punishment for sacrilege (ἐκ διαμονίου), but we may reject neat wine factually. Alcoholic dementia is caused by some organic disease or malfunction of the brain; Cleomenes could not have functioned as he did until almost the end if suffering from this. We should also reject the suggestion that he smoked cannabis (cf Harvey (1979) 253 n. 1): one objection is the same as for rejecting alcoholism; another is that, assuming that the Scythians smoked it (often deduced from 4.74–5), the logistics of his getting a regular supply are too formidable to contemplate.

84.2 Σκύθας γὰρ τοὺς νομάδας . . . As with the Scyths of §40, we should be cautious about using a modern map to understand how fifth century Greeks understood "Scyths". As noted in Appx 10 para 7, the tribal system which Herodotus describes in book 4, coupled with their geographical spread, makes a major alliance of many tribes, with an agreed common leader, and a synchronised scheme to march against Persia, unlikely. Also, those actually affected by Darius' expedition, just beyond the Danube, were several hundred miles from the Phasis, the modern Rioni in Georgia, flowing into the east coast of the Black Sea at Poti. On the other hand, some Scyths, presumably from the Caucasus, did make raids into Persia (e.g. 1.104.2, 4.11.1, 12.3), and we cannot rule out that some Scyth leader, perhaps hearing from traders that Sparta had a strong army, conceived the idea of this joint expedition, and made overtures. But Scythian visitors *simpliciter* are equally plausible: Herodotus mentions a Scythian traveller Anacharsis (4.77) who visited Greece, including Sparta, to find out about it, and there could have been others. We may note similarities between Spartan and Scythian royal burial practices (see on §58.2), but that scarcely establishes links between the two. The use of τὴν Μηδικήν for Persia is purely stylistic: see on τοὺς τυράννους, §9.1.

84.3 ἀκρητοποσίην . . . ζωρότερον . . . Ἐπισκύθισον ζωρός was the ordinary Greek word for pure wine, already in Homer, *Il* 9.208 (ζωρότερόν τε κέραιε, "add less water"). Although Herodotus devotes much of Book 4 to the customs of the Scyths, he never says in terms that they drink neat wine. He says that warriors drink once a year from a communal bowl, 4.66, and Scyths swear an oath by drinking a mixture of wine and blood, 4.70; they also pour wine on the head of a sacrificial victim. Their nomadic life would militate against the cultivation of the grape and its eventual harvesting and vintage. They could no doubt acquire wine from settled communities, but *non constat* that it was a staple in their daily diet. However, there was a popular belief amongst Greeks that Thracians and Scyths drank neat wine: Anacreon (fl c540) fr 11b West = Athen 10.427a–b; Achaeus *TGrF* 20 F9 = Athen 10.427c; Plato *Leg* 637e, who adds that other barbarians, including Persians, do the same. It is not clear if ἐπισκυθίζω, "drink neat wine", was already in the vernacular, or a Spartan invention; the only other occurrences depend on §83: Athen 10.427b–c, citing Chamaeleon (cf 436e–f); Eust *Il* 2.699 *ad* 9.203; *Od* 1.29 *ad* 1.110; *Od* 2.92 *ad* 15.85. If Chamaeleon used the word (fr 31 Koepke, but fr 10 West stops before it), it looks as though he too used Herodotus.

ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκέει Herodotus does not actually say that he thinks it was for corrupting the Pythia, the common Greek explanation of §75.3; he might have thought that the whole process of removing Demaratos was immoral if not fraudulent. But that necessarily includes the corruption, which was in effect sacrilege. Also, Delphi was a pan-hellenic place; he might think that dishonouring her was even worse than sacrilege against an individual polis (cf pp. 27–8).

§§85–93 *With Cleomenes dead, the Aeginetans complain about Leotychidas; he is impeached and required to go to Athens to secure the release of the hostages. The Athenians refuse, whereupon he tells the story of a Spartan perjurer, Glaucos. The Aeginetans now seize men off an Athenian state ship. There are hostilities between Athens and Aegina. Athens supports a democratic coup in Aegina, followed by fighting in which she has mixed success; the narrative breaks off somewhat abruptly at this point.*

The start of this *logos* will have the same Spartan input as earlier chapters; the fighting between Athens and Aegina seems to have both Athenian and Aeginetan sources (for the latter see on προδοσίην, §88). Any of these poleis could have provided the material for §86. The speeches of both Theasidas, §85.2, and Leotychidas, §86, warning of the folly of the wrong course of action, are of a pattern found in other speeches in the *Histories*: cf note to §§11–17. There is no problem in believing that the first does reflect what Theasidas said, but that of Leotychidas is problematic. In addition to the points noted on §§86α1 and 2, some see the story as part of an alleged agenda that the *Histories* carry a hidden message warning Athens over her imperialism (p. 9 n. 31). If that were so, it would mean that Herodotus recognised in what his sources told him how he could mould the story to this agenda; or that it was his invention; or he adapted a story he already knew to the present context. However, the Athenian response to Leotychidas' request is both plausible and of legalistic interest: see on προφάσιας, §86.

The chronology of the events was not recalled by Herodotus' sources. It is probable that Cleomenes died in autumn 490, Leotychidas visited Athens in late 490 or early 489, and the Aeginetans seized Athenian hostages in spring 489; but the events could have been a year later, with the seizure in spring 488. Nicodromos' approach to Athens was probably a couple of years later, with sporadic fighting thereafter going on without a formal resolution as late as 483. See Appx 12 paras 3–6. The reference to the expulsion of Aeginetans in §91.1 must have been written, or inserted, after 431 (see *ad loc* and p. 3), but it does not follow (as argued, e.g., by Jeffery (1962) 47–50) that the whole of §§87–93 was a late insertion. That seems unlikely: irrespective of questions as to the order in which he wrote up his work, or whether he revised earlier drafts (cf pp. 4–5). To have originally ended the narrative (and papyrus roll) at §86 and passed immediately to §94 would have been an abrupt transition.

85.1 καταβωσομένους καταβοάω = cry out against, and so accuse: rare in classical Greek (Ar *Eq* 286; then Septuagint, Plutarch, Libanius; the noun καταβοή three times in Thucydides); and see next note. The Aeginetans appear to have moved quickly to exploit whatever power vacuum was left by Cleomenes' death, probably autumn 490 (introductory note). There is no hint in what followed that their

complaint was dealt with on the footing that Aegina was a member of the Peloponnesian League (cf note to §§49.2–55 paras 6–7).

δικαστήριον The language is that of a trial: δικαστήριον, ἔγνωσαν, κατέκριναν. If so, the Spartans must have either arranged a prosecution on behalf of the Aeginetans (who, as non-citizens, could not themselves sue; cf the Milesians, §86γ1, and see Appx 11 sec 1); or decided that the conduct amounted to an offence against themselves, perhaps ὕβρις (cf περιυβρίσθαι); for the court see on §66.1. But the same point arises: the issue raised serious questions touching the very institution of the kingship. Λακεδαιμόνιοι συναγαγόντες and ὑπὸ τῶν πολιητέων . . . ὀργῇ χρεώμενοι, §85.2, point to a debate in the assembly; at the least, a verdict of the assembly. It again illustrates that they had no concept of separation of powers. The use of καταβωσαμένους is neutral: it connotes a diplomatic complaint, not initiating legal proceedings.

ἔγνωσαν περιυβρίσθαι Αἰγινήτας Cleomenes had probably had the ephors' permission to go to Aegina (see on Σπαρτιητέων, §50.2; ἔγκοτον, 73.1). But now, the momentum of his personal energy and influence had gone, and some would think that Leotychidas had become king by being a party to Cleomenes' dishonesty or sacrilege. Further factors would be that this was probably after Marathon, so that the Persian threat had receded; and disapproval both of taking (aristocratic) men from a friendly state and depositing them in (democratic) Athens, and becoming involved in the Athens-Aegina dispute at all; and the ephors now in post were probably not those whom Cleomenes had persuaded to allow him to go. It reflects both the realities of internal Spartan politics: note to §§49.2–55 para 4, and the dilemma Sparta faced about Leotychidas, note to §§71–75.

κατέκριναν ἔκδοτον "an interesting attempt to make the punishment fit the crime", MacDowell (1986) 148: later precedents suggests that a fine and/or exile were the norm (*ib*). It seems an extraordinary decision, to hand over one of their kings to the Aeginetans, and it raises the question whether recent events had gone beyond the general political tensions (previous note), and affected the attitudes of ordinary Spartiates towards the kingship itself, despite its importance in terms of religious observances (cf §57.1–2); as if they wanted to punish Leotychidas for being party to Cleomenes' fraud and sacri-

lege. The whole matter would be embarrassing for Leonidas, recently come to the throne.

85.2 εἶπέ . . . Θεασίδης We can credit the anecdote, however much the words attributed to Theasidas owe to Herodotus the editor. There is no need to assume that Theasidas was a Eurypontid supporter; he may simply have seen beyond the tensions of the moment, and that if the decision stood, it could only be to Sparta's detriment: internally to damage the institution of kingship, externally to downgrade her kings in the eyes of non-Spartans; it would be undesirable in the extreme to have a king under house arrest on Aegina, even for a short time, and having to make concession to Aegina or Athens to get him back. The fact that he spoke up, as well as that notice was taken, shows that there were individuals in Sparta capable of exercising considerable influence; though it is probable that one aspect of being δόκιμος was that you were not also poor (cf on ὀλβίων, §61.3). Chilon had been influential (cf on Πέρκαλον, §65.2); Anchimolos (note to §§49.2–55 para 4) was δόκιμος; Hetoemaridas (*ib*) was a Heraclid; the Heraclid Lysander entertained ambitions for the kingship to be open to all Heraclids: Cartledge (1987) 94–6.

ὑπὸ τῶν πολιητέων See on δικαστήριον, §85.1.

πανώλεθρον κακόν Although the phrase sounds Homeric (cf Lang (1984) 46), πανώλεθρον and cognates are not found before Herodotus and the tragedians; so Thuc 7.87.6 and in Aristophanes. Does it here reflect the words used by Herodotus' sources?

85.3 ὁμολογίῃ The word, and the corresponding verb, often carry the connotation of an agreement coupled with concession, as at §33.3; cf, e.g. Thuc 1.29.5, 98.4, etc. As there is no indication that Sparta agreed to send troops to Attica to back up the negotiations, it must have been understood that if the latter were unfruitful, Leotychidas would be free to return to Sparta, not to have to continue across to Aegina.

86 παραθήκην The **a** MSS, here and at §86α1, β1, δ, have παρακαταθήκην, so Legrand and Rosén (but at §73.2, referring to the same matter, all MSS read παραθήκην). Both are found elsewhere in Herodotus: παρακατ-, 2.156.4, 3.59.1 (the verb); so Thuc

2.72.3; παρα-, 5.92η2, 4, 9.45.1; either means "deposit", usually of land or property (but of the goddess Leto receiving the baby Apollo in an Egyptian myth, 2.156.4, and of real children, Dem 28.15), ultimately to be returned, with an overtone of carrying a trust obligation. In fourth century Athenian law, the word was παρακαταθήκη, but παραθήκη is found in commercial inscriptions, e.g. *Syll*³ 1199, *BGU* 7.1653, 11.2042. Whichever form Herodotus' sources used, or he wrote, the Athenian reply had legalistic overtones: next note.

προφάσιας . . . ἀποδοῦναι For πρόφασις, "excuse", see p. 36. The Athenians appear to be taking the same stance as the Aeginetans at §50.2: two kings brought them, we will return them to two kings; their answer was a political excuse: the Persian danger had passed, but they wanted to exploit their wider agenda, hostility with Aegina (cf on §49.2). But given the legalistic οὐ δικαιοῦν, it raises the question whether Athens, and perhaps other trading states, were beginning to develop legal principles for two commercial situations: joint obligations, and deposit. The first is an aspect of partnership law, and ideally requires provisions both for the rights of the partners themselves, and to protect a third party, e.g. who has paid one partner in good faith against being sued for the same money by another partner alleging that the first acted without authority. Partnerships as such (κοινωνίαι) were recognised (cf p. 72 n. 234), but Athenian law did not much develop such provisions: Harris (1989), dealing with Dem 52, and we should be chary of seeing the present response as indicating otherwise. The second should generate a rule that the depositee had to look after the deposit and return it in good order when required: in modern law, that falls within bailment and trusts. It is the sense in which ἕξομεν παρακαταθήκη is used at Thuc 2.73.3 ("we will hold it in trust", Warner). By the beginning of the fourth century, a plaintiff could sue to recover a deposit, though the only two cases (Isoc *Trap* and *Euth*) concern deposits of money. Nor is it agreed whether there was a δίκη παρακαταθήκης, or the claim was within the general δίκη βλάβης (Todd (1993) 104, 279, 282, citing: possibly yes: Osborne (1985) 57, possibly no: Harrison (1971) 2.79 n. 3). Generally on deposit see Lipsius (1908) II 735–8. It is speculative how a plaintiff in c490 might have sued for a deposit, but it is possible that the Athenians were adding a legal note to the political argument that the Aeginetans had raised at §50.2.

86α1 καὶ γάρ . . . τούτων Given the circumstances in which his "sentence" had been commuted, Leotychidas could not say that he came with the authority of the Spartan state, or represented both kings. But what is now attributed to him is no reply to the Athenians. They have said: we will return the hostages on a proper demand; he says: it is dangerous to deny a transaction, especially on oath; he ends by saying: you should return the deposit on demand. The Athenians were not denying the deposit. Whether intended by Herodotus or not, there is marvellous irony: Leotychidas, just implicated in Cleomenes' fraud, and to be disgraced himself in the future (§72), is preaching honesty. Perhaps a little of his actual response can be detected in 86δ, you should release the hostages, and ὅσια here: you are behaving impiously if you do not. For the folkloristic features of his words see on §86α2.

86α2 λέγομεν . . . Γλαῦκον The basic story may already have circulated. That perjurers are punished was already in Hesiod: see on §86γ2. It was told of a Milesian in the time of Cyrus taking his gold to Tauromenion, Sicily (Conon *FGrH* 26 F1.38 = Phot *Bibl* 186.138a), and of Archetimos of Erythrae depositing his on Tenedos (Ps-Hdt ap Stob *Anth* 3.28.21). But this version is unique: (a) the depositor spreads the risk by depositing only half his property with Glaucos; (b) in its reference to σύμβολα, §86α5; and (c) there is a consultation at Delphi. None are probative of it deriving from a real incident, though the second is a significant detail (see *ad loc*). It is alluded to in Paus 2.18.2, Plut *De Ser Num* 556d, and Juv 13.199–207, and quoted in Stob *Anth* 3.27.14. Folkloristic details may include the language itself: κατὰ τρίτην γενεήν here, ἐν χρόνῳ ἱκνευμένῳ, §86α2, ἐλθεῖν ἐς λόγους at §§86α3, 86β1, for "arranging a meeting"; the divine retribution component noted on §86α3; and the explanation of σύμβολα with ὃς . . . ἀπαιτέῃ at §86α5. Glaucos is otherwise unknown, but there were Spartiates of substance: see on §61.3. For κατὰ τρίτην γενεήν as fact see next note. There are arguments both ways as to the oracle being genuine, either given to a real Glaucos or to someone else but here attached to his story. Parke and Wormell (1956) I 381 see it as genuine because the answer is consistent with Delphi's moral teachings (generally, 371–92; see also on 86γ2), leaving open whether Leotychidas actually quoted it or Herodotus has put it into his mouth. However Fontenrose (1978) 118, Q92, considers it "plainly

a fable", citing the other versions, and suggesting that the name of Glaucos' father Epicydas may derive from the same source as the Cydios who is the bailee in the Ps-Hdt version (118 n. 37). See also Crahay (1956) 97–9.

86α3 ἐν χρόνῳ ἱκνευμένῳ . . . ἄνδρα Μιλησίων While the "three generations" of §86α2 has the ring of folklore, the anecdote is historically plausible. Leotychidas was born c540: (see on Πέρκαλον, §65.2); his grandfather's time was when there had been unsettled conditions at Miletus. We know, albeit with few details, of serious civil strife there during and after the time of Thrasyboulos, soon after 600: 5.28–9, and hinted at, 5.92ζ-η; Plut *QG* 298c; generally Tozzi (1978) 118 n. 10 at 119; Huxley (1966) 79–80; Jeffery (1976) 214; unsettled conditions are also likely in c560, when Croesus attacked Miletus, or in c547 when Persia took over Lydia (p. 47). The phrase οὐδαμὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς . . . ἔχοντας may suggest the earlier period of internal stasis, though it also echoes Herodotus' own cycle of prosperity phrase, οὐδαμὰ ἐν τὠυτῷ μένουσαν, 1.5.4 (p. 9). But there is no obvious reason for an Ionian Milesian to come to Dorian Sparta; the contacts between Ionia and Sparta recorded by Herodotus (e.g. 1.69, 152; 3.46–7, 54–6) do not involve Miletus. In the Lelantine War, Miletus had supported Eretria against Sparta's ally Chalcis; it was also said that she had attacked Sparta's colony Melos (Conon *FGrH* 26 F1.44 = Phot *Bibl* 186.139b). We cannot rule out that the otherwise unknown tyrant Aristogenes came after Thrasyboulos and was removed by Sparta, as alleged in Plut *Mal Her* 859c–d, though the accuracy of that and related stories is problematic (note to §§49.2–55 para 4). Perhaps the real point of making the depositor a Milesian was to underline how widespread was Glaucos' repute for honesty. For ἐλθεῖν ἐς λόγους see on §86β1. The divine retribution aspect of the story is foreshadowed with ἐν χρόνῳ ἱκνευμένῳ, which has the connotation of "in the fullness of time".

86α4 ἐπικίνδυνος See previous note.

86α5 ἐπιλεγομένῳ "consider", as at §9.2.

ἐξαργυρώσαντα Turning it into silver bullion (cf Cleisthenes' gift of bullion to the unsuccessful suitors, §130.2); it is called τὰ χρήματα at §86β1. Historically, it would not be Lydian silver coinage, which

started only under Croesus (Kraay (1976) 15; Jenkins (1990) 14, 20–1). The word occasionally occurs before Hellenistic times with the more general meaning of turning into money: Thuc 8.81.3, Dem 5.8, Is *Dic* 43. Half the property is not found in the other versions noted on §86α2. Half is not treated as an "artificial" number by Fehling (1989) 216–39, and elsewhere it is factual (e.g. half the property, §23.5; half a wineskin to make a bucket, §119.3; cf half the ships damaged, 8.18; half the captured shields dedicated, 8.27.4), so it was probably in Herodotus' source.

τὰ σύμβολα "Tokens" or "tallies"; not to be confused with σύμβολα or συμβολαί in the sense of "treaty" (Appx 11 sec 1, esp n. 13). An article of no intrinsic value is cut in two; the bearer of one half can then identify himself to the holder of the other. Elsewhere it only occurs in this sense in tragedy: Aesch *Ag* 315; Soph *OT* 221; Eur *Med* 613 with Schol; *Ion* 1386, to identify someone entitled to *xenia.* But as *xenia* passed down the social scale to facilitate commerce (see on ἐξεινώθησαν, §21.1), men would quickly see how tokens could be adapted to identify a party to a contract, a reasonable inference even if §86α5–β1 is the only passage on the point. It must have been common enough amongst traders, as we might infer from νόμοισι τοῖσι Ἑλλήνων, §86β2. See Herman (1987) 61–3, summarising the detailed discussion in Gauthier (1972) chaps 1–2. Herman 62 illustrates terracotta symbola with a serrated edge found in the Agora; Schol Eur *Med* 613 mentions bone; it is just possible that a historical Milesian might have used coins (then a comparative novelty: cf supra). As noted on §86α2, ὃς . . . ἀπαιτέῃ is probably a folkloristic addition to the story. It is tempting to read into the plural that there was one tally per bag of coins or parcel of silver. Cf next note.

86β1 τῷ εἰρημένῳ λόγῳ The stated condition is that Glaucos will recognise the validity of the tallies. It would introduce modern sophistication to argue whether the tallies evidence the oral contract itself, the deposit or bailment; or merely identify the party entitled to recover the property, or, if there were several tallies, the part of the deposit corresponding to that tally. In the story, the children of the depositor come together; more generally, a trader might wish to share the benefit of his contract between several people, and could do so by dividing the tallies between them.

ἐλθεῖν ἐς λόγους While it may be a folkloristic touch to the story, here and at §86α3 (see on §86α2), it is a common expression in Herodotus (Powell sv λόγος 3) and elsewhere, e.g. Ar *Eq* 806 etc, Xen *Hell* 2.4.43 etc, Dem 23.165; it often connotes a meeting that has been arranged, e.g. §134.1.

86β2 ἀντυποκρινόμενος A hapax; compounds of ἀνθυπο- are rare before hellenistic writers. The ἀντι always carries the connotation of "in turn", e.g. ἀντυπουργέω, "do a favour in return", 3.133.2; the other classical occurrences are, perhaps coincidentally, mostly legalistic, so perhaps Herodotus wanted to imply that Glaucos' reply was a formal denial of the bargain: ἀνθυπάγει, prosecute in turn, Thuc 3.70.4; ἀνθυποβάλλω, object in turn Aeschin *Ctes* 209; ἀνθυπόμνυμαι, swear a counter-affidavit, Dem 48.25, 58.43; cf id 21.60, Soph fr 339 Radt, Eur *Hipp* 999.

νόμοισι τοῖσι Ἑλλήνων The phrase is put into Glaucos' mouth for what he will do to the Milesians if their claim were false; but it may suggest that the use of tallies in such matters was widespread, perhaps as early as the period in which the story is set: see on τὰ σύμβολα, §86α5. Sparta accepted "Greek custom", however that was understood. Citizens of other poleis could visit Sparta (see on ὁδῶν, §57.4); after the fall of Plataea both Plataeans and Thebans appealed to the Spartan judges to respect it (Thuc 3.59.1, 67.6); after Aegospotami, Lysander executed Philocles precisely because he had εἰς Ἕλληνας παρανομεῖν (Xen *Hell* 2.1.32). For the phrase in the betrothal of Agariste see on ἐγγυῶ, §130.2.

86γ1 ἐς Δέλφους Even if the story were historically accurate, this consultation, coupled with the preceding reference to three months, §86β2, cannot prove that Delphi was already giving responses monthly (Appx 12 para 4).

ὅρκῳ . . . ληίσηται His intention is capable of three interpretations. The simplest is that he envisages swearing that he never got the property, for instance in the presence of the Milesians and in front of a witness or an ephor (for oaths, see on ὅρκους, §23.4). The second is that he envisaged swearing a formal complaint before the ephors that the Milesians were making a false claim, which is how νόμοισι . . .

ὑμέας, §86β2 can be understood. The third is a variant of that: if the Milesians complained to the ephors, he would make his denial on oath. The ephors had judicial functions: see on δικάζειν, §57.4, but it is unlikely that Sparta differed from the general Greek rule, that citizens of another polis could not sue in her courts (Appx 11 sec 1). But the ephors had police as well as judicial functions (Richer (1998) 455–75; cf on τοὺς ἐφόρους, §82.1) and would take note of such a complaint. ληίσηται is a much stronger word than κλέπτω: in its basic meaning it refers to booty, perhaps strictly cattle and then more broadly property in general, seized in war: Pritchett *GSW* V 77–86: "rob" as opposed to "steal". On the morality, Glaucos was not as subtle as Ariston. It was in order to administer a tricky oath: cf on ὅρκους, §62.1; the gods punished perjury, but not being cunning (or clever): cf Detienne and Vernant (1978).

86γ2 Γλαῦκ' Ἐπικυδείδη . . . The story presupposes that private, as opposed to "state" or "official", enquiries were made to Delphi in the sixth century. They were common enough later: Parke and Wormell (1956) I 393–415. For the seventh and sixth centuries they cite only cases of doubtful historicity (394–9), and not this one; though, as noted on 86α2, they regard the oracle as genuine. Miltiades, §35.3, is not in point: he consulted as οἰκιστής. That perjury causes the family to wither, while Zeus blesses the honest, and it is impious to seize wealth by dishonesty, is already in Hes *Op* 219, 280–5, which expresses the precise sentiment of the oracle in different words (285 = the last line here), and 320–6 (and see West *WD ad locc*); *Theog* 231 also personifies Ὅρκος as the god who punishes perjurers. To express the avenger as the son of Oath may be Delphic: so Ὕβριος υἶον in the oracle at 8.77.1; cf ἄτας θυγάτηρ, Epicharmus 23 B25 DK. The importance of having children is stressed, e.g. at Pind *Ol* 10.85–7 and Plat *Rep* 363d, where the scholiast cites Herodotus rather than Hesiod for the last line of the oracle. Similar sentiments (though without the perjury component), that wealth should be acquired righteously, and children make a man happy, are in Solon, e.g. frr 4, 13.7–10, 13 West.

86δ ἱστίη οὐδεμία The hearth is the symbolic centre of the family: cf on §68.1. Leotychidas is thus saying: Glaucos has neither direct descendants nor collaterals. For ἐκτέτριπται cf on πίτυος, §37.1.

οὐδὲ ἀγαθόν . . . ἀποδίδοναι Leotychidas is made to end with the moral that one should not even think of refusing to return a deposit on demand. The narrative leaves loose ends: both Leotychidas and the Aeginetan delegation apparently go home; Herodotus does not say when and in what circumstances the hostages were eventually released (see on λάβοντες, §87).

87 πρότερον ἀδικημάτων . . . This looks back to 5.80–1 and 89–90, when the Aeginetans had raided Phaleron and the coast of Attica at the request of Thebes in c505. There had been no formal declaration of war: it was a πόλεμος ἀκήρυκτος. Delphi had then discouraged Athens from immediately retaliating. See Appx 12 para 2. But it must have left a sense of grievance, a significant motive behind Athens' complaint to Sparta of Aegina's medising: see on §49.2. Some think that, despite the present wording, some of the hostilities of §§88–93, e.g. the Nicodromos incident, had already taken place. It is probable, however, that they all occurred after Athens refused to release the hostages: Appx 12 paras 5–6. For the expression δοῦναι δίκας see on δώσειν, §11.2. As the events are described, Athens does not punish Aegina: neither side emerges as a clear victor; though by the time Herodotus was accessing his sources, the Athenians had captured Aegina: see on ἐκθύσασθαι, §91.1. For the Aeginetans, μεμφόμενοι and ἀξιοῦντες ἀδικέεσθαι must refer to the deposit of hostages in Athens and the Athenian refusal to release them; if the Nicodromos incident had already happened, Athenian support for their political opponent would be an additional grievance.

πεντετηρὶς ἐπὶ Σουνίῳ Inclusive reckoning: a festival every four years. There were two temples at Sounion, to Athena and the impressive one to Poseidon, still extant, an important landmark for any ship going to or from Athens. The festival included a boat race, at least in the later fifth century, which suggests that it was in honour of Poseidon, held in spring at the start of the sailing season; less likely in his eponymous month, Poseideon (the 6th: Parke (1977) 97 points out the risk of bad weather then). The presence of dignitaries suggests that it was an important one; the πρῶτοι perhaps included the current and recent archons (cf next note). We may envisage a sacrifice to Poseidon followed by a formal polis meal similar to that of §57.1. For the boat race, and the probable date here, spring 489 or 488, see Appx 12 para 4. It is likely that it ceased to be celebrated dur-

ing the fourth century, as it is not included in the four-yearly festivals of *Ath Pol* 54.7.

τὴν θεωρίδα A ship on which θεωροί, a delegation of prominent citizens to take part in a religious celebration, were travelling (not a state ship called the θεωρίς, though in the mid fourth century there was a trireme of that name: *IG* II² 1611 A77, 1616 B79). The only other classical passage for θεωρίς a ship is Aesch *Sept* 857, but the Schol *ad loc* and Suda sv say that it went each year from Athens to Delos with an offering to Apollo, going back to Theseus. Plat *Phd* 58b calls it a πλοῖον gone on a θεωρία (Socrates was not executed until it had returned). We cannot assume that in 489 or 488 it was a trireme, e.g. one of those captured from the Persians at Marathon, or polis owned: cf on §89, and see Appx 2 paras 2–4. For the state triremes later in the fifth century, the Salaminia and Paralos (e.g. Thuc 3.33.1–2; two more in the fourth, Philoch *FGrH* 328 F48), only secular uses are recorded.

λαβόντες As noted on §86δ, Herodotus leaves us loose ends: we hear no more of these citizens, though they were probably exchanged for the Aeginetan hostages not released in §86: there is nothing in the subsequent fighting to suggest that each city continued to hold hostages of the other. While Aeginetan participation at Artemisium and Salamis is neutral, the anecdote of Crios' son Polycritos at Salamis, 8.92 (cf on Κριός, §50.2) only make sense on the footing that there had been an exchange.

88 πᾶν μηχανήσασθαι The expression, "devised everything", is probably persiflage in the sources, because in fact the Athenians did nothing. On the chronology here adopted the Athenians had recently been unsuccessful at Paros, and would be reluctant to try a similar attack on Aegina; it is as if the phrase reflects a good deal of talk about Aegina, without being able to decide what to do, until Nicodromos came on the scene: cf Appx 12 paras 5–6.

Νικόδρομος Neither he nor his father Cnoithos are otherwise known. §§88–92, coupled with various Pindar references, are the evidence used by Figueira (1981a) 299–305 for his discussion of the oligarchic government in Aegina; see also *ibid* 314–21. We see their shrewd conduct in 506–5, when they avoided a war with Athens by initially

giving Thebes only nominal help against her, 5.80, and then tolerating the "unofficial" raiding which followed: Appx 12 para 2; and recently at §50.2 and perhaps §73. Nicodromos too was an aristocrat (ἀνὴρ δόκιμος). The incident is explored in Figueira 306–10. He queries whether Nicodromos was exiled because he had been advocating constitutional change, or from partisan politics within the aristocracy, so that his "alliance" with Athens was a marriage of convenience rather than of ideology. This might suggest that he needed her support because many Aeginetans were content with the status quo: the maritime and trading activities of the aristocracy would offer a range of employments, and there may not have been a widespread popular movement for change. Figueira (1991) 158 points out that we cannot assume that Nicodromos intended to set up a democracy on the Athenian pattern, even if he adopted "democratic" credentials (τοῦ δήμου, §91.1: cf what Cleisthenes initially did, 5.66.2); while Athenian support may be not have been just a matter of democratic sympathy as anti-Aeginetan sentiment, and the chance to exercise the sort of influence there that she already had at Plataea and Chalcis: cf on §§108, 100.1, and cf Appx 8 n. 8.

προδοσίην This word should alert us to the probability that Herodotus got some of his input for Aegina from §50 onwards from aristocratic Aeginetan sources: Figueira (1985) 57, 71. His Athenian sources (including, if he used them, Nicodromos supporters who had been settled in Attica) would be less likely to call it προδοσία.

καταλαμβάνει . . . ἐς δέον Nenci begins §89 here.

τὴν παλαιὴν . . . πόλιν The public buildings of Aegina city have been located on Cape Colonna (Cape Skendirotti) (plan: Welter (1962) 30; Müller (1987) 737), to the north-west of the modern city, and just above the more northern of its two harbours, the πολεμικός λιμήν; as Nicodromos was able to escape by sea (§90) this was probably the area which he seized. It also contained houses; presumably it was called the old city to distinguish it from some adjacent residential suburb that had grown up. H&W, relying on Thuc 1.7, that in olden times the Greeks built cities inland for protection, suggest an old Aegina built inland; but Thucydides was making generalisations from the location of cities such as Athens or Corinth or Sicyon.

89 οὐ γὰρ ἔτυχον ἐοῦσαι νέες σφι ἀξιόμαχοι This cannot literally be true. If, after getting the 20 ships from Corinth, they had 70 ἀξιόμαχοι ships, they must already have had 50 which were suitable: indeed, that it is clear from τὰς σφετέρας, infra. It came to be expressed thus in the tradition partly to explain why they had to deal with Corinth, and partly to explain, or excuse, their late arrival in Aegina. It raises questions such as when, having made their compact with Nicodromos, they realised that they had too few suitable ships. Did they originally think that they would just have to send troops across, and only later realised that they might have to fight at sea; or did they realise from the start that Aegina could muster some 70 ships (§92.1) and there might be sea-fights? Also, it is a false friend to translate ἀξιόμαχοι as "sea-worthy"; it only means suitable for fighting at sea. There is also a question as to what they envisaged by that. Athenians had no previous experience of fighting at sea; they might think of soldiers firing at the enemy as much as ramming. Also, at this date, their ships, or most of them, would be her citizens' galleys, and not triremes; but penteconters are depicted as fitted with rams. See Appx 2 paras 2–4, 11. Thus "not battle-worthy" might refer to rams in need of re-sheathing, or the absence of full decking from which soldiers could shoot, as much as general deterioration from age. Thuc 1.14.3, says that the navies (ναυτικά) of both Athens and Aegina were weak (βράχεα), and mostly penteconters. For him, "weak" might have meant lack of experience in sea-fights, the condition of the ships, or a later fifth century opinion that in battle, triremes were more formidable than penteconters. We should not read into οὐ ἔτυχον . . . more than it says, e.g. to argue that acquiring Corinthian ships preceded the expedition to Paros, §132. Miltiades only needed ships to carry men; for that the galleys did not need to be ἀξιόμαχοι. Nor does it mean that Athens had too few triremes. The age of the trireme in Greece was yet to come: Appx 2 para 2; though Athens may have been able to use the seven Persian ones captured at Marathon (§115), and the four brought to Athens by Miltiades a few years earlier (§41); whether that owned by Hippias in c515 (§39.1) was still in reasonable condition 25 years later is at least questionable. The condition and type of ships now available to Athens is not affected by whether they, or some of them, were (or had been) provided by the *naucraroi*, if there is merit in that point (Appx 2 para 4).

τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον φίλοι From c458, Thuc 1.103–6, and up to the Corcyra events prior to the Peloponnesian War (and so at whatever time Herodotus was writing), Corinth was hostile to Athens. But from at least the late sixth century they had been friendly. Apart from the present incident, in c519 she had arbitrated the frontier between Athens/Plataea and Thebes (§108.5–6), and would not support Cleomenes against Athens in c506 or c504 (note to §§49.2–55 para 4). Her membership of the Peloponnesian league did not affect this.

χρῆσαι To furnish or lend, as at 3.58.3; see next note. For ἐν ᾧ . . . πρήγματα, see on ὑστερήσαν, infra.

διδοῦσι . . . ἀποδόμενοι . . . δωτίνην γὰρ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ The Athenians are said to have asked to "borrow", and the Corinthians sold for a nominal price. The precise terms of the law are obscure; in strict logic a law against "giving" would not be breached by a loan. In 433 the Corinthians were to say that they had done the Athenians an act of kindness (εὐεργεσία) "when you took" (ἐλάβετε) the ships: Thuc 1.41.2; Salmon (1984) 251 says that they "hired or sold" the ships. The law could presumably have been satisfied by hiring them, though the middle ἀποδίδομαι means "sell", e.g. 1.170.3 (Powell sv 5; LSJ III). There are two possible solutions. I have proposed that it related to polis owned ships, and polis property could not be given away, either to a citizen or anyone else (Scott (2000) 106–7). There is a likely reason for such ships: to patrol the Gulf of Corinth to escort or protect her traders against pirates. Aetolia in particular was notorious for pirates: Thuc 1.5–6; Suda sv Ὑμεῖς ὦ Μεγαρεῖς, a seventh century incident when Aegion repulsed Aetolian pirates; Polyb 4.3–6, 18.4.7–5.3; the treaty of Tod 34 (Appx 11 sec 1) was to suppress piracy between two Aetolian poleis. There may have been pirates in the north-west Peloponnese, apart from Pylos, Thuc 5.9.1. The policy may have been started by Periander: Nic Dam *FGrH* 90 F58.3 with Arist *Pol* 1315b27–9 speaks of him running a navy. When Thuc 1.13.2 says that Corinth dealt with her ships very nearly like the modern way, he could have meant polis owned ships; see also de Souza (1998) 279–81. However most poleis required their ship-owning citizens to make their ships available for any polis need (Appx 2 para 3), and Van Wees (2004) 205 denies a polis navy and pro-

poses that the law was designed to prevent a shipowner declining to do any civic duty by claiming that he had lent his ship to someone else. Although Thuc 1.13.2 says that Corinth was the first Greek polis to build triremes, and *FGrH* 90 F58.3 calls Periander's ships triremes, we should not assume that the present ships were triremes. Galleys with smaller crews would be adequate (and cheaper) whatever their ownership and function; in 433 the Corinthians called the ships νῆες μακραί, which implies galleys: see on **νέας**, §46.2.

ὑστέρησαν ἡμέρῃ μιῇ The inability to synchronise is not surprising in a world with no agreed calendar, nor instant communication. Polis calendars could differ by up to 7 days: see Appx 17 F1; Aegina's calendar may have differed from Athens'. It could just be miscounting: Thucydides records a mix up as to dates in 424–3 between two Athenian generals at Delion (4.89.1, though there was a concurrent cause to the defeat, the leakage of information to the Boeotians, who were waiting for the Athenians); and a disputed counting of days as to when Scione had revolted, 4.122.3. At the Danube bridge, p. 49, Darius did not leave it to chance: he had his 60 days computed by providing a knotted rope, one knot to be undone daily: 4.98.2. The likely explanations here are a failure accurately to count x days from an agreed day, e.g. the first day of an Athenian festival; a misunderstanding as to when to start counting from; when the first day began (days typically began at dawn, but for some purposes the Athenian day began at sunset, at least according to Varro, cited Aul Gell 3.2.4: Bickerman (1968) 12–13); or a misunderstanding as to which polis calendar to use. Or it may have been a logistic problem: ἐν ᾧ . . . πρήγματα, supra, perhaps hints that the Athenians found it took longer to get their fleet ready than they originally thought, and failed to get a message through to Nicodromos. It is just possible that individuals in Athens were blamed for the mistake and its consequences: see on Δᾶτιν, §94.2, for a possible restoration of ostrakon P5978.

90 ἔδοσαν Sounion was a shrewd choice. It is the most distant part of the southern coast of Attica from Aegina, c41 km to the nearest point of the island, the east coast near Aphaia (and see next note); but it put seafarers where they could potentially protect ships going to or from Athens in an area shown to be vulnerable by the attack

on the theoris, §87. Figueira (1991) 105 n. 4 argues at length that these Aeginetans were granted Athenian citizenship, inter alia taking the point that ἔδοσαν connotes a grant of property, and only citizens could own property. It is possible that in the next generation, after 457 (see on ἐκθύσασθαι, §91.1), they were able to return home and reclaim their property: Figueira 83–6.

ἔφερόν τε καὶ ἦγον For the expression, see on συνθήκας, §42.1. This was similar to the ἀκήρυκτος πόλεμος, the Aeginetan raids on Attica in c505. While there is a verbal distinction between then, when the Aeginetans are recorded as ravaging (ἔσυραν, ἐσίνοντο, ἐδηίουν), burning or damaging houses and crops, and now, when it is plunder, carrying off booty and cattle, whether there was much difference in practice may be doubted; cf Appx 12 para 2. Athens no doubt did not discourage it and saw it as interim revenge, but could plead innocence: that they had settled the Aeginetans as far away from the island as possible.

91.1 ὕστερον It is not clear whether these raids were synchronous with the hostilities of §92–3, which probably spread over two or three years, or were (or continued) after Xerxes' defeat.

οἱ παχέες A probably colloquial expression for aristocratic landowners: cf on §22.1. The word is the specific evidence in §§88–82 for the aristocratic government of Aegina, noted on Νικόδρομος, §88.

ἐπαναστάντος σφι τοῦ δήμου ἅμα Νικοδρόμῳ If there were 700 prisoners (§91.2), and more escaped (§90), it might suggest that Nicodromos had a considerable degree of popular support. But the oligarchs' ability to crush the rising indicates that they too could muster considerable support from the population as a whole, who depended on the aristocracy for their livelihood and were content with the status quo: cf on Νικόδρομος, §88. See also on §92.2.

ἐκθύσασθαι οὐκ οἷοι . . . ἐκπέσοντες In 458–7 Athens besieged and captured Aegina; her walls were dismantled, her fleet surrendered to Athens, and her mint closed; she became tributary to Athens (Thuc 1.105, 108.4; generally, Figueira (1991) 106–13; briefly, (1988) 82). But ἐκπέσοντες shows that Herodotus refers to 431, when Athens expelled Aeginetans and settled colonists on the island (Thuc 2.27;

Figueira (1991) 113–26). He may want us to infer that this is a "cycle of fortune" case (p. 34), though the expulsion is two generations after the sacrilege he is about to relate. At least this part of §91 must have been written or inserted after 431. The phrase ἐκθύσασθαι οὐκ οἷοι is probably Herodotus' own comment: sacrilege is punished, as with Cleomenes and Leotychidas; Figueira, *loc cit*, goes further, that it is (also) a justification for Athens' conduct. Thuc 2.27 taken literally would mean that the island was denuded of Aeginetans, but this is unrealistic; the population was 32,000 to 42,000 (Figueira (1981a) 45), and it would be impractical to remove them all. Read in the light of Herodotus, the expellees of Thuc 2.27 were the aristocrats who were accused of being pro-Spartan; Aegina had retained autonomy after 457 (Figueira (1991) 106, 111–12). The Spartans settled them in Thyrea, their polis possibly being a new settlement: see on κατήγαγε, §76.2. For the significance of Herodotus not adding that in 424 the Athenians expelled them from Thyrea and executed them "because of their old enmity", Thuc 4.57, see p. 3.

91.2 ἑπτακοσίους 700 might have been a semi-conventional figure in oral tradition for a fairly large number: it is the number of Boeotians captured by the Athenians in 506, 5.77.2, and of Alcmaeonid families exiled in 508, 5.72–3; cf Fehling (1989) 225–6. For Nicodromos' support see on ἐπαναστάντος, §91.1. Figueira (1981a) 307 queries whether it included men sought out for reasons other than supporting the coup.

ἐξῆγον ἀπολέοντες Exactly the sort of bloody party politics we see some 60 years later in Corcyra (Thuc 3.74, 81, 4.47–8). By Greek standards, it was acceptable for the victors to execute the losers; but not to commit sacrilege in so doing. As noted on καταλαμβάνει, §88, the mistake that led to their deaths may have been a political issue in Athens.

Δήμητρος Θεσμοφόρου It is coincidental that Herodotus has several stories concerning temples of Demeter: Paros, §134, Plataea, 9.57.2, Mycale, 9.97 (9.101.1 for the coincidence of the same date as Plataea). Pausanias does not refer to this one in describing Aegina, 2.29–30, though he regularly records them elsewhere: Halimous in Attica, Megara, Corinth, Thebes, and Drymos, Phocis: 1.31.1, 42.6, 2.32.8, 9.16.5, 10.33.12. Two unattributed temples have been found in the

old city (Welter (1962) nos 5–6 on plan p. 30); the description of the incident is consistent with the men being led out of the city past one of them.

ἐπιλαβόμενος . . . ἀποκόψαντες . . . Once the man had grasped the door handle, he was entitled to the sanctuary of the temple (like the rope held by the Cylon supporters in the version at Plut *Sol* 12.1); it was sacrilege to try to remove him. It is interesting that Herodotus does not treat the action as attracting τίσις (p. 35), and presents it as a matter of pollution. It was perceived as hard for an individual or a polis, or a group within a polis, to purify him- or themselves from an ἄγος or the pollution of sacrilege: Parker (1996) 10, 182–5, 188, who cites other cases of sacrilege from political activities: the Alcmaeonid curse (note to §§121–4), and at Sparta killing the Persian heralds (see on §49.1) and the suppliant helots (see on τέρας, §98.1), and starving Pausanias to death. Pollution was narrowly averted in the story of the Corcyrean boys in the temple of Artemis on Samos (3.48).

92.1 ἐναυμάχησαν νηυσὶ ἑβδομήκοντα The Aeginetan ships would probably be the privately owned galleys of their traders: Appx 2 paras 2–3. The "70" may be rounded up, but suggests that the two fleets were thought of as roughly equal. It is hard to understand from the compressed narrative just what happened. Whether or not the Athenians knew when they set sail that they were a day late, they were supposed to be helping Nicodromos, so presumably the ships were carrying troops to land on Aegina for that purpose. The sea-battle would make sense if the Aeginetans, having quickly suppressed the coup, learnt that the Athenians were coming and put to sea the next day to intercept them. The actual battle would be a novel experience for both sides (cf Appx 2 para 11); and while ἑσσωθέντες might mean that more Aeginetan ships were sunk than Athenian, it might equally mean that the Aeginetans turned tail and made for port. The next thing described is that the Aeginetans got Argive help, but were defeated in a land battle, apparently on Aegina (i.e. not in Attica). It reads as if the Athenians landed their troops after the victory at sea, and were there long enough for the Aeginetans to be unable to dislodge them, and so sent for help from Argos. With 70 ships, the Athenian force would be comparable to that on Paros, probably some 4,000–5000 men (see on αἰτήσας, §132).

Although the Athenians won this fight, they seem to have then withdrawn; one view of their defeat in §93 is that they left some of the ships, perhaps to impede traffic in and out of the harbour, but were outnumbered.

πρότερον, Ἀργείους Tradition said that Aegina had been settled from Epidauros: 5.83.1, 8.46.1, Paus 2.29.5; and Epidauros was part of the lot of Temenos, Appx 15 n. 7. At 5.82–8, a digression within the 506–5 hostilities of 5.81, 89–90 (Appx 12 para 2), Herodotus relates an involved story of how, in the past, Aegina stole cult statues from Epidauros to which Athens had some claim; Athens landed men on Aegina to recover them, and Argos sent men to help Aegina in the resulting fighting; this is presumably the prior occasion to which Herodotus refers. If there are historical events behind the story they were probably between the mid seventh and early sixth century; generally see Jeffery (1976) 150–2. We can point to three other connections between Argos and Aegina, two of them religious, though whether any are relevant in the present context is arguable. Argos probably claimed suzerainty over the cult of Pythian Apollo at Asine, in which Aegina participated: see on §92.2. Aegina's membership of the Calaurian Amphictiony, only in Strabo 8.6.14 and *IG* IV 842, is probably a red herring. Whether its origin, possibly of considerable antiquity (Snodgrass (2000) 402), was a joint cult of seafaring poleis (Figueira (1981a) 185–8) or a league formed as a bulwark against Pheidon (Kelly (1966) 119–20), Argos had not originally been a member, and only became one when she took over Nauplia. More recently there may have been contact between Argos and Aegina over the minting of Aegina's coinage (Appx 16 paras 4–6). Whatever the reality behind any of the foregoing, Aegina's appeal to Argos may have been based on practical realities. In the light of the hostage business Aegina would perceive Sparta as friendly to Athens, and it would be natural to seek help from Sparta's enemy Argos.

οὐκέτι βοηθέουσι There are probably three threads to untangle. One is Herodotus' reason: Argos would resent Aegina's help to Cleomenes a few years earlier, whatever the reality behind ἀνάγκῃ, infra; all the more so since Aegina had not paid even a part of the fine of §92.2. Secondly, there would be an element of pragmatism: Argos would be unwilling to become involved in a dispute that did not concern her. Thirdly, we could argue that a more "democratic" government

(§83; Appx 15 paras 12, 16) would be reluctant to help the aristocratic government of Aegina against the more democratic Athens. For Aegina's government see on Νικόδρομος, §88. She could not stop the volunteers of §92.2 going.

Αἰγιναῖαι νέες It is typical of Herodotus that he does not tell us this in §76. Jeffery (1962) 48, as part of her argument that the whole of §§87–93 was a late insertion, suggested that he did not know it when he wrote up Cleomenes' Argos campaign. That would presuppose that when he was originally told that Cleomenes moved the men by sea, he assumed that he used perioikic ships. But even if the detail was not mentioned by his Spartan sources but learnt on Aegina, it is consistent with an editorial decision not to insert it at §76, as irrelevant to the Cleomenes narrative, and put it here, to explain the present Argive response. From §92.2 we learn that there were also Sicyonian ships. For the logistics see on πλοῖοισι, §76.2.

ἀνάγκῃ The Argives were probably repeating the Aeginetan defence when they had fined them, §92.2. But the alleged compulsion is puzzling, whether or not Aegina was a member of the Peloponnesian League, and was probably bluff: cf note to §§49.2–55 para 6. If there was a treaty (for its basic wording see ML 67 bis, noted on ὅρκους, §74.1), it was unlikely to have included a term that she had to supply ships. It was arguably compulsion, because she had to have the same friends and enemies as Sparta, and Argos was now the enemy. But the conduct of Corinth in both c506 and c504 (note to §§49.2–55 para 4) shows that allies were not compelled to accede to Spartan demands, and, as Ste Croix *OPW* 334 (who believed that Aegina was a member) pointed out, Aegina could easily have resisted a seaborne invasion by Sparta (assuming Sparta got ships from elsewhere), if the latter tried to compel compliance. In 491, she was at first to refuse to give hostages. Her supply of ships may have been pragmatic, e.g. because Cleomenes was willing to pay for their hire, rather than under legal or military compulsion.

τῶν Σικυωνιέων Sicyon is not recorded as pleading "compulsion", but this may just reflect the sources. It is a fair inference that she became a member of the Peloponnesian league after Sparta ended the Orthagorid tyranny in the mid sixth century, as noted on Πέρκαλον,

§65.2; not only because Sparta was the "liberating" power, but also, or alternatively, and like poleis such as Corinth and Epidauros, because it was protection against an expansionist Argos: Jeffery (1976) 123; Griffin (1982) 60. However, her being allied to Sparta in 423 (Thuc 4.118.2, 119.2) does not evidence that. But, as pointed out in the previous note, supplying ships does not evidence a treaty, nor was it likely to have been an express treaty obligation. A more likely reason is that she supplied them as insurance. Only low hills separate her from Argos. She would think it likely that Cleomenes would beat Argos; if she had refused, he might then have come on against her.

συναπέβησαν There is no suggestion in the account of the fighting, §§76–81, that troops other than Spartans were involved, though Paus 3.4.1 speaks of Spartan allies taking part in the attack. If not an exaggeration in the tradition, it might reflect help in unloading supplies and equipment, even taking them to the Spartan camp inland.

92.2 ζημίη Apparently demanded soon after Sepeia, and so by the new "democratic" government. 500 talents was a huge sum; more than the Parthenon cost: cf on πεντήκοντα, §136.3. As to a basis, there are several possibilities. One is that it was political bluster, as if saying: Argos has not been crushed and is still important enough to demand these fines. They could not have been enforced militarily. A second is that it was an anti-oligarchic stance, arguably also a factor in the present refusal to help Aegina, for which see on οὐκέτι, §92.1. We have no evidence for the government of Sicyon, but it is likely that after Aeschines was deposed (see on Ἀριστωνύμου, §126.1), she had reverted to an oligarchy, the norm in the mid sixth century: Griffin (1982) 60; Jeffery (1976) 165. A third is religious, which would also provide a legalistic basis for the claim. The cult of Pythian Apollo over which Argos claimed suzerainty at Thuc 5.53.1 has been identified as that at Asine, preserved when she destroyed the city and the population emigrated in the late eighth-early seventh centuries (Appx 15 n. 23). Thucydides shows that Epidauros was a participating polis; and taken with §92.2 it is suggested that Aegina and Sicyon also were. Argos' claim to suzerainty would be based on the lot of Temenos, which embraced Sicyon and Epidauros; Aegina was said to have been settled from Epidauros, as noted on πρότερον, §92.1: Barrett (1954) 427–9, 438–42. Van Wees (2004) 10, 255 nn.

18–19 suggests that the fine was imposed by an Argive amphictiony, mentioned at Paus 4.5.2; if historical, it might relate to control of this cult.

Σικυώνιοι Whatever the basis of the claim, Aegina had no difficulty in rejecting it. Sicyon paid the not inconsiderable sum of 100 talents. If she participated in the Apolline cult, she would wish to continue. A more tangible reason is practical politics. She had supplied the ships as insurance against Spartan aggression (see on τῶν Σικυωνιέων, §91.1). Now, she wanted to insure against Argive aggression. She could foresee a time when Argos would recover from Sepeia, especially after Cleomenes' retreat. It would not be unreasonable for her to think of an eventual shift in the balance of power between Arcadia and Argos on the one hand and Sparta on the other; actual events came close to that: the later battles of Tegea and Dipaia (Appx 15 para 17) were not bound to have resulted in Spartan victories. She would want to buy Argive goodwill against an expansion northwards.

ἀπὸ . . . τοῦ δημοσίου οὐδεὶς . . . ἐθελονταί Resuming the narrative from **οὐκέτι**, §92.1. The Argive government could not prevent these volunteers going, especially under their distinguished leader. As Cleomenes had found in Arcadia, there are always young men who will volunteer for soldiering: Appx 14 para 10. We need not accept the round figure of 1,000, but even if we did, for the reasons discussed in Appx 15 paras 14–15, it would be quite easy for that number of young men to be found even by 489, certainly by 487–5, who had been 20 or under at the time of Sepeia.

πεντάεθλον ἐπασκήσας Herodotus often mentions Olympic winners: apart from those noted on οἰκίης, §35.1; Cylon, 5.71.1 (640: diaulos); Philippos of Croton, 5.47.1 (520: contest unknown); and Hieronymos of Andros, 9.33 (492: pentathlon): Moretti (1957) nos 56, 153, 173; also Alexander of Macedon, coming equal first in a stadion heat, 5.22.1. According to Paus 1.29.4, Eurybates won at Nemea; it is curious that Herodotus' sources mentioned the training but not the victory. When his death is again mentioned at 9.75, Herodotus calls him ἄνδρα πεντάεθλον "a champion pentathlete" (Waterfield).

92.3 ἀπονοστήσαν For the epic overtones of this word see on §27.1.

ὑπ᾽ Ἀθηναίων See on §92.1 for how Athenian soldiers probably came to be on Aegina, when this fight happened, and what the Athenians then did.

Σωφάνεος τοῦ Δεκελέος Sophanes of Decelea is recorded as valiantly fighting at Plataea, 9.73–4; at 9.75 Herodotus notes his death as general, fighting the Edonians, almost certainly referring to Drabescos in 464 (Thuc 1.100.3; 4.102.2 placed it 32 years after Aristagoras' death: cf Appx 1 para 5). His family do not appear in *APF*, however. For the anecdote of him opposing the award of an olive crown to Miltiades, see Appx 12 para 5.

93 Αἰγινῆται . . . εἶλον A papyrus roll probably ended with this chapter (p. 74). We can take two views about it: Herodotus intended to write more about the Athens-Aegina conflict, and forgot, or died; or the end of the roll got damaged and lost a couple of columns before it reached Aristarchus. As noted on §92.1, the narrative is compressed, and it is not clear why some Athenian ships were there and were caught unawares; what happened to both the captured ships and the men; and what further hostilities took place that enabled Themistocles in 483 to speak of war between Athens and Aegina.

§94–101 *Darius is determined to punish Eretria and Athens, and has organised a powerful sea-borne force under Datis the Mede. Datis sails from Cilicia, reduces Naxos and many other islands, except Delos; and captures Carystos after a siege. He then besieges Eretria, which surrenders after a few days; Eretria is sacked and her inhabitants enslaved.*

The μέν clause which opens §94 terminates the digression on Athens, Sparta and Aegina which began at §49.2; a new papyrus roll began here (p. 74). With the δέ clause, Herodotus resumes the basic narrative, the first Persian invasion of Greece; their defeat at Marathon will trigger the much bigger one under Xerxes in books 7 to 9. Immerwahr (1966) 65–7 notes §94 as exemplifying Herodotus' skill in combining resumé with an introduction to the next events.

The events took place in 490; the most likely date for Marathon is within a day or so of 10th August or 9th September 490, with a slight balance in favour of September: Appx 17 F1–4. We may put

the siege of Eretria into the second half of August, with Datis crossing to Marathon at the beginning of September. This suggests that he would arrive at Carystos towards the end of July. It would take him some 15–20 days to move his armada from Cilicia to Samos (cf on §43.3), and we should allow between one and two months for his fleet to visit each island and bring it into submission. Whether or not we should allow a month for the siege of Lindos (infra), he would set off between the beginning of April and mid-May. We should be generous in our assessment of his progress; there is an impression that Persian forces moved leisurely: Appx 3 para 9. Making this expedition wholly sea-borne had the double advantage of avoiding another Athos (§95.2), and extending Persian control to the islands, pursuant to the Persian aim of extending their empire westward, which Herodotus, like ourselves, saw as their real purpose (note to §§42–45 para 2). Athens, as an inland polis, presented a harder task than islands or places on the coast such as Carystos and Eretria; but Datis probably hoped for a quick result by surrender or treachery: see Appx 17 C6, G2–6. Even without §94.1, we would infer that his instructions included, after success at Athens, to move on and either confirm suzerainty over the cities which are said to have given earth and water, §49.1, or to subdue those which had not. Whether he would have had time to do so is another matter: cf the similar problem in relation to Mardonius, note to §§42–45 para 3. For the size of the expedition, see Appx 17 E1.

The hellenistic Lindos Temple Chronicle, *FGrH* 532 F1, part D, relates a siege of Lindos on Rhodes by Datis when Darius "sent great forces to subdue Greece". It says that the Lindians were short of water; Athena appeared in a dream to one of the archons and said that she had asked Zeus to send rain. The Lindians agreed to surrender if it did not rain, and Datis laughed; the next day there was a violent storm. Datis raised the siege and laid offerings in Athena's temple. The incident is nowhere hinted at in Herodotus. While the story turns on the epiphany and Datis' reaction, it is consistent with his seeking to bring Rhodes under Persian control en route to Ionia and the islands. We have no idea what water reserves Lindos had, but we could allow the Persians even a month there and still be in Euboea for the later summer. Lines 47–59 (*FGrH* p. 512 line 34 to p. 513 line 6) cite 8 historians from the fourth century onwards for the anecdote, noting that one, Xenagoras (*FGrH* 240, third-second century) named the general as Mardonius. This

would exclude 495–4, as Mardonius replaced the generals at Miletus, §43.1; but would make 492 possible, en route to Ionia. But it is Datis who is named by the earlier writers (later ones copying earlier ones prove nothing), and the anecdote attaches more easily to him (cf on §94.2). We could keep Datis but put the incident into 495, because "Datiya", almost certainly him, drew rations at Sardis in January-February 494 for a journey to Persepolis (Persepolis tablet Q1809: Lewis (1980)). One explanation is that he had been one of the commanders at Miletus, but left his colleague(s) to finish the siege and returned to Persia. The Lindos chronicle at C32 lists dedications from this time, one by a Persian general; but unfortunately his name cannot be securely restored. A month on Rhodes can be fitted into either of the earlier expeditions: Appx 1 para 9, and on §43.1, but it is just as likely now. The incident, if historical, does not prove that Rhodes had joined the Ionian revolt; merely that the Persians wanted to bring her into their empire. Burn (1984) 211, 218 has a useful discussion. We should also note the story in the second section of Hipp *Presb* (*Ep* 27), which dates from the fourth-third century (Jouanna (1999) 413–14); it is, however, rhetoric and the basic historicity is hard to extract. It says that Artemisia besieged Cos on behalf of the Persians when "the great king" marched against "those who had not given earth and water and the land of Greece"; Cadmus helped to lead the resistance. She was forced to raise the siege; Cadmus then went to Sicily to prevent Gelon and his brothers from medising. The Artemisia reference would seem to place this in 480; but if Persia already controlled Cos, having imposed Scythes as tyrant, why besiege it now? Further, Cadmus probably went to Sicily in or shortly after 490 (see note to §§22–24 and on §24.2). It is possible that Cos had revolted at the same time as Ionia, and the story grew from an attempt to retake it at the same time as Lindos, in 490; cf Jouanna 13–16.

94.1 Ἀθηναίοισι μὲν δὴ πόλεμος συνῆπτο πρὸς Αἰγινήτας, ὁ δὲ Πέρσης τὸ ἑωυτοῦ ἐποίεε For the μέν-δέ clauses see introductory note. Immerwahr (1966) 212 n. 65 argued that Herodotus believed that the Aeginetan war had arisen, but not concluded, before Marathon; but the Greek is ambiguous, probably intentionally so, since neither he nor his sources had an accurate chronology. The pluperfect συνῆπτο can be translated as "so war had been joined . . . meanwhile . . ." But it can equally be translated "so (i.e. as a result of what I have been

telling you about, the force of μὲν δή) for the Athenians a state of war against the Aeginetans had come about; meanwhile (the force of δέ, as at §1.1) . . ."; and does not indicate that the state of war had arisen at any particular time in relation to Persian preparations. This seems preferable; cf the pluperfect followed by imperfect at 7.192.1: so, on the fourth day, the storm had abated (ἐπέπαυτο); (meanwhile) on the second day the scouts were reporting (ἐσήμαινον . . .); and Herodotus uses the pluperfect after μὲν δή at 1.94.7 to mean "so, as a result of what I have said, such and such state of affairs came about", here that the Lydians came to be enslaved (ἐδεδούλωντο); cf 2.152.4, 179, §40.2. Neither translation prevents us ignoring what the sources thought they knew and assessing the Aeginetan chronology independently: see Appx 12.

ἀναμιμνήσκοντός The story is at 5.105: when Darius learnt about the Athenians at Sardis, he allocated a slave with the sole duty of reminding him three times each dinner-time to punish them (he then sent for Histiaeus, p. 65). From his perspective, Athens had not merely attacked him; she was also in revolt, because she had given earth and water in 508 (see on §48.2). The story, typifying the power of the oriental monarch (cf p. 27) may have soon become an urban legend in Athens, because the references to recalling Athens (μεμνημένος, μεμνῆσθ') at Aesch *Pers* 285 and 824 (produced 472), although there put into the mouth of Xerxes, are similar to Herodotus' phraseology.

Πεισιστρατιδέων The sources for Suda, sv Ἱππίας (I) and (II) had just Hippias encouraging Darius' plans against Athens. He had gone to Sigeion after his deposition in 510, where his half-brother Hegestratos was tyrant (5.94.2), having married his daughter to the son of Hippoclos, tyrant of Lampsacus (cf on γαμέει, §39.2). He is said to have returned to Greece in c504, when Cleomenes proposed to restore him. That was abortive (note to §§49.2–55 para 4), and on his return he was in Sardis, lobbying Artaphrenes for support against Athens (5.96). It is unclear whether he then remained in Asia Minor, or we should infer that he moved to Susa. By "Pisistratids", Herodotus here probably meant his immediate family, including his son, Pisistratos. Hippias had five children, though only two names are known (Thuc 6.55.1; *APF* 11793 VII-IX). Pisistratos had been archon in 522/1. Nothing further is known directly of him, but as Herodotus reports

"Pisistratids" in Susa in 485, 7.6, and with the Persians in 480, 8.52.2, when Hippias would almost certainly be dead (see on κατηγέετο, §102), and Hipparchos had no children, it would seem that it was this branch of Hippias' family which was living within the empire; cf stemma, Appx 19.

καταστρέφεσθαι τῆς Ἑλλάδος There is a question about Herodotus' source here. He made the same point at §§43.4–44.1 for Mardonius' expedition; see note to §§42–45 para 2, and in terms of the layout of the *Histories* it is logical enough to repeat it here. But since much of §94 onwards depends on Athenian sources, it is possible to argue that they too said it. In their mouths it might be assumption or propaganda: by the mid fifth century, they had a vested interest in claiming to have been saviours of Greece both now and in 480: cf p. 19 n. 62. For πρόφασις as excuse or ostensible reason see p. 36. Herodotus noted the demand for earth and water at §48.2, and at §49.1 says that many poleis gave it; not Athens or Sparta, per 7.133: see on §49.1.

94.2 φλαύρως πρήξαντα Repeating the pejorative judgment on him at §45.2 (see *ad loc*).

ἐπί τε Ἐρέτριαν καὶ Ἀθήνας The slave only had to remind the king about Athens, but Eretria had also helped the Ionian revolt, and in Cyprus also (p. 60, with n. 200; see further on ἀρξάντων, §119.1). Herodotus subtly moves on from cities which had not given earth and water, §94.1, to Eretria and Athens, who will occupy most of the forthcoming narrative.

Δᾶτίν . . . Μῆδον γένος Herodotus, or his source, thought it worth noting that a Mede had been given this top command. Although the Medes had been absorbed into the Persian empire, and therefore became subjects of Persia (1.130.1), and we can detect resulting tension (3.62, 73), it seems clear that individual Medes could rise to high office: Mazares and Harpagos, the latter a kinsman of the last Median king, were entrusted by Cyrus with operations in Asia Minor (1.156, 162; cf *CAH*[2] IV (Cuyler Young) 42, 55). Nothing is known of Datis' parentage or background, and he cannot have been a young man in 490: in 480 his sons command the Persian cavalry

(7.88.1). Assuming that he is the Datiya of Persepolis tablet Q1809 (introductory note), his name cannot have been *Datafarna, as suggested by Schmitt (1967) 134, "glory of the law" (data- = law). He may have served in Scythia as a young officer: Ctes *FGrH* 688 F13.21 speaks of that expedition, and then goes on (F13.22) to say that Datis returning (ἐπανιών) from the Pontos came to Marathon. Pontos in Herodotus and other authors is the Black Sea (Cagnazzi (1999) 372 n. 6). Ctesias may be drawing on an accurate tradition, though other parts of F13.22 are suspect: see on §118.1. Tablet Q1809 shows that he had some official business in Sardis in late 495 or early 494, and he is also said to have besieged Lindos (introductory note).

There is, however, a question as to whether his name passed into Athenian folklore. Ar *Pax* 289–91 has τὸ Δάτιδος μέλος . . . "ὡς ἥδομαι καὶ χαίρομαι κεὐφραίνομαι" (with which we can compare the laugh at Lindos, introductory note). The scholiast says that this stems from Datis learning Greek and saying χαίρομαι instead of χαίρω, and hence giving rise to δατισμός for a solecism (though δατισμός is unknown outside repetitions of the anecdote). But this might just be an inspired guess, and the lines are also said to be a dig at one of Cratinus' sons called, or more probably nicknamed, Datis, with χαίρομαι a humorous construct to fill out the iambic hexameter: cf Platnauer *ad loc* (but his reference to Datis being a philhellene, based on DS 10.27, is questionable: see Appx 17 C6). If they were aimed at Cratinus, it is still evidence that Datis' name retained some currency in Athens. That it did so can be supported if Datis is the correct restoration on ostrakon Lang (1990) no 56 = P9945, 'Αριστ[είδεν] | τὸν Δά[τιδος] | ἀδελφ[όν]. Aristides was ostracised in 484 or 483 (*Ath Pol* 22.7). The accusation of medising could stem from his association with the Alcmaeonids (§§115, 121): Aristides was called ἑταῖρος of Cleisthenes, Plut *Arist* 2.1, *An Seni* 790f–791a, though his family connection was probably with that of Callias: *APF* 1695 I–II. An alternative explanation, proposed by Raubitschek (1957), is often accepted, e.g. Piccirilli (1983) 172–4, Figueira (1991) 83: that Aristides had opposed the settlement of Aeginetan democrats under Nicodromos at Sounion, and Themistocles now presented that as support for the Aeginetan oligarchs who had given earth and water in 491, §49.1: cf P5978, infra. But other restorations, including with no medising element, have been suggested: Δα[ρείου], Bicknell (1974) 158 n. 64; [Καλλίσχενον] 'Αριστ[ονόμου] Δα[μάστου], Rapke (1981); cf P3786;

Ἀριστ[αίχμον] (brother of Cydrocles) τὸν δά[συν] ἀδελφόν, Lang. The ostrakon should be seen in the context of being one of a small number out of several thousand ostraka which have more than the name of the victim, with or without his patronymic, some of which add a political accusation. One other names Aristides, Lang no 44 = P5978: [Ἀριστείδης] | [ho Λυσιμ]άχο | [hὸς τοὺ]ς hικέτας | [ἀπόλεσεν ([ἀπέοσ]εν, Piccirilli 172). Piccirilli 174 suggests that the suppliants were the Aeginetans settled on Sounion. But it is equally if not more likely that the suppliants were the Cylonids, given Aristides' association with the Alcmaeonids. Lang no 589 = P3786 reads [Καλλ]ίχσενος | [ho πρ]οδότες; Callixenos was an Alcmaeonid (*APF* 9688 VII). Out of 763 ostraka against one Callias son of Cratias, only known from them (probably a relation of the Callias family of §122, but possibly an Alcmaeonid), 11 call him "the Mede" and 1 has a drawing of a man in Persian trousers: Rhodes on *Ath Pol* 22.6; they probably date from 486. A few other ostraka have non-medising additions. Lang no 1065 = P16873 names Xanthippos (§136.1), with a couplet accusing him of some wrongdoing whose interpretation is problematic: see Rhodes on *Ath Pol* 22.6; one view is at Figueira (1986), Appx 2 n. 6. Lang 8–9 notes 4 from the Agora, one just adding "ἱός" (son), two with ἴοι or ἴτο (let him go), and one with a drawing of a face.

Ἀρταφρένεα . . . ἀδελφιδέον Although Artaphrenes was the king's nephew (Appx 5), in the narratives of §§97, 98, and 118 Datis is the real commander, making the decisions (and was so recalled: Datis alone is the commander in Plat *Leg* 698c, Dem 59.94). Artaphrenes is only mentioned again when he gets back to Susa (§119.1; he reappears when he is coupled with Datis in the formalised speeches of Xerxes and Artabanus in 7.8β3 and 10β1. But it is Artaphrenes whose name was recalled in local folklore at Marathon in connection with the Persian horses: Paus 1.32.6 (cf Appx 15 B2). For the spelling of his name see on εἴρετο, §1.1. The Suda had access to accounts which named him as Artabazos (sv Διεξιφίσω), Intaphernes (sv Ἱππίας I), and Antiphernes (sv Πανσελήνῳ). Artabazos is probably a misrecollection or mistake; but the other two might just be different ways of transliterating the Persian: Darius' co-conspirator Vi^{n}dafarnah (per the Behistun inscription: "finding glory", Kent (1950) 208) is "Intaphrenes" at 3.70, 78, 118–19, but "Artaphrenes" at Aesch *Pers* 21, 776, ?778. He too cannot have been a very young

man: 10 years later, his son commands the Lydian and Mysian contingent in Xerxes' army (7.74). He may have been appointed for his royal rank and to represent the king as much as for military skill. Whether he was also there to keep an eye on Datis is a moot point. Joint commanders can be interpreted as insurance against treachery; Starr (1975) 72 notes that this was common in the fourth century. Darius was more trusting. Two of the three generals who suppressed the early stages of the Ionian revolt were soon sent off in separate directions, though the third was accompanied by Artaphrenes senior (5.116–23: p. 62). At least two were sent against Miletus (§6); but Darius left Megabyzus in Thrace in 513 and sent only Mardonius there in 492.

ἐντειλάμενος . . . ἐξανδραποδίσαντας It would be virtually impossible to bring the whole population back to Susa; for Eretria cf on τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, §101.3. though no doubt this is exactly how the sources expressed it.

95.1 ὡς δὲ οἱ στρατηγοί As with Mardonius in 492, the two generals would need some 60 days or more to take an army from Susa to the coast, about 1,700 km: see on κατέβαινε, §43.1; even longer, if εὖ ἐσκευασμένον implies a bigger baggage train. We might envisage them leaving at the beginning of February, arriving at the coast in mid or late April, and sailing in late April or early May. The mobilisation orders must have gone out the previous year, and some of the forces might have gone straight to Cilicia, some even the previous autumn. If we want to postulate them sailing sooner, say early April, we could suggest, as with Mardonius, that most of the army went directly to Cilicia the previous autumn, and Datis and Artaphrenes, with just a modest entourage, travelled more quickly from Susa. See also on στρατοπεδευομένοισι, infra; generally for the preparations, Appx 3 para 8.

τὸ Ἀλήιον πεδίον See on §43.2 for the area and the adjacent Persian naval base.

στρατοπεδευομένοισι "Making camp" supports the suggestion, supra, that the troops had started to arrive in the autumn, and set up camp to await the arrival of the ships in the spring. The Persians were good at organisation (cf on §95.2), and Herodotus has just noted that the force was εὖ ἐσκευασμένον. It more makes sense to envis-

age that the expedition as a whole was organised to assemble at Cilicia rather than Susa.

ἱππαγωγοὶ νέες Their novelty perhaps persuaded Herodotus to repeat the detail from §48.2 (see on νέας τε μακράς); cf on §95.2.

τῷ προτέρῳ ἔτεϊ The last of the four time markers which take the narrative from the fall of Miletus to Datis' expedition, enabling us to place Eretria and Marathon in 490: Appx 1 paras 1, 16–17. The ships had been ordered at §48.2, to which we may add the few from Thasos, §46.1. Audiences or readers would understand that Herodotus here meant the following spring, when the sailing season began.

95.2 ἐσβαλλόμενοι . . . ἐσβιβάσαντες . . . ἑξακοσίῃσι τριήρεσι Herodotus stresses that you have to put horses on board (ἐξεβάλλοντο at §101.1 when they are finally disembarked), but men get on by themselves. Hude brackets ἐς τὰς νέας, and Rosén omits it; Legrand and Nenci keep it. If we keep it, Herodotus was indicating that not all the ships were triremes. If we follow Rosén, we should understand "triremes" as including galleys: 600 triremes could not carry all the troops, ancillaries, and stores and equipment for a large force (see Appx 2 paras 5–8; Appx 3 paras 3–4; Appx 17 n. 35); for the mid fifth century use of "trireme" for a warship cf Appx 2 para 2). Herodotus indicated as much by noting that Darius had ordered νέας μακράς, §48.2.

οὐ παρὰ τὴν ἤπειρον While this statement is true, it also enabled Darius to bring the Aegean islands within his empire (introductory note). As a corollary, once it was decided to make the whole expedition seaborne, there was the logistic problem of finding anchorages and bivouacs each night. No island was more than a day's sail from another one (the longest open sea crossing was between Icaros and Naxos, some 50 or 60 km, a day's journey unless the weather was adverse); but we cannot assume that the whole fleet could keep together. That the fleet was split into smaller units could be conveyed by προσῖσχον, §99.1. Thuc 8.99.1 also spells the island Icaros, but Agathem 4.4 and Strabo 10.5.13 call it Ἰκαρία, its modern name; the latter adds that it gave its name to the whole sea from Samos to Cos. From Delos, their route to Carystos was easy enough via Tenos and Andros. It is not clear whether Herodotus is merely saying that the route was via Samos, or we should understand ὁρμώμενοι

as indicating that the Persian naval base on Samos known from 480 was already established: cf Appx 3 para 2.

τῷ προτέρῳ ἔτεϊ Athos had been in 492 (cf on ἅμα τῷ ἔαρι, §43.1). If not an erroneous marginal gloss which has got into the text, or dittography from §95.1, it might be a slip by Herodotus, who realised, but did not say, that the forces had started to assemble in Cilicia in 491: cf on ὡς δέ . . . and στρατοπεδευομένοισι, §95.1. It can perhaps be saved if we assume that Herodotus was thinking in terms of Greek calendar years: see Appx 1 nn. 1 and 12.

ἡ Νάξος . . . ἠνάγκαζε Naxos was unfinished business; the Persian siege in 499, which had also precipitated the Ionian revolt, had failed: hence πρότερον οὐκ ἁλοῦσα (cf pp. 54–5). In §96 Herodotus describes it suffering similar punishment to Miletus and Ionia, §§19, 31–2. See also next note.

96 τοῦ Ἰκαρίου πέλαγος Icaros (cf on οὐ παρά, §95.2) was probably a dependency of Samos, as it was in Strabo's time (Strabo 10.5.13). Thus Naxos, as well as being unfinished business (so πρώτην here), was the first "free" island on the Persians' route.

μεμνημένοι τῶν πρότερον . . . There is no suggestion in the account of the siege of Naxos at 5.34 that the Persians did anything other than try to take the city, though no doubt there was some raiding of the countryside; τῶν πρότερον refers to what had previously happened, at Miletus and other Ionian cities, §§19, 31–2, of which the Naxians would be well aware.

ἀνδραποδισάμενοι If this means enslaved and deported, it may be doubted that many were affected. The Naxians were to assert that they had repulsed Datis, like Megabates before him (Anon *FGrH* 105 F3 = Plut *Mal Her* 869b); they had recovered sufficiently by 480 to provide several triremes for Xerxes, though they deserted to the Greek side: four according to 8.46.3, five or six per Ephoros *FGrH* 70 F187 and Hellanic *FGrH* 4 F183; both = Plut 869a.

ἐνέπρησαν καὶ τὰ ἱρά . . . For the Persian attitude to punishing the gods of subject people who opposed them, as the Naxians had in 499, see on ἐνεπίμπρασαν, §32. The actual extent of the destruction is unclear: cf previous note.

ἐπὶ τὰς ἄλλας νήσους There is no suggestion that the Persians deported people or burnt buildings in other islands apart from Naxos, before or after Delos. They are said to have given earth and water in 491 (see on πάντες, §49.1); if so Datis would be confirming Persian suzerainty rather than imposing it. Those reduced before Delos, §97, might include Paros (cf §133.1) and the islands further south down to Thera, as well as those westwards to Siphnos and Melos (map 8). However, when those two islands and Seriphos sent ships to the Greek side at Salamis in 480, Herodotus says that they were the only islands which had not given earth and water to the Persians (8.46.4). That could mean now, because 7.32, 131–2 does not speak of Xerxes demanding them of any islands; but that might be an accident of the sources, and the demand could have been repeated in 480 (for repeating the demand see on §48.2); it is unclear if suzerainty was formally imposed on them now, which they promptly disregarded; or if, in 480, they ignored a Persian call to send ships to their side. As noted on οὐ παρά, §95.2, it is unlikely that all 600 ships went to each island; but Datis probably commanded the squadron which dealt with the larger islands. We should be thinking in weeks rather than days for these events (cf introductory note). Presumably the Persians conscripted and took hostages, and demanded the payment of tribute, on these islands, and not just on those taken after Delos; see further on προσῖσχον and στρατιήν, §99.1.

97.1 ἐν ᾧ . . . οἱ Δήλιοι It seems that Herodotus learnt about this on Delos itself; he quotes the Delians in §98.1 (ὡς ἔλεγον). No doubt news of Naxos had reached them, and they expected Datis to treat Delos like Naxos.

Τῆνον Some 15–20 km to the north, and so away from the Persians.

πέρην ἐν τῇ Ῥηναίῃ πέρην = on the other side, here of the narrow channel which separates Delos and Rhenaea (part of Delos politically). Delos was regarded as a sacred island because Apollo and Artemis were born there (cf §97.2, 4.33–35; Thuc 3.104, 5.1; Strabo 10.5.2; Callim *Del*), though it was only in 426 that the whole of it was declared so sacred that all births and deaths had to take place on Rhenaea (Thuc 3.104.1–2). Parke (1946) points out that in the fairly recent past, two strong tyrants, Pisistratos, and after his death Polycrates, c523, had sought to strengthen their political standing by showing great respect to Delos (Thuc *loc cit*; Suda sv Ταῦτά σοι, cf

sv Πύθια καὶ Δήλια). Datis' conduct was political: see on οἱ δύο θεοί, §97.2. He will call in again at Delos on his way home: §118.

97.2 Ἄνδρες ἱροί "Reverend sirs" (de Sélincourt); "reverend gentlemen" (Waterfield). The use of the question has Homeric echoes.

καταγνόντες κατ' ἐμέο "Forming an adverse opinion of me"; φρονέω, "I think rightly", i.e. with due regard for religious beliefs. Briant (1996) 566 treats the episode as Darius putting himself under the protection of Apollo and Artemis (οἱ δύο θεοί). But the whole episode is an exercise in realpolitik. Datis wanted to send a message across the Aegean: we are not ruthless barbarians; submit to us and we will respect you and your gods; we only punish those who resist us (cf Briant 171). Delos was appropriate for two reasons. Only Naxos had previously resisted the Persians, so Delos was well placed both geographically and politically for the purpose. Secondly, perhaps, Datis would know from Hippias that it was appropriate to use Delos in this way, given the precedents of Hippias' father and Polycrates (cf on πέρην, §97.1). We should not see it as identifying Apollo and Artemis with Persian gods. Their official religion, certainly of the Achaemenids, was essentially Zoroastrianism: royal inscriptions consistently represent themselves as the earthly agents of Ahuramazda, and their victories as due to his benevolence (*CAH* IV^2 99–103 (Kuhrt); *id* (1995) 676–81; Briant 252–3). Other divinities included Mithra and Hvar, both associated with the sun, and Mah, associated with the moon: for general discussions of their religion, including whether the other divinities were perceived as gods or good spirits, see *CHI* 664–97 (Schwartz), esp 664–70 (Ahura-Mazda); 670–1 (Mithra); 678 (Hvar and Mah); Briant 105–6, 259–60, 262–3; *CAH* IV^2 102 (Cuyler Young). Individual Persians may have sought to identify these divinities with those of subject people, but the present exercise was political. Nor can it be argued that the Achaemenids specially revered Apollo: the temple at Didyma was burnt after the capture of Miletus, §19.3; that at Abae was burnt by Xerxes, 8.33. The inscription ML 12, where Darius instructs an official called Gadatas, probably in Magnesia, not to oppress the "reverend gardeners of Apollo", and referring to his ancestors' respect for the god, shows only that a foreign god would be respected when it suited: cf on §32.

τριηκόσια τάλαντα "Incredible" (Macan), whether the c7½ tons using the Attic talent of 26 kg or 56½ lbs (*OCD*[3] sv Weights), or by value. Macan notes the rationalisation of Hultsch, that it was 300 measures each worth a gold daric, which would equate to a talent of silver, expressed as weight from an error of transmission or misunderstanding by Herodotus; it would still be an offering of substantial value (for the silver talent cf on §130.2). McQueen accepts 7½ tons, and suggests that it was ostentation, not piety. κατανέω, usually translated here "heap up", is very rare: elsewhere only in Hesychius svv κατανήσῃ, meaning "increase", and λίνοιο, "spin out".

98.1 ἅμα ἀγόμενος καὶ Ἴωνας καὶ Αἰολέας Perhaps underlining the fact that they were again subjects of the Persians: cf on τὸ τρίτον, §32. In assessing the timing of Datis' progress, conscripting the men might mean that Datis had to wait at Delos until they arrived. It is some of them who take part in the χωρὶς ἱππεῖς story, if authentic (Appx 17 G6).

μετὰ τοῦτον . . . ἐκινήθη Delos is in an earthquake zone; why should this be the first? How do we reconcile it with Thuc 2.8.3, that there was an earthquake on Delos shortly before the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War, the only one in the memory of the Greeks, adding that it was treated as a portent of what was to come? The first point is easier: after two or three generations, an earlier one could be forgotten. Reconciling Herodotus with Thucydides is harder. Herodotus learnt of his on Delos (ὡς ἔλεγον); he was told it was fairly soon after Datis left (μετὰ τοῦτον ἐνθεῦτεν, "after him thereafter"). Thucydides' earthquake happened in the second half of the 430s. They are expressed as portents of different wars: Herodotus' foretold Xerxes and then the bloody wars of the pentecontaetia (§98.2); Thucydides' the Archidamian War. Lewis (1960) 194 correctly dismisses H&W's ingenious suggestion of one earthquake c460. We can rationalise it in two ways. One is that the Delians told Herodotus of a localised and not serious earthquake; if news of it spread, it had been forgotten when Thucydides wrote, and his sources only recalled the recent one; it is unlikely that he went to Delos to check for earlier ones. We cannot treat Thucydides as impliedly correcting Herodotus, and therefore as evidence that the substance of our §98 was known from earlier readings or publication. The

second is that both are right; μέχρι ἐμεῦ (for which see p. 2) was true when Herodotus wrote this part of his work. If news of the later one reached him at Thurii, he could have forgotten how he had expressed himself here, or he simply never got round to correcting the text. It is unlikely that he left it uncorrected because he did not want to concede that god does not send signals twice. See also *HCT* and Hornblower on the Thucydides passage, and also on §98.2.

τέρας . . . ἔφηνε ὁ θεός Whatever Herodotus' own views, this fitted in with popular beliefs about divine intervention (or supervision) of men's affairs; he notes an earthquake as a portent at §27 (cf on §27.1, 3) and 5.85–6: see p. 34. Thuc 1.128.1 with 101.2 show that the Spartans believed the earthquake of c465 was divine retribution for killing suppliant helots, and 1.23.3 speaks rather rhetorically of many earthquakes and other portents as disasters affecting Greece and concomitants of the man-made sufferings of the Peloponnesian War. In the narrative itself Thucydides is arguably more rational; he mentions portents without suggesting divine intervention, merely as preventing or delaying some action: earthquakes in 427–6 (3.87, 89), 424 (4.52.1, coupled with an eclipse), 420 (5.45.4, 50.5), 415 (6.95.1) 411 (8.6.5, 41.2); an eclipse also in 431 (2.28), and of course the great plague and its recurrence in 427 (3.87). When Herodotus used ὁ θεός, was he thinking of gods generally, Apollo, the god of Delos, or Poseidon, god of earthquakes (7.129.4) (pp. 31–2 with n. 101)?

98.2 ἐπὶ γὰρ Δαρείου . . . τριῶν . . . γενέων . . . εἴκοσι . . . γενεάς . . . The sentiment is clear: Xerxes' invasion involving all Greece (αὐτῇ), followed by the internecine and bloody fighting of the pentecontaetia, were far worse than anything for hundreds of years previously. Herodotus is making a general point about the latter: his κακά clearly occurred during all three reigns, and Fornara (1971b) 32 is too narrow in suggesting that only Tanagra could be called a fight between leading states. We should not approach §98 by trying to reduce Herodotus' generations to an arithmetical formula, e.g. argue that by three generations he meant 100 years, and by twenty generations some other exact number of years. He means only what he says, and no more: Darius, Xerxes, and Artaxerxes (the usual spelling in Greek and English, though the MSS of Herodotus mostly have

Arto-), father, son, and grandson, are three generations. During their reigns, the wars had happened. It does not say that Artaxerxes is dead, much less that we should assume this; though Herodotus may have wanted to include the earlier years of the Archidamian War, which to him might seem not so different from any of the other fighting of the pentecontaetia. Note that 7.106, 151–2 record events during Artaxerxes' reign. Herodotus often expresses past time by generations (Powell sv γενεή; Mitchel (1956)), and at 2.142.2 he equated 3 generations to 100 years. But there are two problems in seeking to apply that here. One is that his conversion rate varies. His 3 to 100 has just followed 41 generations = 1340 years, 2.141.1–2; as a round figure 1360 or 1370 would be more accurate; more striking, 22 generations = 505 (strictly 506) years, only 23 years per generation, at 1.7.4. Ball (1979) analyses the passages and at 280 suggests that Herodotus often thought of generations of 30 or 40 years. The second is that even if he had 100 years in mind here, it could only be a concept. As pointed out on p. 23 and in Appx 10 para 5, neither he nor his contemporaries had calendars or a numbering system to give 100 years an arithmetical meaning. For instance, the contemporaries of Miltiades junior might have been able to say that Solon had been archon in the time of their grandfathers (conventionally 594: Develin (1989) 37–8) at almost any time in their adult life. In their terms, that was 3 generations ago, and they could have expressed it as 100 years; only in the year in which Miletus fell would they have been arithmetically accurate, and they had no independent way of knowing this. Thus it is a totally false friend to argue that because Darius came to the throne in 522 in our terms, therefore Herodotus wrote §98 100 years later, 422 (cf Fornara (1971b, 1981), referred p. 4 n. 9, applying an arithmetical 100 years from Darius' accession). It is more than doubtful if Herodotus could have said that Darius came to throne in the year in which such and such event happened in Halicarnassus, or that his own grandfather was then x years old. Artaxerxes was almost certainly alive when §98 was written, and it makes perfect sense on that footing. Even in (say) 440, Artaxerxes had been ruling for 25 years; Xerxes had only ruled for 21 years, 486–465 (dates: Kuhrt (1995) II 648.

Why 20 generations before Darius (and so, presumably, 23 generations down to when he was writing)? If not just a semi-conventional expression for a long time, we might argue that it relates to the very story line of the *Histories*, why Greeks and Persians fought (and he

has just mentioned the final episode, Xerxes' invasion). He had the Heraclid dynasty in Lydia for 22 short generations = 505 years at 1.7.4 (supra), followed by the five Mermnads, Gyges to Croesus, 4 or 5 generations, followed by Cyrus and Cambyses, at least one more generation before Darius. He could have made this 20 generations before Darius by recalculating his 505 years as 14 or 15 generations. A more attractive alternative is that he took what was perhaps a not uncommon view, that "modern" Greek history began when the Heraclids came to the Peloponnese 80 years after the Trojan War: Thuc 1.2; so Ephoros *FGrH* 70 T8 and 10 = DS 4.1.3, 16.76.5. Herodotus put the war as 800 to 900 years before his own time (2.145.4). Thus he could have calculated that the Heraclids came 720 to 820 years before his own time, which he expressed as 20 generations at 30–35 years per generation before Darius.

τὰ δὲ ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν κορυφαίων περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς πολεμεόντων This is a general comment, not a review of specific wars; cf previous note. It is significant for two reasons. One is that it probably reflects a perception that in the past, there had been few major wars between Greek poleis: only the Lelantine war and First Sacred War were so recalled. Other aggression was accepted as the facts of life: not just the Spartan expansion in the Peloponnese, but cross-border aggression such as the cases discussed by van Wees (2004) 28–30; cf Appx 11 sec 1, esp pp. 535–6, and the other mainland cases listed in Scott (2000) Appx I, to which add the attack by Sicyon on Pellene, Anon *FGrH* 105 F2. Secondly, it is a cri de coeur, a plea for panhellenic unity, an expression of frustration and regret that the Greeks of his time were continually fighting each other: see pp. 27–8.

98.3 ἀεικές The word is normally found only in poetry, but it is also in Herodotus at 3.24.3 and 3.33. The **a** MSS do not have καὶ ἐν χρησμῷ . . . ἐοῦσαν, and Legrand brackets it: ἦν γεγραμμένον is unherodotean (for the passive, Herodotus writes ἐγέγραπτο at 3.128.5 and ἐγράφη at 4.91.2); but it was in the MS known to Eustathius: *Dion* 525 cites the line κινήσω . . . ἐοῦσαν. It was probably taken from a collection of oracles (cf Appx 6 n. 5). Even if it is from a genuine pre-490 oracle, it adds nothing to understanding §98.

δύναται . . . καλέοιεν It is very Herodotean to add a footnote, not directly relevant to the narrative, where he has the detail and wants to include it, or thinks that it will interest his audience (cf p. 21).

Despite his interest in languages (cf on §29.2), his translations are not very accurate. The correct meanings, per Kent (1950) 189, 182, 171; Schmitt (1967) 120–1, are: (Darius) Dārayavauš, "the holder of good"; (Xerxes) Xšayāršа, xšaya, "king" and aršan, "male", though Kent adds that it might be arša, "just": "hero among kings" (Kent) or "ruler of heroes" (Schmitt); (Artaxerxes) Artaxšaça, "having a kingdom of justice". The meaning of ἐρξίης (variant spellings in the MSS: ἐρξ- and -ει- for -ι-) is not clear. It is essentially a hapax; Powell does not offer a translation. It perhaps from εἴργω, "restrainer"; it was understood by the compiler of the Et Mag as from ἔργω or ἔρδω, "doer", who offers πρακτικός. If we had more confidence in Herodotus' Persian we might propose amending to *ἐξίης, as from ἔχω, "holder"; Rosén cites Hesych sv Δαρεῖος: the Persians call him ὁ φρόνιμος and the Phrygians ἕκτωρ ("holding fast", LSJ), closer to the Persian. Herodotus' ἀρήιος, warrior or warlike, is descriptive of Xerxes, but not a real translation. His μέγας ἀρήιος shows that he wrongly thought of Artaxerxes as a compound form of Xerxes; though if Xerxes' name included arša = just, the meanings of the two names would be close. There is considerable merit in Cook's (1907) emendation: Δαρεῖος ἀρήιος, Ξέρξης ἐρξίης, Ἀρτοξέρξης κάρτα ἐρξίης, arguing that μέγα(ς) arose from a gloss on the less common κάρτα. It is adopted by Rosén and Nenci (except that Nenci retains μέγας for κάρτα), as if Herodotus offered translations which sounded like the Persian names. For Herodotus' imperfect understanding of Persian here see Schmitt (1967) 120–2 (though *id* (1977) suggests that he got "Darius" right), and cf on §29.2; the statement at 1.139 that Persian names all end in "s" is wrong, even if the Dorian san was pronounced sh or similar. Male names end in sigma in their Greek forms, but rarely in a sibilant in Persian, of which it had several (*ib* 127). We cannot check on his Σπακώ = Κυνώ translation (1.110.1).

99.1 προσῖσχον πρὸς τὰς νήσους The MSS all have a middle form, but the amendment is universally adopted (προσίσχον Nenci). More important are the imperfects παρελάμβανον and ἐλάμβανον: they convey that different units were landing on different islands. This is consistent with the logistics of moving a large seaborne force across the Aegean (cf on οὐ παρά, §95.2). From Delos, there is a natural island-hopping route to Carystos (cf map 8), but Herodotus also implies that any islands not taken before Delos (see on ἐπὶ τὰς ἄλλας, §96) were taken now, e.g. from Melos to Ceos. It seems clear, if only

from Miltiades' expedition to Paros, §§132–5, that the Persians did not maintain a physical presence in the islands, any more than in Ionia. But they imposed tribute, under Xerxes if not now, and conscription now (next note) and again in 480: 8.46.3–4, where Herodotus also notes those joining the Greek side (cf on ἀνδραποδισάμενοι and ἐπὶ τὰς ἄλλας, §96). As we see from §133.1, it could include the provision of ships as well as men; though in 480 the ships are not those of 7.95, 17 ships from "islanders", which Herodotus calls Pelasgians: he may be thinking of northern islands like Samothrace, on the Persian side at Salamis, 8.90.2. The Persians did not abandon their claim to suzerainty: in the 412–11 treaties between Tissaphernes and Sparta the islands were expressly mentioned as part of the king's theoretical domains, Thuc 8.43.3: see Appx 11 sec 2(3) with n. 24.

στρατιὴν παρελάμβανον Although παραλαμβάνω means "take along", it here connotes conscription, as with the Ionians and Aeolians of §98.1, and demanded of Carystos, §99.2; and see previous note. Presumably it was not restricted to islands reduced after Delos; cf on ἐπὶ τὰς ἄλλας, §96. The taking of hostages, ὁμήρους, was an old middle eastern practice, long antedating any recorded Greek case, for which see on ἄνδρας, §73.2.

99.2 Κάρυστον Carystos was an important port, not least because she was a very convenient landfall for ships coming from the Hellespont or islands such as Lesbos and Chios. Thuc 7.57.4, listing those who fought with the Athenians in Sicily, says that the Carystians were not Ionian but Dryopes. The sympathetic terms in which Herodotus notes that they resisted the Persian demand for hostages and conscripts suggests that he had Carystian input. Their location made the Carystians vulnerable to Persian sea power: they were regarded as having medised in 480 (8.66, 112, 121; Brock (1996) 358–9); but they erected a bronze ox to Apollo from Persian booty (Paus 10.16.3)—perhaps from what the Persians left behind on a hasty retreat. A generation or so later, when Carystos was a member of the Delian league, the Athenians may have reduced her tribute in return for freedom from port dues for their ships (Brock 368–370), reflecting the increasing importance of grain trade imports for Athens.

ἐπολιόρκεον Winter (1971) 61 points out that the language suggests that Carystos was already a walled city, since it is the inhabitants

who surrender, not a garrison on the acropolis, which was over a kilometre inland. The imperfect suggests a longer rather than a shorter siege.

100.1 τοὺς τετρακισχιλίους κληρουχέοντας The story is at 5.77.2: after defeating Chalcis (and Boeotia) in c506 (Appx 12 para 2), Athens placed 4,000 cleruchs on the land of the Chalcidian landowners, the hippobotai (cf on §22.1). It should be seen as part of a policy of expansion as and when opportunity presented itself ever since Solon had added Salamis to Attica: see Appx 8 n. 8. It is probable that we should not see these as cleruchs in the mid fifth century sense: Figueira (1991) 8–9, 44–5, 143, 157–8, 220–1, Appx C. At 256–7 he points out that Herodotus does not say that the cleruchs were Athenians. Accepting that 4,000 is probably rounded up, he questions whether Athens could have sent out 3,000+ men or families, and suggests that some of the land was allocated to the Chalcidian demos, who would not be Athenian citizens and might not be of hoplite status. The point about numbers helps distinguish Chalcis from fifth century cleruchies, usually recorded as 250 or 500; the 2,700 on Lesbos, Thuc 3.50.2, were apparently absentee landlords to whom the former owners paid rent (Figueira 251–3; *HCT ad loc*; *BM* 225, 262). However, in the late sixth century Athens both had surplus manpower and was starting to import grain; she also put settlements on Lemnos and probably Imbros (§140.2). While it is impracticable to suggest how many Athenians of the then 20,000 plus adult male citizens (cf Appx 9 para 14) had small or no landholdings in 506 (or at any other time), it would clearly be useful to be able to place even 2,000 of them on Chalcis. But it is noteworthy that there were no further satellite communities until the cleruchies of the mid fifth century: Athens imported corn rather than exported population; see Appx 9 para 14, and Garnsey (1988) 107–19 there cited, and cf Appx 18 para 8. Whether or not some of the cleruchs were Chalcidians, Athens probably set up a self-governing but satellite community, over which she had sufficient authority to instruct them (διδοῦσι) to go to help Eretria. If we could be sure of restoring κλέροχος at the end of line 1 of the Salamis decree (ML 14), we might infer that the arrangements were similar: to provide their own arms, and to be inspected by a local archon; if Plataea is a guide, rights of intermarriage also (generally for Plataea, Figueira 150–4). By 490, they probably included sons of the original settlers.

Herodotus does not say what happened subsequently. Having crossed to Attica, §101.1, they or some of them probably fought at Marathon (Appx 17 C2). Most probably returned to Chalcis after the retreat of the Persians; despite the probable hoplite status of at least some, it is likely that they provided some of the manpower for the 20 Chalcidian triremes in 480 (8.1). But in 446, Chalcis, then a member of the Delian league, revolted from it along with other Euboean poleis (cf on τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, §101.3). This indicates an independent polis, not a satellite community, and it suggests that after 506, the polis itself continued, but with less χώρα, i.e. the part allocated to the cleruchs. By 446 she may have succeeded in bringing the cleruchal land back within its sway, especially if Athenian families gradually returned to Athens; Plut *Per* 23.4 says that when the revolt was settled, the hippobotai were expelled, as if those dispossessed in 506 had gone to live in the polis but had often, over time, been able to recover their land. The Chalcis decree, ML 52, settling future relations with Athens after the suppression of the revolt does not imply a cleruchy, and lines 52–7 (if ξένοι pay taxes to Athens, they are not to be taxed again by Chalcis) is not appropriate to refer to cleruchs. See Meiggs *AE* 178–181, 566–8; Figueira Appx C; Ostwald (2002); and commentary to ML 52 (that the decree is not inconsistent with the expulsion of the hippobotai is argued at 142). Aelian *VH* 6.1, probably from an Atthidographer or Ephoros, speaks of the leases (ἐμίσθωσαν) of 2000 cleruchies at Chalcis, recorded on a stele in Athens. He describes the Athenian victory and the fetters used to bind the Chalcidian prisoners (so 5.77.3), the dedication of τεμένη to Athena (as later at Lesbos, Thuc 3.50.2), and the division of the rest into 2,000 κλήρους. This all suggests 506. But most think it refers to the aftermath of 446. A cleruch owned his land, and did not lease it from the polis; records on a stele are mid fifth, not late sixth century practice. Lesbos (supra) is no parallel: there the leases were by the new Athenian owners to the former Lesbian owners, and it is not clear that the latter were large landowners having their estates subdivided. If historical, the stele probably listed estates seized in 446 and made public land, and then leased in small parcels: Meiggs *AE* 566, Figueira *loc cit.*

οὐδὲν ὑγιὲς βούλευμα . . . διφασίας ἰδέας The ὑγιές counsel, for Herodotus or his presumably Athenian source, would be to resist the Persians like the Athenians at Marathon. The tenor of at least

parts of §100.1–3 suggests an ex post facto Athenian attempt, in the light of the victory at Marathon, to gloss over their embarrassment of having failed to offer Eretria even moral support, much less tangible help: they had to justify withdrawing the cleruchs, and not, perhaps, sending a general across to command them. They could divert attention from this by casting the blame on the Eretrians, particularly by stressing the medising element which arranged the surrender.

100.2 οἱ μὲν . . . If we look at the Eretrian position without hindsight, the differing views make sense. Their first instinct would be to resist: hence they asked for help from Athens. But once news came in of the size of the Persian force, there must have been doubts. The polis was walled (τὰ τείχεα, §101.2: partially recovered in excavation, *AR* 29 (1982–3) 15); but she lacked military experience. Eretria was a prominent and prosperous trading city (see Jeffery (1976) 63–8); Eretrians were seafarers, not soldiers: their naval tradition is reflected in their inclusion in Eusebius' list of thalassocrats for 500–490 (see de Souza (1998) 288). The last time they could recall fighting was 200 years earlier in the Lelantine War. It is not clear how many Eretrians actually owned hoplite armour and weapons (she fielded about 400 hoplites in 479: 9.28.5). They would fear that the Persian fleet would blockade the port, and so prevent them supplementing whatever reserves of food and water they had. Many would think that it was impracticable to try and take on such a large army outside the city, even with the Athenian cleruchs; they probably had no cavalry (e.g. Eretria is not mentioned in Spence (1993) 9–22). To evacuate themselves into the interior of Euboea made good sense: it is mountainous and would afford good cover. But many would think that if they surrendered, they could negotiate reasonable terms with the Persians. Indeed, at that stage they could not be sure that Athens would not do the same.

100.3 Αἰσχίνης Not an uncommon name in Eretria: LGPN I 20 has 22 references.

οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι . . . πείθονται This reads as part of the ex post facto justification; they left while the Eretrians were still discussing their options, and before they decided to stay and fight. But there is another aspect to it: they might have thought that after the Persians

took Eretria, they might next move northwards and occupy the Lelantine plain, i.e. their land. It made sense to cross to the comparative safety of Attica.

101.1 ἐς Ὠρωπόν This reads as if all 4000 cleruchs crossed back to Attica. Any who were Chalcidians (see on §100.1) may have gone home. It is presumed that Athens sent the ships to bring them back to Attica (cf Appx 17 C2).

Ταμύνας . . . Χοιρέας . . . Αἰγίλια For the Persian animus against Eretria see on ἀρξάντων, §119.1. Valkenaer's amendment of the MSS τέμενος to Tamynai cannot be supported. Strabo 10.1.10 describes Tamynai as a city in Eretrian territory πλήσιον τοῦ πορθμοῦ. Porthmos (map 7) is the modern Karavos on the Bay of Aliveri (also called Milaki); Tamynai was inland, some 20 km to the north, near Avlonari (Müller (1987) 401, 425; Barrington 55). It was the site of an Athenian victory under Phocion in 348 over the Euboeans who revolted with the encouragement of Philip (*BM* 427; *HG* 549). Another objection to the amendment is that although the bay at Porthmos is large, it is some 25 km overland to Eretria, the first half over difficult terrain where the hills come right down to the shore: it is an unrealistic place to have landed even part of the army. That Τέμενος is correct (so now Rosén and Nenci) is clear beyond doubt: it, as well as Choireai and Aigilia, are now known from epigraphy: Knoepfler (1997) 373, 379 with n. 320, building on Wallace (1947) 130–3.

Three places are mentioned because, presumably, the size of the Persian fleet required it to be split for disembarkation. Müller (1987) assumes that Herodotus mentioned the landings as the Persians came to them, sailing in from the east. At 425 he places Temenos in the region of Palaeocastro, a hillock about 2 km east of modern Amarynthos (map 7) and 10–11 km from Eretria; as well as a church it has ancient ruins tentatively identified as those of the temple of Artemis Amarynthia of Livy 35.38.3. There are good bays on each side of the hillock (photos, Müller 426–7). West of Amarynthos, and so less than 9 km from Eretria, there are two or three excellent bays; Müller places Choireai near Amarynthos and Aigilia further west, near modern Magula (401, 396 with photo). Knoepfler, not following Herodotus' order, has all three west of Amarynthos. He agrees with Müller about Aigilia (402), but tentatively suggests Temenos to the west of that and Choireai further west still and close to Eretria. The whole area

between Amarynthos and Eretria is flat enough for cavalry (next note). This Aigilia (τὰ Αἰγίλια) is not to be confused with (ἡ) Αἰγιλίη, the island further east, opposite Styra, where the Eretrian prisoners were held (§107.2).

ἵππους The concept of an army taking horses by sea was apparently novel: cf on ἱππαγωγοί, §95.1; for ἐξεβάλλοντο see on §95.2. If they had been sailing with the main fleet since spring, presumably arrangements had been made for them to disembark and exercise en route. They are mentioned again on arrival at Marathon (§102), which makes their apparent absence from the battle all the more surprising (Appx 17 G5). At Eretria, Datis may have deployed the cavalry to take possession of the countryside around the polis.

παρεσκευάζοντο Since any army prepares, why should the sources mention this: were the Persians perceived as particularly efficient? Cf Appx 3 para 9, esp text and nn. 23–4.

101.2 τὰ τείχεα . . . μὴ ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν πόλιν Eretria is one of the few cities where walls are positively attested for mainland Greece prior to the fifth century: Winter (1971) 61, 108 n. 18; for Carystos see on ἐπολιόρκεον, §99.20; archaeology helps at Athens (Appx 17 C1) and Argos, Appx 15 para 10. Cf on §100.2 for the original debate, to surrender or flee the city.

τῇ δὲ ἑβδόμῃ Presumably there had been negotiations with Datis over the previous few days. Nothing is known of Euphorbos and Philagros, but the names Alcimachos and Philagros are common in Euboea, including in Eretria: LGPN I 29, 458 (31 other occurrences, 3 in Eretria; 10 others, 1 in Eretria, respectively). Herodotus does not state what their rewards were. Xen *Hell* 3.1.6 records, and at *Anab* 7.8.8 meets, the descendants of Gongylos, exiled as "the only Eretrian to medise", and rewarded by "the king" with estates near Pergamum. Perhaps Gongylos was a relation of Euphorbos or Philagros, or he may have been rewarded for helping Xerxes in 480. Plat *Menex* 240b puts the siege at 3 days.

101.3 τὰ ἱρὰ συλήσαντες ἐνέπρησαν As the Eretrians had attacked the king (pp. 53, 61); their gods had permitted this; they had to be punished: see on ἐνεπίμπρασαν, §32.

τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἠνδραποδίσαντο As with Miletus, §§19.3, 20, and Naxos, §96, we cannot take this literally. The real number was probably a few hundred: see on §119.1 and on σταθμῷ, §119.2. By ἀνθρώπους he probably intends to include women and children. Plato asserted that the Persians had taken their prisoners by netting, closely folllowing the language of §31.2: *Menex* 240b; *Leg* 698d, noted Appx 17 C6. If not Plato's own conflation of §31.2 and the present passage, he used another writer who did. As at §31.2, the mountainous terrain of Eretria makes netting, except over limited areas, hard to believe. Strabo 10.1.10 also mentions the netting, but erroneously adds "as Herodotus says". In any case, Eretria had an extensive χώρα (5 χῶροι, "districts") with a substantial population: Knoepfler (1997) 371–89. She could send 7 ships, probably triremes, to Artemisium and Salamis (8.1.2, 46.2); at only 170 per ship this is 1190 men; and, with Styra, 600 hoplites to Plataea (9.28.5). Though she does not seem to have recovered her trading eminence, she subsequently played as prominent a part in Greek affairs as any other polis. Her contribution to the Delian league was substantial: 6 talents (by restoration) for 447, later reduced to 3 talents. She joined other Euboean cities in 446 in revolting from Athens (for Chalcis see on §100.1), after which Athens apparently imposed similar terms on her to those on Chalcis (Meiggs *AE* 177–81, 558–9, 581). In 411, she helped the Spartans against Athens, and killed the survivors of an Athenian naval defeat (Thuc 8.95). She apparently fought in the battle of Coronea in 394, which ended the fighting of 395 and the "Corinthian War" of 394; epigraphy shows that she was then allied to Athens (Tod 103; Xen *Hell* 4.2.17, 4.3.15, who refers generally to Euboeans; *BM* 338–41; *HG* 455–62).

§§102–8 *The Persian army, at the instigation of Hippias, sails for Marathon. The Athenians go to meet it, Miltiades being one of the generals. His father Cimon had fallen foul of Pisistratos; he himself had been prosecuted on his return from the Chersonese. The Athenians also send a runner to Sparta asking urgently for help; the Spartans delay doing so. Hippias has a dream which he first interprets as foretelling success, then disaster. The Athenians are joined by a contingent of Plataeans, whose ties with Athens are explained.*

The whole Marathon narrative has a substantial Philaid input, whose general tenor was: Miltiades bravely beat the Phoenicians at sea, his enemies at home, and then went on to inspire victory at Marathon.

But it also contains general polis tradition, e.g. the Pan story, and §108. Herodotus has (typically) not previously mentioned that Hippias was with Datis' expedition: he last mentioned him by name in 5.96, trying to persuade Artaphrenes to restore him after Cleomenes failed to get support for a military expedition to do so (note to §§49.2–55 para 4); but he would be the senior Pisistratid of §94.1 (see on Πεισιστρατιδέων).

Like §§34–6, 39, and 121–124, §§103–104 throw light on how far aristocratic families of Athens had to curb their ambitions for power and compromise with Pisistratos and then his sons, and, in turn, the Pisistratids took steps to accommodate their claims; and, after 510–508, how the same families coped with the changing politics to assert that they had always opposed the Pisistratids; cf notes to §§34–41 and §§121–124 and on §35.3. In 490 they could still hope to play a prominent role in affairs: cf on πρόφασιν, §133.1.

102 ἐπισχόντες ὀλίγας ἡμέρας This is usually interpreted as giving the army a short rest, more than the one day sightseeing which Xerxes gave his soldiers after Thermopylae, 8.24–5; the possible timetables in Appx 17 F3 suggest 3 or 4 days. But it also gave the Persians time to repair or replace equipment or weapons; and for Datis to try to secure the surrender of Athens by diplomacy (*ibid* C6).

ἔπλεον The imperfects here and κατηγέετο below, and also those in §107.1–2, are significant: they "started to sail across", or were sailing over a period of time, and partly help explain why the Athenians were able to secure the west end of the plain of Marathon before the Persians (Appx 17 C7).

κατέργοντες (Attic -είργοντες, which Rosén prints), "pressing [very, πολλόν] hard". The **d** MSS read κατεργάζοντες, but except in a fragment of Origenes, third century AD, this verb is only found in the middle and passive, and the sense ("achieving by labour") is wrong. Legrand adopts Dietsch's amendment κατοργῶντες, "flushed with pride", another rare word, though attractive. But κατέργοντες is probably right, and reflects what the sources said: once the rest period was over, the Persians pressed on.

ἐπιτηδεότατον . . . ἐνιππεῦσαι . . . ἀγχοτάτω Echoed by Cratinus fr 506 K–A, εὐιπποτάτη Μαραθών. Strictly, it was not true: the area near Phaleron where Thessalian cavalry helping Hippias had beaten the

Spartans under Anchimolos in 510, 5.63.3–4, was equally suitable and much closer to Athens, while the nearest part of Attica to Eretria was Oropos. But Marathon was the nearest part that was suitable both for cavalry, and (unlike Oropos) for landing a large force. Whether this was the real, or main, reason for going to Marathon is another question, which depends on Datis' strategy and how far he relied on Hippias (Appx 17 C5–6, G2–3); cf also next note. ἐνιππεῦσαι, to ride or exercise, only here and Const Porph *De Insid* 150. As at Eretria, §101.1, Herodotus notes the cavalry disembarking, which makes it all the odder that he does not mention them in the battle: Appx 17 G5.

κατηγέετο Ἱππίης For the imperfect κατηγέετο, see supra on ἔπλεον. Hippias had been born c570: *APF* 11793 III, and in 490 must have been in his late 70s. Taken with §107.2 the narrative makes it appear that Datis had yielded command to Hippias; κατηγέομαι means "lead" rather than "guide". But it is probable that Hippias was there precisely because he had persuaded the Persians that he had support in Athens and could engineer her surrender: Appx 17 C5–6, E2, G2. In return, he hoped to be restored: cf on συλλέξαντες, §9.2.

103.1 ἐβοήθεον The imperfect here (cf on ἐξεβοήθεον, §16.2) shows that they did not all assemble at one point and march out from the city in a body. In any case, those from outlying areas would go straight to Marathon when a message from the city was received. For this and the timing, see Appx 17 C7.

στρατηγοὶ δέκα Nepos *Milt* 4.4 states that they were elected for the occasion, but it is almost certain that this older practice had been ended in c501, when generals were elected annually by the assembly, one for each tribe, from candidates nominated by the tribes: *Ath Pol* 22.2 and Rhodes *ad loc*; Badian (1971) 21–7. The change may have been prompted by the then recent hostilities with Thebes and the Aeginetan raids of c506–5. Herodotus names only Miltiades and Stesileos (§114). Plut *Arist* 5, but not our very brief Nepos *Arist*, makes Aristides a general: correctly per Bicknell (1970) 433–6, cf Appx 17 H3; Rhodes 280 is cautious. No other general can be securely identified (for Themistocles see on αἱ φυλαί, §111.1); we must also reject the later promotion of Cynegiros and Polyzelos (= Epizelos,

§117) in the presumably common source for Plut *Paral Min* 305c and Schol Ael Arist iii 126 Dind (Bicknell 432, 436–9). Epi/Polyzelos may possibly have been depicted on the Poikile Stoa painting (Harrison (1972) 367) and someone assumed that all those depicted were generals; but the language of §114 clearly differentiates the ranks. See, further, note to §§109–117.

ὁ δέκατος We would say "one of the ten was M": as with δέκατος αὐτός, the word does not indicate that one general was superior to the other nine, much less that one tribe was superior to the others: Dover (1960) and note to §§109–117. He is mentioned here partly because he will play a leading role in the battle, partly because it enables Herodotus to introduce his digression on Cimon.

Κίμωνα . . . φυγεῖν Cimon, probably born c585 (*APF* 8429 VII), was half-brother to Miltiades senior: Appx 20. φυγεῖν here means "go into exile to avoid", as at §123.1 and 5.62.2 (Powell sv 5); see further on ὑπὸ τῶν Πεισιστράτου, §103.3.

103.2 ἀνελέσθαι τεθρίππῳ . . . τῇ ὑστέρῃ Ὀλυμπιάδι Pisistratos died in 528–7 (Rhodes on *Ath Pol* 197–8). Moretti (1957) nos 120, 124, 127 dates these victories to 536, 532, 528; he notes but rejects Hammond (1956) 117, who places them in 532, 528 and 524. For the family's ability to keep racehorses, see on οἰκίης, §35.1.

παραδιδοῖ . . . ἀνακηρυχθῆναι An Olympic contestant had to "register" under his city; a victory was the city's as much as the man's: cf how Pindar describes the proclamation, *Ol* 5.7–8, *Pyth* 1.32, *Isth* 3.12–13. An exile would register under his new city (e.g. Paus 6.4.11, 13.1). There were penalties for misregistering, or proclaiming a "false" victory: Drees (1968) 54. It is thus unlikely that Cimon had registered under the city where he was in exile, and then had the victory proclaimed as that of Pisistratos of Athens; Lichas of Sparta was whipped for something comparable in 420 (Thuc 5.50.4, Paus 6.2.2; Moretti (1957) no 339). Sparta was barred from the games that year, and Lichas had the victory proclaimed as of the demos of Boeotia. The likelihood is that there had been discussions as to his return from exile (cf next note), as a result of which he could register as Cimon of Athens on behalf of Pisistratos, or something similar.

ὑπόσπονδος As this means "under treaty/truce", it suggests that he was allowed back after previous negotiations. See, further, on ὑπὸ τῶν Πεισιστράτου, §103.3.

103.3 ἄλλην Ὀλυμπιάδα See above for the date.

ὑπὸ τῶν Πεισιστράτου παίδων According to Plut *Cim* 4.4, Cimon was nicknamed κοάλεμος, simple, on account of his εὐήθεια, easy-going temperament. It may be that he lacked the political acumen to deal successfully with the politics of sixth century Athens, and we might infer that he had allowed himself to become the figurehead for aristocratic opposition to Pisistratos (cf note to §§34–41); though not the main driving force, he possibly stuck his head too far above the parapet, so to speak, and it became prudent for him to go into exile. He would be allowed to return from exile on terms that he would not resume such activities. If it be right that the Pisistratids were indeed behind his death, it may be that after Pisistratos died, there was fresh talk of ending the tyranny; and Cimon was persuaded that his undertakings to Pisistratos did not extend to Hippias and Hipparchos, and that he would be a popular leader in a coup. The latter would then be persuaded, perhaps on gossip rather than evidence, that such a coup was being planned, and acted ruthlessly. The precise date of Cimon's death is uncertain, but it was probably c527–5, soon after that of Pisistratos, 528–7; archonships of Cleisthenes in 525 and Miltiades in 524 (note to §§34–41) show Hippias also seeking to establish a modus vivendi with his fellow aristocrats.

κατὰ τὸ πρυτανήιον The prytaneion (for its significance, see on πρυτανηίῳ, §38.2) has not been recovered in excavation, and two different locations at the foot of the acropolis have been suggested. Paus 1.18.3 describes it as near the precinct of Aglauros, mentioned at Hdt 8.53.1. Müller (1987) 612–14 and, with reservations, Hurwit (1999), no 19 on plan fig 3 p. 7; photo fig 8 p. 10, identify the precinct and cave on the north-east slope of the Acropolis, in the light of an inscription referring to a priestess of Aglauros found there, on which see Dontas (1983). Dontas would site the old agora, with the prytaneion, on the level ground below. Travlos (1971) had placed the precinct in a cave towards the west of the north slope of the Acropolis, with the prytaneion on the level ground below that, just to the east

of the Eleusinion (no 15 on his fig 5 p. 8; cf pp. 4 and 210); Müller 625 follows him for the prytaneion. That tradition recalled the place of the assassination suggests that it originally contained more detail, explaining why the Pisistratids were held responsible: e.g. they had invited Cimon to a public dinner there, and he was killed on his way home.

οὐκέτι περιεόντος . . . Whatever the truth of the matter, this suggests that the sources implied that Pisistratos himself would not have been so dishonourable as to break his agreement for Cimon's return, but his sons were of a different stamp. H&W note that no other political execution is reported in these years.

ὑπείσαντες Uncommon: this form also at 3.126.2 and Nic Dam *FGrH* 90 F55 (λόχον ὑφείσας): "secretly making [men] sit" with the connotation of an ambush. The basic verb is ἕζομαι or ἵζω (Chantraine, Frisk sv); only the καθ- compounds and καθῆμαι are common, but ὑφίζω is occasionally found (e.g. Eur *Rh* 730).

τέθαπται Combining this with the reference in Marcell *Vit Thuc* 17, we can place the grave as near the city gate which separated the city deme of Melite from the suburban deme of Koile, i.e. on the south side of the city; Herodotus may have seen the monument. The horses had a nearby tomb: Plut *Cato Maj* 5.4; Ael *NA* 12.40 ("in the Ceramicos", wrongly calling the victor Miltiades), with bronze statues of them, per Ael *VH* 9.32. The Marcellinus reference is part of the evidence that indicates that Thucydides had a family connection with the Cimonids (*APF* 7268 III–VII). Such burials were uncommon and probably self-congratulatory, and not from special sentiment towards the horses ("sixth century conspicuous consumption", Morris (1987) 48–9, who compares it to the sacrifice of horses at Patroclus' tomb, Hom *Il* 23.171). There is a good example at Lefkandi: *AR* 28 (1981–2) 16–17, 29 (1982–3) 12–13; cf next note. It is unclear if there is a parallel in the mid sixth century pony grave in the Rundbau at Athens, on the north side of the Eridanos about 50m west of the (later) Sacred Gate in the city wall (Morris 129–30).

103.4 ἐποίησαν . . . τὠυτὸ τοῦτο Moretti (1957) places these victories in 548, 544 and 540 (nos 110, 113, 117); Euagoras also is said to have buried his winning team with a fine monument, Ael *NA* 12.40.

Στησαγόρης . . . Μιλτιάδης When Herodotus noted Stesagoras as heir to Miltiades senior, §38.1, he did not say, as here, that he was already living with his half-uncle. τρεφόμενος simply indicates living with, and does not mean that he was still a child. For his and Miltiades junior's dates see on τὴν ἀρχήν, §38.1 (which also discusses why the latter was named for his half-uncle) and on §39.1; they would be in their later and earlier twenties when their father was killed.

104.1 οἱ Φοίνικες . . . The narrative continues from Miltiades' first escape from death, §41, to the second, the acquittal on the prosecution now narrated. The picturesque διπλόος θάνατος is occasionally found in later literature: Achilles Tatius, 1.13.4, 5.7.8, 7.5.3; Babrius 1.21.

104.2 οἱ ἐχθροί . . . (a) The language, ὑπὸ δικαστήριον ἀγαγόντες ἐδίωξαν, and ἀποφυγών, acquittal, indicates court proceedings (cf on κατόμνυται, §65.3 and on §66.1). At Miltiades' second trial, §136.1, we find ὑπαγαγών and ἐδίωκε, but he is "before the people", ὑπὸ τὸν δῆμον (so τοῦ δήμου, §136.3). We know of a few other legalistic cases in Athens down to the mid fifth century, and all have a public or political flavour; we know nothing of purely private suits at this time. Two questions arise: whether some were decisions of the assembly rather than trials; and if the latter, how far the procedures attested for the fourth century were already in place. The distinction between the assembly and a court goes back to Solon (*Ath Pol* 7.3) and arguably antedates him, and is repeated *ibid* 25.2, where see Rhodes *ad loc*; but, as noted for Sparta on §66.1, it does not follow that the notion of separation of powers was well developed. On the other hand, we must always bear in mind that our sources are describing what happened, not writing a legal text-book. It is convenient to look at the second question first.

(b) A court system seems to antedate Solon. *Ath Pol* 9.1 is understood as showing that he introduced *graphai*, actions brought by anyone when a wrong has been committed, to supplement *dikai*, prosecutions by the complainant. The only change by 493 was that prior to c508 cases were tried by an archon, and Solon had introduced a right of appeal or perhaps rehearing to a court, the *heliaia*; under Cleisthenes the *heliaia* became a court of first instance, a popular court; technically perhaps it was the ecclesia sitting as a court, and later it was subdivided into courts, δικαστήρια. Although we

translate ἡλιαία as "court", the word connoted "assembly", especially in Doric: see LSJ svv ἁλία, ἁλιαία; cf 5.79.2, 7.134.2. See Rhodes on *Ath Pol* 9.1 at 160–2. But the position is complicated, at least in Miltiades' cases, because the charges against him would, in the fourth century, have been tried by *eisangelia*, impeachment, not *graphai* (or *dikai*): Harrison (1971) 2.53–4. This includes the charge of treason which some said he had faced at his second trial (see on θανάτου, §136.1). By then, the complaint was made to the *boule*, who might impose a fine up to 500 drachmae or refer it either to the *ecclesia* or to a court; or it could be made directly to the *ecclesia*: generally Harrison 50–9. Now *eisangelia* was a very old remedy, going back to Draco, but originally against misbehaviour by magistrates in their office; it was dealt with by the Areopagus; this jurisdiction was apparently retained and perhaps enlarged by Solon: *Ath Pol* 4.4, 7.1 with 8.4; cf Rhodes *ad locc*. The judicial powers of the Areopagus, except in homicide, were lost in Ephialtes' reforms of 462. It is often said that this included all the cases later dealt with by *eisangelia*, e.g. Harrison 52; and cf Hansen (1975), cited in (d). But that is not clear: it depends on how one understands *Ath Pol* 8.4, that Solon gave the Areopagus jurisdiction over τοὺς ἐπὶ καταλύσει τοῦ δήμου συνισταμένους, those who conspired to dissolve the constitution (to translate "democracy" would be anachronistic for Solon's time: Rhodes *ad loc*). He sees it as anti-tyranny; but it did not stop Pisistratos: cf (d)). It also depends on whether one is prepared to infer that the Areopagus always had the jurisdiction to try other impeachment cases such as treason or ἀπάτη τοῦ δήμου, and Solon left that untouched; or it later acquired such jurisdiction. Nor is it clear whether the later jurisdiction of the assembly to try such cases predated 462, i.e. it had long had either concurrent jurisdiction with the Areopagus, or the Areopagus could refer cases to it.

(c) We know of two cases prior to Miltiades'. Herodotus says that οἱ 'Αθηναῖοι put Isagoras' supporters in prison in c508 and executed them (5.72.4); Schol Ar *Lys* 273, cited on 'Ελευσῖνα, §75.3, says that the Athenians ἐψηφίσαντο the death penalty. At §24.2 he says that it was 'Αθηναῖοι who fined Phrynichus, apparently in the same year as the present case. The contexts suggest that first case almost certainly and the second one probably were decisions of the assembly; both seem to have been political debates, not the subject of impeachment or other charge. The Athenians would have seen nothing unusual in debating them, nor seeing the death penalty or a fine as

the sole prerogative of a court (even if, certainly by 493, the same men might also sit as a court, supra).

(d) Next come Miltiades' trials. As noted in (a), the language for the first suggests a trial; and *Ath Pol* 16.10 reports an old Athenian law against establishing a tyranny in Athens, with just sufficient circumstantial detail (Rhodes *ad loc*) to suggest that it is not an inference from this case, which Rhodes does not cite. There is no clear way of deciding if Herodotus' δικαστήριον means the ordinary court or the Areopagus. His sources would say "court" without defining it. He refers to the Areopagus only as a place, describing the Persian occupation of Athens in 480, 8.52.1. If we think that it was the ordinary court, it may only mean that procedures were more flexible in 493 than later, or the prosecutors had a choice of tribunal; it need not be evidence that the Areopagus could not have entertained an impeachment claim. The charge(s) at the second trial (see (b)) ought to help; but the references to the δῆμος, noted in (a), makes one wonder whether this was heard in the assembly. It is not the natural word for a court, as οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι would be (so it is οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι who judge Leotychidas, §85.1). There are also procedural reasons for thinking that it was heard in the assembly: see on πεντήκοντα, §136.3. Hansen's view, (1975) 69, was that both Miltiades' trials were begun by *eisangelia* and heard by the Areopagus; but see Rhodes (1979) esp at 105 with Hansen (1980) esp at 91. Apart from the procedural points in (b), the fact that the allegations and defence in both trials seem to have fed the traditions are some evidence that it was a court or, in the second case, the assembly, rather than the Areopagus (see (g) for this trial; Appx 18 para 16 for the second). A decision must also take note of the cases next mentioned, but I tentatively suggest that the first trial was in an ordinary court, and the second was before the assembly.

(e) The next known case is Lyc *Leocrat* 117, saying that when Hipparchos son of Charmos did not await τὴν περὶ τῆς προδοσίας ἐν τῷ δήμῳ κρίσιν, fled before the end of the case (ἀγῶνα), and was condemned to death in his absence, "they" then voted (ἐψηφίσαντο) to inscribe his name as a traitor. He had been archon in 496 (Develin (1989) 54), and was the first victim of ostracism in 487; he was related to Hippias, probably grandson: see *APF* 11793 IX(B). He was probably recalled at the time of Xerxes' invasion; any such trial

would be after 479. Again, κρίσιν and ἀγῶνα suggest a trial, προδοσία raises the questions already noted; but the δῆμος is involved. There is an argument of sorts that after an abortive trial in whatever tribunal the assembly voted for the inscription. Next, Plut *Cim* 14.3 speaks of Cimon's trial for bribery in 462 before a court (δικασταί), as apparently were the cases (ἀγῶνας) said to have been brought by Ephialtes against members of the Areopagus, probably for verification of their year of office as archon (*Ath Pol* 25.2 with Rhodes *ad loc*). The case or intended case against Themistocles for medism is less clear; it may have been in the Areopagus, but the assembly has also been proposed (*Ath Pol* 25.3 with Rhodes *ad loc*). It is doubtful if, on our present evidence, we can further resolve the procedural and jurisdiction questions. See also Bonner and Smith (1930) I 197–200 (who thinks that both Miltiades' trials were before the assembly, 198), 298–300.

(f) All the above cases illustrate another aspect of Athenian litigation: even in the early fifth century, the courts, like the assembly, could be used for political ends; even if not quite the same as in the fourth century: Cohen (1995), especially 74–85 (so 85: ". . . attitudes towards enmity, envy, honour, and vengeance . . . are strategically employed" in the use of the courts), and chapter 5, "Litigation as Feud", exemplified by a detailed analysis of the family quarrels behind the Demosthenes v Meidias litigation, 90–101, and a general discussion at 101–118. A conviction might also show that the prosecutor's τιμή was greater than the defendant's (cf on §65.1). Also, Athens had no system of state prosecutions; even capital charges were brought by private individuals (except, perhaps, under the 30 tyrants, and even that is controversial); when *synegoroi* were appointed to prosecute Demosthenes and others over Harpalus' money, it was a special case: cf Todd (1993) 92. Herodotus' sources may have been accurate in describing the prosecutors here in the plural, ἐχθροί; multiple prosecutors are recorded in the case against Cimon (supra and Plut *Per* 10.5). The penalty on a conviction in 493 would probably have included ἀτιμία, which in practice would mean exile and so his removal from Athens (Ostwald (1955) 105–7). One man or several, in a public interest case the prosecutor(s) did not have to have been personally wronged (*Ath Pol* 4.4, 8.4 with Rhodes *ad locc*; Ostwald (1955); Harrison (1971) 2.53–4; Todd (1993) 113–5); that is strictly a different point to whether the distinction attested later between

wrongs only affecting individuals and those affecting the public had already developed (Harrison 2.75–8, citing, e.g. Dem 21.42–6, 46.26). Karavites (1977) 130 suggested that the Alcmaeonids were behind the present case; several of them were politically active at this time, although we know few details: note to §§121–124. But all prominent families would be concerned at Miltiades' return. While he was in the Chersonese, the Philaids had not been prominent in politics: we only know of Akestorides, a distant relation, archon in 504 (Develin (1989) 53). Miltiades was head of the family, and others would expect him to compete for office; when he did, αἱρεθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου suggests that he was popular.

(g) The trial probably fed the traditions now reflected in §§34–40, suggesting that the speeches on both sides were widely heard at the time. That of the prosecution would be selectively perpetuated in anti-Philaid propaganda (and hostility to Miltiades remained, as shown by the speed and viciousness of his second trial); the Philaids, in turn, could counter this by drawing on the defence. This partisan recollection found its way, directly or via polis tradition, to Herodotus some 30–40 years later. There is no reason to think that forensic oratory, especially in a political case such as this, differed in early fifth century Athens from what is attested for later, or kept narrowly to either the charge or the strict truth. Character assassination could be deployed alongside whatever version of the facts suited the case. Using details in §§34–40, it is possible to suggest the broad lines of the speeches; some points have already been suggested by Wade-Gery (1958) 165, 167 n. 4, and Crahay (1956) 265–6. The prosecution would say that the law applied to any Athenian, including abroad (for which cf Antiphon 5 (*Herodes*)), so being tyrant in the Chersonese broke the Athenian law forbidding it (supra); in any case, many of his subjects, even if now citizens of Cardia or Pactye, were men of free Athenian descent. Further, his rule, and that of his uncle, was really an extension of that of the Pisistratids; Pisistratos had supported the Chersonese venture in the first place and Hippias had sent him out in a trireme, a tyrant's ship (§39.1; cf Appx 2 para 2). He chose to be tyrant; he could have stayed in Attica and managed the family property (cf §103.4), as was his duty. The title of tyrant which he took proved the case. His uncle had the support of Croesus (§37), the "tyrant par excellence"; Miltiades' own coup against the

Chersonetans, and a king for father-in-law (both §39), were the acts of a tyrant. Also, he was a coward who fled the Scythians, leaving his people in the lurch; he only returned because barbarians, not Greeks, brought him back; as he had now fled before the Persians (§40: this aspect enlarged in Appx 10 paras 6, 13). They might have added that he was a friend of Darius (for which see note to §§31–33); and that his real ambition now was to become tyrant in Athens; hinted at in Nepos *Milt* 8, probably from Ephoros, though it is there put into his second trial (Appx 18 para 16); cf on πρώτη, §109.4.

The defence could speak of his impeccable "democratic" antecedents: a father choosing exile to living under Pisistratos (§35), later killed by the Pisistratids (§103). His uncle's position had the express approval of Delphi, not only to help the Dolonci but also to lead an Athenian settlement; the god would not sanction a crime against Athens. Neither he nor his uncle had been a tyrant, but an elected ruler freely chosen by the Dolonci (§36.1). In any case the Greek cities there had their own governments; he was not their tyrant. It was no crime in Athenian law for him to rule non-Greeks; it was a compliment that they preferred him to one of their own. He was a patriot who had tried to turn the Ionians against Darius at the Danube bridge (p. 49); also, perhaps, tyrants were men appointed by Darius, and therefore Miltiades could not be a tyrant (cf pp. 50–1). On one view of §40, though not that argued for in Appx 10, he could add he had not been in the Chersonese for very long. In any case, he had wronged no Athenian, and there was no public interest in what he did abroad.

105.1 ἔτι ἐν τῷ ἄστεϊ Since §102 has the Persians landing at Marathon, this implies that the generals sent Philippides before the Athenians went there themselves. But it is possible that in fact he was sent after Eretria fell but before the Persians landed, though when it was clear that they were going to come against Athens, and also that the decision to send him was taken by the assembly. See on ἠνδραπόδισται, §106.2 and Appx 17 C4.

ἐς Σπάρτην Whatever the motives for sending to Sparta the previous year, for which see on §49.2, the dominant one now would be her military reputation. Plato says that the Athenians sent for help all over Greece, and impliedly criticises the Greeks for not helping,

except Sparta: see Appx 17 C4. Lys 2.26, with typical rhetorical exaggeration, says that the battle took place so quickly after the Persians landed that the rest of Greece learnt, by the same messenger, both of the landing and that the Athenians had defeated them; this cannot be reconciled with the days of stalemate, §110. Athens presumably did send to Plataea; if she sent to other cities only Plataea responded. Plataea was next door, but Megara was also, and would be at risk if Athens fell. Further afield, we might think of larger cities, e.g. Corinth (cf §89) or Argos; Thebes would probably be hostile. Plato (or his source) may have been trying to water down the later Athenian assertion that she had single-handedly saved Greece at Marathon (Appx 17 A3–4).

Φιλιππίδην Φειδιππίδην (cf Ar *Nub*) in **a**; but he is Φιλιππίδην in all later references to this incident, e.g. Paus 1.28.4, 8.54.6, Plut *Mal Her* 862a, Clem Alex *Protrep* 3.44.3, Suda sv Ἱππίας (II); and there is the argument that Aristophanes would not want to denigrate a Marathon hero by naming Strepsiades' son after him. It is curious that his patronymic had been forgotten, and Herodotus has to call him Ἀθηναῖον ἄνδρα: cf on §4.1. Pheidippides (attested at Thera and in Etruria: Dover (1968) p xxv) is not otherwise recorded as an Athenian name (but Φείδιππος is, *APF* 14157–64; LGPN II 444, 19 others), while Philippides was quite common (LGPN II 450, 20 others, including *APF* 11948, 14546, 14670; Plat *Prot* 315a, Dem 21.215; a fourth century politician, mocked for his cadaverous appearance, Alexis frr 2 and 93 K-A with Arnott *ad locc*, Menander fr 266 K–A; and a comic poet, PCG VII. The controversy continues: see the opposing views of Frost (1979) and Badian (1979).

ἡμεροδρόμην This form (with the Doric ending -ας) is found in *Syll*³ 303, a dedication of Philonides, Alexander's runner (mentioned Paus 6.16.5); elsewhere, ἡμεροδρόμος, so Herodotus himself, 9.12.1, Plato *Prot* 335e etc; the verb, Strabo 5.4.13. The best known similar doublet is Μαραθωνομάχαι/οι (Appx 17 n. 7); for others (nouns ending -μαχης/ος or -ποίης/ος) see Buck and Petersen (1945) 9–10, 171–2. The addition of τοῦτο μελετῶντα should be read only as Philippides offering his services, not that he was a full time employee of the city. For the profession generally see Matthews (1974–5): the Argives send one to Athens in 479, 9.12.1; for achievable timings see on δευτεραῖος, §106.1.

Πὰν περιπίπτει Mt Parthenion is some 40 km from Sparta. It has peaks of 333 and 370 m, but the tracks rise only to c180–230 m. Herodotus is careful to distance himself from the story: ὡς . . . ἔλεγε here, putting §105.2 in oratio obliqua, and ἔφη in §106.1; cf Lateiner (1989) 22–23. However, an epiphany is readily explicable on sensible medical grounds, and it is plausible that Philippides did report it when he got back to Athens. It helps explain both the dedication of a shrine to Pan (§105.3), and Miltiades dedicating a statue to him (Appx 17 n. 2). Callimachos' dedication, *ibid*, refers to the "immortal messenger". Garland (1992) 51 would interpret this also as referring to Pan, but others suggest Nike or Iris (see ML 18 commentary). For other epiphany stories connected to Marathon see on §117.2.

Philippides' story is intrinsically feasible as an hallucination. Whether it occurred on the outward or return journey (if we assume that he returned immediately), his physiological state would be one in which the brain typically malfunctions: he was performing a remarkable physical feat (see on δευτεραῖος, §106.1 for the length and timing of the run), with little sleep, probably little food; if not dehydrated, at least his blood chemistry would be impaired, and he would have become hypoglycaemic: stream water would not replenish salts and sugar. If he was on the outward leg, he will have been running for some 25 to 30 hours, and it would be twilight or dark on the second day, which would enhance the possibilities for hallucinating. If on the return journey (so expressly in Suda sv Ἱππίας (II)), even after a quick meal, but probably no sleep, and perhaps 3 to 4 hours on his way, it would still be dark; in addition, he might be upset, even clinically depressed, if he felt that he had failed in his mission to get immediate Spartan help, and would be open to persuading himself that he had secured divine help (so Garland (1992) 49). The use of περιπίπτει is a nice touch: Pan "fell in" with him, almost as if waiting, not just "met" him.

105.2 ἤδη χρηστοῦ Or **a**'s χρησίμου (OCT^2, Legrand, Nenci). Pan was an Arcadian deity, and Philippides was in Arcadia. But it is unclear what past benefits he had, or the Athenians would believe he had, conferred (and see on §105.3), or why he should now want to intervene. He does not in terms now say that he will help the Athenians at Marathon. But the above dedications suggest that the Athenians believed that he had helped, perhaps by disseminating φόβος amongst the Persians. Harrison (1972) 276 argues that he was

included in the painting of Marathon, Appx 17 A2. When the story is retold, he has helped: Lucian *Philopseud* 3, *Deor Dial* 22.3; Suda sv Ἱππίας (II), and apparently also in the Tegean version: Paus 8.54.6.

105.3 Πανὸς ἱρόν His cave sanctuary was on the north-west slope of the Acropolis, about 50 m to the west of Travlos' Precinct of Aglauros (see on κατὰ τὸ πριτανήιον, §103.3): Garland (1992) 59–60 with plan; photograph, Plate 11; Travlos (1971) no 135 on plan p. 71; photo 419. It is thrice mentioned in Lucian (*locc cit* supra, *Bis Acc* 9.12); Euripides made it the place where Apollo rapes Creusa (*Ion* 936–41, foreshadowed by the chorus, 492–506: though only 20 m further west is a cave dedicated to Apollo), and Aristophanes made it a place of assignment, *Lys* 720–1. We have no evidence for the earlier worship of Pan in Attica, unless we can infer a local cult, in any case undateable, at Oenoe near Marathon, where Paus 1.32.7 noted a mountain of Pan with a cave. Behind the delay indicated by καταστάντων σφι εὖ is the politics of the demos seeking to bring cults under city control, rather than localised as preserves of tribes or phratries under the auspices of aristocratic families (Garland 35, 62–3, 99–100). However, that merely shows that the Athenians manipulated Philippides' story, not that it was invented ex post facto to support their establishing the city cult.

λαμπάδι A torch race, either a straightforward race or a relay race: e.g. Ar *Ran* 131 and Schol *ad loc* (which speaks of three such races, held in the Ceramicos, in honour of Athena, Hephaestos and Prometheus); Aesch *Ag* 312–13; generally, Parke (1977) 45, 150–1, 171–3. 8.98.2 suggests that a torch relay race in honour of Hephaestos was common in Greece; a horseback version in honour of the Thracian goddess Bendis is described in Plat *Rep* 328a. Neither this particular race, nor any other special honour for Pan, is attested elsewhere.

106.1 ἔφη See on §105.1.

δευτεραῖος "on the second day": whenever he was told to go, this effectively means that he left in the morning, was one night on the road, and arrived late on the second day: cf Suda, svv Ἱππίας (II), Στάδιον, Φιλιππίδης; their distance of 1500 stades (266–300 km, depending on the unit used, for which see on στάδιοι, §36.2) com-

pares with the modern road distance of 255 km. From Athens to beyond the isthmus, a little under half, would be the easier section; any route thence to Sparta had to cope with mountainous terrain (cf on Πάν, §105.1). A fit man could consistently average 9.5 to 11 km/h over easier ground and 6 to 6.5 km/h over high ground, with a few hours sleep; in 1982, two RAF officers ran from Athens to Sparta in 34 and 35½ hours, so averaging around 7 km/h including rests: *Times* 11.10.82, conveniently in Lazenby (1993) 52. Plut *Arist* 20.4–5 records that in 479, one Euchidas ran from Plataea to Delphi and back (to collect fresh sacred fire), with a break for personal purification at Delphi, within the day: the distance each way is given at 1000 stades (c180 km: it is 170 km as the crow flies). If his purification took only minutes, it would still imply a consistent average speed of 13–14 km/h, mostly over mountains. The story is spoiled, in a sense, because the man died after getting back.

τοὺς ἄρχοντας It is thought that any stranger arriving at Sparta, especially on official business, would be referred to the ephors, or one or more of them, and this is what both Herodotus and his sources probably understood. Xen *Lac Pol* 8.1 uses αἱ αρχαί to mean Spartan magistrates generally (cf on §67.1); Arist *Pol* 1294b32–3 uses it for the ephors plus gerousia. Perhaps some of the gerontes were hastily summoned to help decide what to do.

106.2 ἀρχαιοτάτην If it was actually said, it was perhaps undiplomatic; we do not know if the Spartans' own traditions (cf on §52.1) accepted that Athens existed before the Heraclids divided up the Peloponnese. The Athenians repeat the point in 480 to Gelon, 7.161.3. It was an article of faith for Athenians that they were αὐτόχθονες; they somehow managed to reconcile their variant traditions of being ruled by Cecrops, and Erichthonios and Erechtheus. See Rosivach (1987); Gantz (1996) I 233–47, pointing out the "earth-born" connotation of Erichthonios, 233. Being autochthons, suggests Rosivach 302, carried the connotation of being superior. See also on §137.1 for their autochthony claims.

ἠνδραπόδισται The fact that Philippides' report mentioned Eretria, but not that the Persians had landed at Marathon, raises a timing problem discussed in Appx 17 C4. The enslavement would be a

good point to take. We might think that even if the Spartans had tolerated the islands falling under Persian rule, their claim to hegemony of the Greeks (note to §§49.2–55 paras 4, 7) would be weakened if they took no action when the Persians threatened a mainland Greek city. But opinion at Sparta may have been divided: next note.

106.3 ἔαδε . . . ἀδύνατα . . . Although the wish to help the Athenians is expressed first, the reason given for not doing so immediately could be read as an excuse. But in reality the situation may have been more complex. The full moon is one aspect: see Appx 17 F5–7. A second could be internal political tensions: anti-Athenian sentiment and doubts about attacking Persia: *ibid* F7. A third would be if troops were then needed to deal with a helot disturbance in Messenia, for which see Appx 14 para 9. Sending 2000 men may reflect a compromise; §120 shows that once they left, they marched very quickly: see *ad loc.*

τὸν νόμον . . . εἰνάτῃ . . . πλήρεος The phrase μὴ οὐ πλήρεος ἐόντος can only mean "since (the moon) is not full", and not "until it is full": for μὴ οὐ plus participle expressing a negative condition, if not, or since not (so also 4.97 and 8.100), see Goodwin para 818, citing 2.110, §9.1 and this passage, as well as other authors; Smyth para 2750. There is adequate evidence that at the time of a festival the Spartans had a religious ban on marching out until after the full moon: Pritchett *GSW* I 116–26. It is probable that they did not have a general ban each month, and Philippides arrived during the Carneia: see Appx 17 F5–7.

107.1 κατηγέετο Resuming the narrative from §102; for the imperfect, see on ἔπλεον.

ὄψιν Herodotus recounts 17 dreams including this and those at §§118.1 and 131 (p. 34): those of Astyages, dreaming first that his daughter was urinating and then that she had a vine growing from her vagina (1.107, 108) also have a sexual content. In some cases the dreamer specifically treats it as a message from god (e.g. Cyrus, that Darius will succeed him, 1.209–10; Xerxes for his proposed expedition, 7.12, 14, 15.3). Dreams ranked with prophecies and omens, always to be accurately interpreted and taken seriously, or disaster follows; Polycrates ignored his daughter's dream, 3.124;

Croesus and the "mule" would rule the Medes, 1.55.2; Cambyses died at the "wrong" Ecbatana, 3.64.4. "In early times the greatest attention was paid to dreams, which seemed to be a message from the other world": Nilsson (1949) 131; cf Parker (1996) 219–221. If Hippias' contemporaries had had proto-Freudian insight, they might have said that it meant that he was behaving as his father had done, landing at Marathon to recover power in Athens. Hippias' more symbolic interpretation, albeit here to the same effect, that "mother" meant his homeland or the earth, was adopted by two later generals who reported the same dream: the Messenian Comon in 372 (Paus 4.26.3); and Caesar, at Gades per Suet *Caes* 1.7.2, Cass Dio 37.52.2, at Ravenna before crossing the Rubicon per Plut *Caes* 32.4, where Suet 1.32.1 has a different dream. No help on this passage is derived from the clinical details of similar dreams in Artemidorus *Oneir* 1.31, 1.79, 2.67.

107.2 συνεβάλετο . . . ἀπέβησε . . . ὅρμιζε . . . διέτασσε As noted above, Herodotus continues to use imperfects; but here he almost transfers the leadership from Datis to Hippias. Aigilia, off Styra, would be a convenient first stage on the journey to Persia, being a little over half way between Eretria and Carystos; it confirms that Datis has withdrawn from Eretria, but also suggests that he hoped for a quick result in Attica: see Appx 17 G3. The τοῦτο μέν . . . τοῦτο δέ is not a neat balance: a few ships disembarked the captives, most made for Marathon. There is no implication in the narrative that he used them as hostages, e.g. offering to release them if Athens surrendered. We might read into διέτασσε local knowledge, telling the Persian commanders where best to encamp, e.g. for springs and pasturage for the horses.

107.3 πταρεῖν . . . πρεσβυτέρῳ He was nearly 80 (see on κατηγέετο, §102); shrinking of gums with consequent loosening of the teeth is a common feature of ageing. Sneezing as an omen is already in Homer, μέγ' ἔπταρεν, *Od* 17.541 (and Herodotus' μεζόνως may echo this); so Xen *Anab* 3.2.9, Front *Strat* 1.12.11; generally Pease (1911).

σπουδὴν πολλήν Almost anything "untoward" could be regarded as a portent: e.g. the "bees" (probably blowflies) swarming in the skull of Onesilos (5.114). If he could recover the tooth, it would break the omen implicit in losing it.

107.4 ἀναστενάξας . . . οὐκ ἡμετέρη ἐστί . . . He now correctly reinterprets the dream (see on ὄψιν, §107.1): he will possess his home country, but only to the extent of the tooth. His ἡμετέρη has the ambiguity of oracular statements: (a) the Persians may win, but I and my supporters will not recover my tyranny; (b) neither I nor the Persians will win. If Datis was told of the incident, it would not deter him.

108.1 Ἱππίης This is the last we hear of him in Herodotus (except for incidental mentions in §§109.3, 121.1), and it is presumed that he died soon afterwards. Aelian fr 74 (≈ Suda sv Ἱππίας(I)) says that he died of disease at Lemnos; another tradition had him killed at Marathon: Cic *Ad Att* 9.10.3; Justin 2.9.21.

ἐν τεμένεϊ Ἡρακλέος The shrine has not been recovered by archaeology, but epigraphic evidence shows that it was almost certainly by the Brexisa marsh (Appx 17 B3); the camp would stretch inland from there (ib D1); thus ἐν probably just means "at" and not "within", though using the temenos for a proper purpose would not be sacrilegious (cf on §§75.3, 79.2). It made good strategic sense to stop at that end of the plain and not advance nearer the Persians; further, the Athenians could feel that they were putting themselves under Heracles' protection: there are grounds for thinking that, until after Plataea, he was worshipped in Attica more than Theseus (Garland (1992) 40, 57; for Theseus, chap 4), and had certainly long been worshipped at Marathon (Paus 1.32.4–5; see also Appx 17 n. 13). Also, this Heracleion may well have been established by Pisistratos: Garland 40; cf Boardman (1989), arguing that Pisistratos had sought to manipulate the Heracles myth for political advantage, or even identify himself with Heracles. The manipulation point is controversial, but to occupy a Pisistratid foundation could be perceived as a blow against Hippias once it was known that he was with the Persians, and also as depriving his supporters of a rallying point.

Πλαταιέες πανδημεί Herodotus has not said how they were alerted to come: cf on ἐς Σπάρτην, §105.1. For the probable numbers see Appx 17 D2. §108 goes on to explain the background to Plataea now being an autonomous polis with close ties to Athens, including rights of intermarriage: see Figueira (1991) 150–4, noted on §100.1.

ἐδεδώκεσαν . . . ὧδε Despite συχνούς, we have no evidence of any occasions other than as described in §108.

108.2 πιεζεύμενοι ὑπὸ Θηβαίων An outline of Boeotian history is conveniently in *CAH* III[2] 3.288–294 (Forrest) and Jeffery (1976) 77–79. During the sixth century, Thebes sought to exercise some form of suzerainty over all Boeotia (cf τελέειν, §108.5). There was some resistance, e.g. from Orchomenos. The present episode shows that that included Plataea; probably Eleutherai also (Paus 1.38.8). See Figueira (1991) 154–6; from the numismatic aspect, the Theban "federal" coinage, Kraay (1976) 108–14, esp 110, 114; cf on οὔρισαν, §108.5). Plataea's dialect was Boeotian: *IG* VII 1664–1718, e.g. κατὰ γᾶν, 1664; Eleutherai is called a Boeotian polis in Schol Ar *Ach* 243a. When Thebes now pressed Plataea to join her (quasi-)federation, she probably did not foresee opposition from Athens; Thebes had supported Pisistratos, 1.61, and this episode was probably during Hippias' time (next note). But Athens had long been interested in extending her influence as opportunity presented itself: Appx 8 n. 8, and this was a good opportunity to expand northwards; cf the reference to Hysiai and frontiers in §108.5–6. When Thebes agreed to join in the attack on Athens in c506 (Appx 12 para 2), it was probably as much in the hope of territorial gain (or recovery) as with approval for Cleomenes' plan to reinstall Isagoras and an oligarchy.

παρατυχοῦσι Thuc 3.68.5, possibly from a local Plataean tradition, says that the Spartan destruction of Plataea (427) was in the ninety third year after she became allied to Athens, which would place §108 in 519. But the presence of Cleomenes and "Lacedaemonians", an escort if not an army, is a puzzle, as is why the Corinthians also should also "chance" to be in the area shortly afterwards, for which see on §108.5. Cleomenes had just come to the throne (see on Πέρκαλον, §65.2); it is unlikely that 519 was the year of his Argos campaign (Appx 15 para 1). There is no merit in amending 93rd to "83rd", to connect his presence with his removal of Hippias the year before, or his unsuccessful attempt to remove Cleisthenes the year after: *HCT* and particularly Hornblower *ad loc*; for these activities see note to §§49.2–55 para 4. Even if we do amend, Plataea would not be the natural way home for him (and where had he spent the winter of 510/9?). But if the Lacedaemonians were a royal

escort rather than an army (cf on λογάδες, §56, and perhaps the men he took to the Heraion, §81), possible explanations for his presence in 519 are: (a) the Spartan arbitration at this time between Megara and Athens over Salamis (Plut *Sol* 10.1, placed, like Plataea, in 519 by Piccirilli (1973) no 10, 42–6, 46–56); (b) whether or not connected with (a), to try and bring Megara into the Peloponnesian League: *CAH* IV^2 (Jeffery) 352, following Burn (1984) 171; (c) visiting a Boeotian *xenos*, also perhaps to see if Thebes would join the League; (d) perhaps because Plataea had appealed directly to Dorian Sparta. See also next note.

Ἡμεῖς μὲν . . . Herodotus' presumably Athenian sources have attributed the response to the Spartans, not Cleomenes personally. In 519 he was a young new king (previous note), and the other king was the ageing Ariston. If historical, the substance of the reply reflects Spartan sentiment against being involved, politically or militarily, outside the Peloponnese: note to §§49.2–60 para 4; unless based on *xenia* relationships, or Delphi instructed her to take action; though Cleomenes himself may have seen the advantages of an alliance with Megara, which would give Sparta a bridgehead, as it were, beyond the isthmus (cf *ibid* para 3). But neither he nor others would want to become embroiled in a border dispute; and if he had just arbitrated the Salamis matter, he may have found the Athenians hard to deal with.

108.3 οὐ κατὰ εὐνοίην This reads like the sources adding a little praise of themselves, τιμωρέειν . . . οὐ κακοῦσι, with a slur on the Spartans, οὐ κατὰ εὐνοίην, thrown in. Whether Cleomenes really wanted to see the Athens of Hippias and Hipparchos in dispute with Thebes may be doubted. He just did not want to be involved in their border dispute (previous note).

108.4 τοῖσι δυώδεκα Θεοῖσι . . . τὸν βωμόν If 519, only three years after its dedication, 522, by Pisistratos, grandson of the tyrant, when archon (under the democracy, it was enlarged: Thuc 5.54.6–7). It was on the northern side of the agora; mostly lost in the railway, the site of the S-W corner survives: full description, Crosby (1949); drawing of reconstruction, Garland (1992) 41; location, Travlos (1971) no 21 on plan p. 21. It soon became the ὄμφαλος (so Pind *Dith* fr 75 Maehler (fr 63 Bowra), a spiritual focal point as well as that from

which road distances were measured (Garland *loc cit*, citing 2.7.1 and *IG* II^2 2640).

πυθόμενοι ταῦτα The Thebans would not want to attack Plataea while the Spartan king was there, even if he only had an escort and not a large army. If they attacked now, while the Plataean delegation was seeking Athenian help, they presumably thought that the Athenians would not oppose them. This was a miscalculation: cf on §108.2. For the imperfects ἐστράτευον and ἐβοήθεον see on ἐξεβοήθεον, §16.2.

108.5 Κορίνθιοι . . . παρατυχόντες Although Herodotus also has the Corinthians there by chance, like Cleomenes at §108.2, it is feasible, especially in view of οὔρισαν τὴν χώρην, that they had been called in as arbitrators; it is so treated by Piccirilli (1973) no 9, pp. 42–6. See Appx 11 n. 9.

οὔρισαν τὴν χώρην It is likely from the further Theban attack, ἐπεθήκαντο (next note), and §108.6, that Corinth fixed the frontier so as to give Thebes at least some land south of the Asopos; the injunction that Thebes should let Boeotian settlements decide their own position (ἐᾶν Θηβαίους . . . ἐς Βοιωτοὺς τελέειν) might just be a warning to let Plataea be, but could also have concerned Eleutherai, about 10 km south-east of Plataea on the southern slopes of Mt Parnes (cf on §108.2).

ἐπεθήκαντο A piece of treachery, made worse by the fact that the Corinthians had apparently fixed a frontier which favoured Thebes (previous note); Thebes wanted still more. It is not clear if Athenian troops now returned to help Plataea repel the Thebans.

108.6 τὸν Ἀσωπὸν . . . Ὑσιάς Hysiai was about 7 km east of Plataea; the Asopos ran east-west about 5 km further north. In line with Athenian policy noted on §108.2, it looks as though the Athenians took advantage of Thebes' attempt to upset the arbitration to secure an advantage for herself. Whether or not Plataea gained more land up to the Asopos, this makes clear that Hysiai now fell under Athenian influence, and it is probable that Erythrai, a further 7 km north-east of Hysiai, also did, and Athens asserted that Thebes' writ ran only up to the north bank of the river. When Thebes attacked in

c506, she retook Hysiai and also Oenoe, about 5 km south-east of Eleutherai (5.74.2, where Herodotus' description of them as "demes" cannot taken literally in the case of Hysiai (Figueira (1991) 156); Athens presumably recovered them when she defeated Thebes, 5.77. 9.15.3 and 25.3, which distinguish Hysiai and Plataea, are no evidence that Athens had not recovered them; there they are geographical markers to place the Persian palisade. For the relations of these places with Athens and Thebes see Figueira 154–6; for Thespiae, c14 km north-west of Plataea, see *CAH* V^2 96–7 (Lewis); generally (except for Oenoe) Hansen and Nielsen (2004) 443, 440–1, 434, 457–8.

§§109–117 *The Athenian generals are divided whether to fight the Persians; Miltiades persuades the polemarch Callimachos that they should fight, and his vote decides the matter. When it is Miltiades' turn to command, the Athenians attack. In the centre, the Persians put the Athenians to flight, but the latter are successful on the wings, which close up behind the Persians; the Athenians are victorious. The Persians retreat to their ships and cast off. A signal, attributed to the Alcmaeonids, is seen as the Persian fleet sails for Phaleron; but the Athenians hasten back there and prevent the Persians landing; the Persians sail away. In the fighting, a man called Epizelos went blind.*

As with §§102–8 (see introductory note), Herodotus' sources are Philaid and polis traditions; §115 is Alcmaeonid. Although Miltiades is presented as popular after Marathon, §132.1, and here as the patriot who encourages his fellow-generals to fight and chooses when to, Herodotus stops short of attributing the successful tactics of §§111.3 and 113.1 to him. He was getting mixed signals from his sources. Philaid spin, enhancing Miltiades' role, could only help Cimon's career (Evans (1993) 303–4); Cimon (died 450) was probably still alive when Herodotus was accessing his Athenian sources. Others would put it differently. His account of the battle may be unsatisfactory for us (Appx 17 *init*), but he could be no stronger than his sources. Behind all this we may infer that many, not just generals, were reluctant to fight when the size of the Persian force was seen. For other points see Appx 17: C3, Miltiades' role in the assembly; D4, the days of stalemate; G1–6, why the battle took place when it did and before the Spartans arrived. The use of Μῆδοι and μηδικός for Persian(s) (but not μηδίσαι, §109.5) is stylistic only: see on ἐς τοὺς τυράννους, §9.1.

§§109–110 raise the interrelated issues of the election and status of the polemarch, and the status of the generals; and how far Herodotus' account has been affected by Philaid input seeking to give Miltiades a greater role than he really had, and the sources generally retrospectively attributing contemporary practice to Marathon: he could not check his information (pp. 22–3). The election point turns on whether there is a conflict between §109.2 and *Ath Pol* 22.2, 5, and if so how to resolve it. The best discussion is Rhodes *ad locc.* The *Ath Pol* shows that up to 487–6, archons were elected by the assembly; thereafter they were chosen by lot. Either the sources have wrongly ascribed this to Callimachos' appointment; or we can adopt the suggestion that from 508, the archons were elected as a group, but the three main offices (eponymous archon, archon basileus, polemarch) were then allocated by lot (Bicknell (1971); Badian (1971) 25; Rhodes 273; Hamel (1998) 79–81). Although the antiquity of the office of polemarch cannot be in doubt, we only know one, perhaps two, others by name: Charmos, c557/6, *APF* 11793 IX; and perhaps Epilycos, *APF* 8429 III; Rhodes on *Ath Pol* 3.5. That does not solve the problem as to his status. After 487, his role became honorary rather than substantive, and the generals were the real commanders. Even if, formally, he was ἡγεμών of the whole army, his duties were religious and judicial only (*Ath Pol* 58, 22.2; Hignett (1952) 175; Hamel 79). Was this already so at Marathon? Having him in the traditional place of honour on the right wing at Marathon, and inferring that he presided over the sacrifice, §112.1, is neutral.

Although we conventionally translate στρατηγός as "general", it lacks the modern connotation of a man with a hierarchy of officers below him. It just means "leader of the host", and "commander" is closer to the reality. As noted on στρατηγοί, §103.1, since 501 the assembly elected generals annually, one for each tribe. Were they simply generals of their tribal contingents, in which case the polemarch would be the substantive commander; or were they generals of the whole army, in which case the polemarch was at best *primus inter pares*? If the latter, may we assume that the tribal contingents were commanded by taxiarchs? Taxiarchs are first attested only in the mid fifth century: Cratinus T15 K–A, Develin (1989) 104, and then in the Peloponnesian war, e.g. Ar *Ach* 569, *Pax* 444: generally Rhodes 684–5. No source says why or when the office was created.

On any view, Marathon is almost certainly the first time that the new system of 10 annually elected generals had been put to the test. We may doubt that all 10 went to Asia Minor in 499 (pp. 53, 61),

or against Aegina, if, which is doubtful, there had already been hostilities (Appx 12 paras 5–6). Marathon was an important occasion and the whole army had to be deployed. The picture in Herodotus, of the generals and polemarch meeting as a sort of war council, in which each man had a vote, is entirely feasible; as is the practicality of having one man in overall charge on a daily basis, the prytany of §110 (the authenticity of which has troubled some commentators): they did not know how long they would have to wait for the Spartans. Both were pragmatic solutions to the situation, when it was realised that having tribal commanders as opposed to army commanders raised practical problems. Subsequent campaigns do not help on the prytanies; after 487, when generals did command the whole army, it was very rare for all 10 to be sent out at once: Thuc 1.116.1 is exceptional. Even on the Sicilian expedition, only three were sent. The idea of rotating daily commands was probably abandoned and decisions in the field taken by a majority vote: Hamel (1998) 95–99, Dover (1960), and cf also Hornblower on Thuc 1.61.1; though Ephoros apparently reported two cases of daily commands, naming the general for the day at Arginoussai, DS 13.97.6, and Aegospotami, 13.106.1, not implicit in Xen *Hell* 1.6.29–38 and 2.1.27–30; Schol Dem 21.164, dealing with (the real) Tamynai (cf on §101.1) says that if there was more than one general, each held command for a period (παρὰ χρόνον).

Scholars assess all this both ways. Develin (1989) 4 thinks that taxiarchs also date from 501, so that the generals were generals of the whole army; so Hammond (1973) 231; Hamel 98; Rhodes on *Ath Pol* 22.2 at 265, and *Ath Pol* 61.3 with Rhodes *ad loc.* But his reliance there on the fourth century "Oath of Plataea", RO 88 = Tod 204, is questionable; it may well be a forgery in so far as it purports to refer back to the battle of Plataea, 479 (cf RO pp. 433–9, esp 439). Others see the polemarch as a genuine commander, with the generals commanding their tribal contingents, and their elevation to equal voting status a Philaid overlay to enhance Miltiades' role, e.g. Bicknell (1970) 427–430; cf Hamel 81. But if the pryatanies were pragmatic, not overlay (cf supra), and if Miltiades persuaded Callimachos, and Callimachos in turn influenced one or two of the other generals, it shows that the latter was persuasive on the issue; it neither proves nor disproves his or their actual status.

The balance favours the polemarch as still the substantive commander, and Miltiades as the other generals as commanding their

tribal contingents, and the changes of 487 onwards as influenced by the experience of Marathon; this also offers a sensible explanation for the eventual creation of taxiarchs. At Marathon, the generals are represented as tribal commanders, each leading his tribal contingent from camp to the battle line: see on αἱ φυλαί, §111.1, though it can be argued that even after 487, men continued to think of the generals as tribal commanders. The problem cannot be solved by the point that if Herodotus was giving readings, and they included this *logos*, the audience would not accept an inaccuracy: by then they would not recall the actual 490 position. In any case, the points do not affect how we assess the course of the battle itself.

109.1 δίχα αἱ γνῶμαι This is very likely, even allowing for the traditions being affected by the fact of victory, and the apparent parallel with Eretria (οὐδὲν ὑγιές . . . διφασίας ἰδέας, §100.1 (cf on §100.2)). Whatever caution had been expressed in Athens, they had gone to Marathon full of patriotic sentiment. But they could now see the size of the Persian army, and many, not just generals, must have been reluctant to fight: Appx 17 C1, D4, G1. They would want to wait until they heard from Sparta, and then wait for the Spartans to arrive. Some perhaps doubted that they could win even with Spartan help: there may have been talk in the camp of going back to Athens, or even coming to terms with the Persians. So although Miltiades is made to urge Callimachos that not to fight is μηδίσαι (§109.5), we should not label the reluctant generals as medisers; they were no more than pragmatic. Cf next note.

109.2 ἐνίκα ἡ χείρων τῶν γνωμέων In retrospect, this was easy to say; cf previous note. Given the imperfect ἐνίκα, δίχα suggests, not a 5–5 division, but a majority, 6–4 or even 7–3, against fighting: Hamel (1998) 80, referring to Thuc 6.10.4 and Ste Croix *OPW* 118 n. 76 on δίχα at Thuc 1.40.5.

ψηφιδοφόρος ὁ τῷ κυάμῳ λαχών . . . For the lot and the polemarch's authority see introductory note. To make sense of τὸ παλαιόν . . . ὁμόψοφον etc, we should understand it as referring to the position between 501 and 487, with Marathon the only time the system had to be put into practice. Whether we translate τὸ παλαιόν as "from of old" or "formerly" (Powell sv: he has the latter here), it does not correspond to the position before 501 as we understand it; the

polemarch was then the commander, and generals, when appointed, were subordinate to him. In the mid fifth century, the sources could say that "now" (when they were talking), the polemarch's office was honorary; "formerly", i.e. at the time of Marathon, he and the generals each had a vote.

ἔλεγε τάδε Whatever actually happened, what follows must be a Philaid artefact: Miltiades overcomes the doubters and enables the Athenians to win their glorious victory: cf Appx 17 A3. As reworked by Herodotus it has literary parallels. The "now is our opportunity" and the alternatives of freedom and slavery are paralleled in Dionysius' speech before Lade, §11; θεῶν τὰ ἴσα νεμόντων appears in both. Generally see Lang (1984) cited in note to §§6–17. ἐν σοί . . . ἐστίν, §109.3, is echoed by Themistocles before Salamis, 8.60α. Other points are noted as they occur. But if we accept that Miltiades did play a significant role in keeping up the anti-Persian momentum, it is possible that the sentiments here attributed to him reflect what he had said in the assembly to persuade the Athenians to march out (Appx 17 C3 at n. 19). At Marathon, the reluctance to fight was not irrational given the visible size of the Persian army: see on §109.1. One detail gives credibility to the basic story. Miltiades had had experience of ruling in the Chersonese, and so dealing with men. He would realise that it would be easier to win over some of his fellow-generals through Callimachos, who carried authority (whatever his status: introductory note), rather than directly himself.

109.3 Ἐν σοὶ νῦν . . . καταδουλῶσθαι . . . ὑποκύψωσι For ἐν σοὶ . . . cf previous note. Joining καταδουλόω and ὑποκύπτω connotes that surrender would mean not just slavery, but degrading slavery: it is Persian slaves, not free Athenians, who bow to their masters. As noted on ὑποκυψάσας, §25.2, ὑποκύπτω is rare in classical Greek; but both it and καταδουλόω were probably in the vernacular of Ionia to refer to dealings with the Persians; cf p. 46 n. 163. While their use here might be editorial, it is tempting to suggest that Miltiades knew them from dealing with Persians while in the Chersonese, used them now, and they survived in the Philaid tradition.

Ἁρμόδιός τε καὶ Ἀριστογείτων Whether from his sources or as a matter of editing, Herodotus has Harmodius and Aristogeiton both in Miltiades' patriotic speech, and as part of his defence of the

Alcmaeonids at §123; see on §123.2 for their special status in Athens. It would be reasonable for Miltiades to argue: do not support Hippias and let Athens fall back into tyranny (cf next note). If he actually mentioned Harmodios and Aristogeiton, the appeal would have extra point, as they were fellow demesmen of Callimachos (Aphidna: *APF* 12267 III; ML 18). There are, however, two difficulties in accepting the text as historical. One is the mention of μνημόσυνα (plural). The rhetoric of: if you save Athens from slavery, you will be remembered even more than the tyrannicides is one thing. But could Miltiades compare their existing statues (see on §123.2) with whatever might be put up if Marathon was won (cf Appx 17 A1)? Had Callimachos already vowed a monument on a victory (see on §114), and did some people, including Miltiades, know this? Otherwise to say: your monument will be greater than theirs, though flattering, would require considerable foresight. A μνημόσυνον is an actual memorial, not the memories which future Athenians would have. The second is whether the juxtaposition of ἐλευθέρας and the tyrannicides makes the substance of the argument inconsistent with §123.2; Herodotus there expressly corrects the notion that the tyrannicides freed Athens. Hence Podlecki (1966) 140 argues that this shows that §§121–4 are a later addition to correct his earlier account. If there is an inconsistency, it would not have worried Herodotus. He here needs Miltiades only to take the perfectly fair point: do not undo the good work done, or begun to be done, by the tyrannicides.

δέδεκται τὰ πείσονται παραδεδομένοι Not very elegant; but literally "it has been accepted in respect of those things which they will suffer, having surrendered to Hippias". So OCT^3 and Nenci; OCT^2, Legrand and Rosén read δέδοκται ("it has been decided") with most MSS, though Rosén punctuates ὑποκύψωσι, τοῖσι Μήδοισι δέδοκται, . . . ("iam placitum erit Medis"). All express the same sentiment: if they bow to the Persians, they will suffer under Hippias.

πρώτη . . . γενέσθαι This has to part of the artefact; in 490, even someone fully alive to the gradual expansion of Athens noted in Appx 8 n. 8 could not have foreseen the Delian league and its later fifth century manifestations (so Raaflaub (1987) 238); nor (if we take it non-politically) her development as a cultural centre. But, taken with πόλις πρώτη, §109.6, it is a nice piece of Philaid propaganda to argue that it was Miltiades, not the Alcmaeonid Pericles, who laid

the foundations of Athens' greatness, and that Cimon could build on his father's foundations. But it could have come from hostile assertions at both Miltiades' trials that he aimed to become tyrant in Athens (cf on §104.2(g)); more plausibly, from a Philaid version designed to counter that canard: Miltiades wanted to join with others (here, Callimachos), to make Athens great. As the Athenians developed traditions later expressed as deserving their hegemony because they had single-handedly saved Greece at Marathon, the Philaids would want to shape their own version to accommodate that (p. 19 n. 62; p. 30).

109.5 στάσιν . . . διασείσειν ἐμπεσοῦσαν . . . ὥστε μηδίσαι . . . σαθρόν For μηδίσαι see next note. There are metaphorical overtones to the language. Internal political strife, στάσις, was commonly described in two ways, and Herodotus may have had both in mind. It was expressed as a form of sickness from Solon fr 4.17 onwards, with a wide range of medical language, e.g. Eur *HF* 542–3; generally Brock (2000). Here, the στάσις is ἐμπεσοῦσα, and ἐμπίπτω is used metaphorically for the incidence of disease (Thuc 2.49; LSJ sv 3: elsewhere in Herodotus for fear, 4.203.2, 7.43.2, 8.38), while σαθρός means physically or metaphorically rotten and is used in Hipp *Diaet* 1.15 for the sick parts of a patient. Thus the neuter singular here might mean: attack before some diseased thoughts take hold of some of the Athenians. However, the other metaphor was that a polis with στάσις was like a ship in danger on a stormy sea: Archil fr 105, Alc frr 6, 73 and perhaps 306c; needing a good κυβερνητής, Theogn 671–6 at 675, 855–6; Aesch *Sept* 2–3, 62–3; many other citations, Brock (1991) 162 n. 12; Brock (2004) 169. So it is arguable that Herodotus or his source was conveying the image of Athens as a ship at risk of foundering from rotten timbers; although σαθρός specifically for a leaking ship is rare, e.g. Tzetzes *Hist* 3.382 = DS 23.16.1.

μηδίσαι As noted on §109.1, there must have been those who queried whether the Athenians should seek an accommodation with the Persians rather than fight, for good pragmatic reasons. Whether dubbed medisers at the time, it was an easy label to apply after the victory. The word is specific, to side with the Persians: see τοὺς μηδίσαντες, §64. If Miltiades actually used the word, like καταδουλῶσθαι and ὑποκύψωσι (§109.3) it would carry the right emotional overtones to help persuade the doubters to fight.

μετεξετέροισι "some others", an Ionian word common in Herodotus and a few times in the Hippocratic corpus, otherwise only in later writers, mostly medical.

θεῶν τὰ ἴσα νεμόντων To those on the ground, the odds would seem anything but equal. Afterwards, the Athenians asserted that the gods had helped them (Appx 17 A2). The phrase may be editorial: see on ἔλεγε, §109.2; but it would be natural advocacy to say: the Persians are invaders, our cause is just, and the gods will help us.

109.6 σέ . . . σέο . . . σύ . . . τοί The repetition is rhetorically most effective: Callimachos' acceptance of the advice is the pivot which tips the balance in the next stage of the narrative.

πόλις πρώτη See on πρώτη, §109.3.

τὰ ἐναντία Possibly a euphemism for slavery, more likely editorial shorthand to avoid repetition.

110 ἐκεκύρωτο συμβάλλειν Whatever the earlier division of opinion (see on §§109.1, 2), this suggests that with the polemarch's vote it was at least 6–5. We may infer that Callimachos, whatever his formal status, had the personality and influence to sway one or two generals over to his side. Despite συμβάλλειν, it seems clear that the decision was not to attack immediately, but to wait for the Spartans; this must be so whether or not we accept the daily prytanies. But οἱ στρατηγοί . . . συμβάλλειν also suggests that there were always several generals in favour of returning to Athens or negotiations. Cf Appx 17 G1.

πρυτανηίη . . . παρεδίδοσαν . . . ὁ δεκόμενος A daily prytany was a practical *ad hoc* arrangement to cope with all 10 generals being present for the first time: introductory note; all the more necessary because of the days of stalemate. There would be several things to attend to, e.g. protecting the camp and perhaps setting a watch or sending out patrols (Appx 17 D3, 4). We cannot say how long the stalemate lasted, but Appx 17 F3–4 looks at possible timetables. It is feasible that the Persians were drawn up each day inviting a battle: *ib* G2. "Handing over" the daily prytany to Miltiades may be later Philaid gilding; they were waiting for the Spartans. But he now drops

out of the narrative: cf introductory note. But §132 suggests that, prytanies or not, he could later claim the credit for leading the troops out to their successful victory.

111.1 ὡς δὲ ἐς ἐκεῖνον περιῆλθε There are two views about this. One is that Miltiades decided not to wait for the Spartans and ordered the battle, from ambition or recklessness, or because over the days since the vote sentiment against fighting had again strengthened. The other is that his prytany was coincidental, though one that could be built on by Philaid propaganda in the aftermath of victory; the real reason was that Datis manoeuvred the Athenians into fighting. See Appx 17 G1–6.

τοῦ μὲν δεξιοῦ κέρεος ἡγέετο ὁ πολέμαρχος The traditional honour of the right wing (here stressed by ὁ νόμος) is shown by the argument between Tegea and Athens even in face of the enemy at Plataea (9.26–7); hence for Athens it was said to be the polemarch's privilege. Presumably the relevant general was subordinate to him (infra). Cf introductory note.

ὡς ἀριθμέοντο αἱ φυλαί It is interesting that this detail persisted in the tradition. It paints a picture of the tribal contingents marching out in order (ἐξεδέκοντο, intrans, "followed after", Powell sv 3); there was a recognised order for the 10 tribes (Lazenby (1993) 63). It also stresses that the army was marshalled by tribes and not trittyes, though the latter may well have been the basis of the army since the Cleisthenic reforms (Siewert (1992), esp 139–153). We might then think of the battle line as tribe I (Erechtheïs) on the right, under Callimachos as well as their own general, followed by II Aegyïs, and so forth to X (Antiochis) on the left, with the Plataeans on the far left. But Plut *QC* 628d–e cites a lost epigram of Aeschylus saying that Callimachos led his own tribe, IX Aiantis, on the right wing; while *id Arist* 5.4 puts IV Leontis and X Antiochis together in the centre, led respectively by Themistocles and Aristides. The first might be right, as Aeschylus was at Marathon. The second reads like rhetorical invention, making the two men rival generals fighting side by side in the centre, part of the wider picture of their rivalry. Plutarch *Them* does not indicate that Themistocles was at Marathon, though he was old enough: born c524, per *APF* 6669 III, and probably

archon in 493–2 (see on Φρυνίχῳ, §21.2); the rhetoric of Justin 2.9.15, Themistoclis adulescentis gloria emicuit, is of little value. However, these passages have been explained by postulating that the tribes marched out of camp in a double formation: tribes IX I II III and IV in a right hand column, and tribes V VI VII VIII and X in a left hand column; they then wheeled to right and left, so that IX finished up on the extreme right wing, V on the left, with IV and X next to each other in the centre. Whether this corresponded to the realities of Athenian marching ceremonial and drill (if any), or the realities of the battlefield, may be doubted. The tribal order may not have been affected by lengthening the line, §111.3, but would be once many in the centre fled, §113.1. It did not affect the outcome.

111.2 τὰ ἀγαθὰ καὶ Πλαταιεῦσι As Herodotus indicates that this innovation to the Panathenaia took place soon afterwards, we can see it as one of the first changes which Athens (especially under Pericles) made to the festival during the fifth century, to make it panhellenic and support her claims to hegemony: Perlman (1976) 13; for the wider picture of fifth century Athenian use of religion for propaganda see Garland (1992) 100–9. The proclamation might also be seen as sending a message to Thebes to respect her borders with Attica (cf on §§108.5–6); that Thebes never abandoned her claims to Plataea can seen in her attacks on her in 431, Thuc 2.2–6, and again in 372 (*BM* 348, 355). For Herodotus' failure to mention the fate of Plataea in 427 see p. 3. Given her association with Athens described in §108 and her support at Marathon, it is difficult to think of a better example of the cycle of fate in human affairs than her then treatment by the Spartans and Thebans, Thuc 3.52–68.

111.3 ἔρρωτο This is one reason for thinking that the Persians were already drawn up in line of battle, probably c1,600 m long: the Athenians had to redeploy their men so as to make their line as long as that of the Persians. The passive of ῥώννυμι means "be strong" (LSJ sv II; not "be strengthened"), so τὸ δὲ κέρας . . . ἔρρωτο πλήθεϊ means "each wing was strong in number". This would probably be understood as the wings having the conventional 8 men deep, and stretching the centre by making it 4 men deep only (ἐπὶ ταξίας ὀλίγας). That may not have required some mixture of tribal contingents (cf on ὡς ἀριθμέοντο, §111.1). See also Appx 17 n. 69.

112.1 τὰ σφάγια The "indispensable preliminaries" to a battle (*HCT* on Thuc 4.92.7); here probably conducted by the polemarch (cf introductory note). Herodotus reports them before Thermopylae, 7.219.1, and Plataea, infra and 9.61–2; but not before Lade, §§13–14, or Cleomenes' attack on the Argive camp, §78.1. His audience might assume it had been done before Lade; if Cleomenes omitted it, they might infer that it was another example of his disregard for convention. Pritchett *GSW* I 109–115 distinguishes between sacrifices by way of divination, to see if the auspices were favourable to fight, usually expressed as τὰ ἱερά and θύομαι, and propitiatory sacrifices, τὰ σφάγια, where, as here, the decision to fight has been taken, and the sacrifice was of a supplicatory and propitiatory nature (110); though Herodotus' language is not so clear cut: e.g. before Plataea, the σφάγια of 9.41, 45 are the ἱερά of 9.36 (*id* 112–13). Thucydides only mentions them twice (4.92.7, 6.69); but there are 13 cases in Xenophon (Pritchett 114). Holoka (1997) 334–6 stresses the time needed for such preliminaries: cf Appx 17 G8.

δρόμῳ . . . στάδιοι οὐκ ἐλάσσονες . . . ἢ ὀκτώ An initial distance between the two armies of 8 stades, about 1,500 m, is entirely consistent with the locus; but actual tests with fit young men show that a run over that distance would be virtually impossible, despite the repetition of δρόμῳ in §112.2–3. The actual charge was probably over the last 50–100 m; cf Appx 17 G8.

112.2 οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι . . . The value of this sentence depends on whether it is genuine reportage of the Persian reaction, e.g. a conscripted Ionian Greek serving with them, or Athenian self-congratulation. The Persians had archers—their arrows have been recovered; but there is the vexed question whether their cavalry took part in the battle. On any view it is strong evidence that Athens had no cavalry at Marathon; and also that Herodotus believed that the Persian cavalry was there, and did not know a version that excluded them: cf on Πέρσαι, §113.1, and see Appx 17 G4–5. It is unlikely that Athens could field cavalry at this date. The only evidence for them before the mid fifth century is the statement in Pollux 1.108, that the *naucraroi* each had to provide a ship and two horses. Spence (1993) 10–11 and Bugh (1988) 4–20 accept this, but there are two problems: did the *naucraroi* ever have ship and horse duties, and even if they did, had they been abolished by Cleisthenes: see Appx 2 para 4.

112.3 πρῶτοι . . . Ἑλλήνων πάντων Their self-congratulation: they fought bravely (ἀξίως λόγου), ran at the enemy (the fourth repetition of δρόμῳ in a few lines), and were the first Greeks to do that and to resist the reputedly fearsome Persians, can be forgiven; they had won against the odds, though by the mid-fifth century tradition glorified their success as part of their claim to hegemony: cf on πρώτη, §109.3. Herodotus' caution about the running was sensible; Paus 4.8.1 has the Messenians running to attack the Spartans in the eighth century. Van Wees (2004) 180 says the claim to be the first "was blatantly untrue since running into battle had long been common practice" (cf 172, 295 n. 21, relying on art, not specific battles). The Persian dress may have been true for most European Greeks. Ionians had fought the Persians on a number of occasions: 1.169, 5.2, and during the revolt, 5.110, 113, 120; cf §29. In 498, a contingent of Athenians and Eretrians had fought Persian troops at Ephesus; but as these were probably locally based territorials (Appx 3 paras 6–7; cf Appx 1 paras 2, 4), their appearance may not have been noteworthy. Only in 480 did Greeks as a whole face the many different uniforms and equipment of Xerxes' army, described in detail, 7.61–95.

113.1 μαχομένων δέ . . . §113 is our only literary description of the battle. The broad picture is credible. At whatever angle to the shore the two lines started, the Persians broke through the Athenian centre; the Athenians fled and the Persians followed (τὸ μὲν μέσον . . . μεσόγαιαν). But the Athenian wings held the Persian wings, who then turned tail; if it included cavalry, they also fled. The Athenians did not pursue, but closed round the Persian centre (τὸ δὲ κέρας . . . φεύγειν ἔων (ἔων imperfect) . . .). It is probably better, with Lazenby (1993) 68–9, to take συναγαγόντες, §113.2, as "drawing close together", not totally enveloping the Persian centre, and ἐνίκων 'Αθηναῖοι as "routed" the Persian centre, not exterminated it. Once this was achieved, the Athenians, no doubt including those who had initially fled, pursued the Persians (φεύγουσι . . . εἵποντο κόπτοντες). As the Stoa painting suggests, many of the Persians tried to make for the ships through the marsh; the beach would soon become jammed with men trying to reach a ship. The vast majority of the ships got away (§115), as did about three-quarters of the Persian force; whether the whole of it had been committed to the battle is discussed in Appx 17 G4–6. It would appear that the battle ranged quite widely over the plain, and did not consist of one or two fairly static engagements. Hammond

(1973) 196 coined the term "graphic" imperfects for the verbs in §113, describing continuous action over a period of time. For the timing (χρόνος . . . πολλός) and likely distances involved see Appx 17 G9.

Πέρσαι . . . Σάκαι If Athenian tradition stressed that the best Persian troops were in the centre, the implication might be that they could be forgiven for retreating before finally winning. At 9.71.1 Herodotus says that the Sacai were the best cavalry at Plataea, and so it is argued that he is saying: this is where the Persian cavalry was. That would also explain why the Athenian centre gave way, though we might think that normal tactics would be to put cavalry on the wings. But he has repeatedly mentioned cavalry at §§95, 101.1, 102, and it is questionable whether he would leave their presence and role in the battle to be inferred, by just linking them as "Sacai" to the Persians. In any case, there were several tribes called Sacai. At 7.64.2 they are archers and infantry with hand daggers and battle axes (adding, Sacai is the Persian word for Scythians); at 7.84–6 they are not included in the tribes providing cavalry. The Persian empire included four or five other tribes of them, spread over some 1,000 to 1,500 km, from near the Caspian to the Pamirs (*CAH* IV^2 171, 173, with map 166–7 (Francfort); cf 89 (Cuyler Young). In any case, even to an educated Greek, and in a world without accurate maps, Sacai could only be thought of vaguely as the tribes living in the more distant parts of the Persian empire; cf 3.39.3, where Herodotus mentions only one Sacai, in Darius' 15th satrapy, but the "Caspians" with them cannot be those by the Caspian Sea, who are in the 11th satrapy, 3.92.2. The Sacai of 7.64.2 are the Amyrgian Sakai (haumavarga in Old Persian: *CAH locc cit*), and even we cannot place them more accurately than beyond Bactria, perhaps towards Tashkent, perhaps nearer the Pamirs (cf *CAH* IV^2 171).

ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν No doubt the men ran off in various directions: autopsy shows that they had a choice of exits from the plain (A to E on map 10). See, further, Appx 17 G7.

τὸ . . . κέρας Especially if only part of the Persian forces were there (Appx 17 G2–6), they would not greatly outnumbered the Greeks. Numbers apart, the best troops were probably in the centre (supra). Conscripts on the wings, some of whom had had to leave home the previous autumn, and all away since the spring (see on §95.1), might well lose the fire to fight once the battle turned against them; the

same would be even more true of the Greek conscripts, from Asia Minor as mentioned at §98.1, and those probably taken from the islands (see on ἐπὶ τὰς ἄλλας, §96, and στρατιήν, §99.1).

113.2 συναγαγόντες "Drawing close together", not "completely encircling": see on §113.1. We should not see this as a pre-planned strategy when the wings were strengthened at the expense of the centre, §111.3: ancient commanders did not think on such lines. It was seizing the opportunity when the Persian wings fled not to chase them but to close behind the Persian centre: Appx 17 G9.

εἵποντο κόπτοντες Herodotus paints a picture of the Athenians pursuing the Persians across the plain and killing them as they fled. He does not mention the marsh, which lay between many of the retreating Persians and their ships (Appx 17 A2, B1, G7, 9); but we can imagine that the west part of the Schoinia soon got blocked with the Persians making for their ships, causing those behind to cut across the marsh to get to ships further east. Some no doubt fell in; we may doubt if the Athenians actively pursued them into the marsh to any extent; cf next note. There is a Homeric ring to κόπτω in the sense of "smite": *Il* 11.146; *Od* 8.528 (κόπτοντες δούρεσσι).

πῦρ αἴτεον . . . ἐπελαμβάνοντο τῶν νεῶν In practice, the Athenians would only get near the ships moored around the western edge of the Schoinia: cf previous note. Here too there is a Homeric ring: οἴσετε πῦρ . . . νῆας ἑλεῖν, *Il* 15.718–20.

114 [Καλλίμαχος] διαφθείρεται We have his dedicatory epigram (ML 18: Appx 17 n. 2). It is explained as put up by his family, in fulfilment of a vow made before the battle, and/or to stress his part against Philaid praise of Miltiades; unless we assume that he survived the battle long enough to order the dedication. In later tradition he was the bravest man on the field after Miltiades (Plut *Glor Ath* 347d) but his corpse, transfixed with arrows, stayed erect: *id Paral Min* 305c, Schol Ael Arist iii 126 Dind, Suda svv Καλλίμαχος, Ἱππίας (II).

τῶν στρατήγων Στησίλεως . . . Κυνέγειρος Herodotus is careful to distinguish ranks: τοῦτο μὲν the polemarch and then one of the generals, τοῦτο δὲ one of the troops. That Stesileos ἀπὸ δ' ἔθανε and Cynegiros πίπτει is just stylistic variation which would add vividness to an audience. As noted on στρατηγοί, §103.1, Stesileos is the only

general apart from Miltiades who can be securely identified; he is otherwise unknown, but the name, like his father's, was not uncommon: LPGN II 405 (4 other Stesilaos), 228–9 (36 other Thrasyllos); so *APF* 7341. Cynegiros was the brother of Aeschylus, and the stories of him moved from ἐχειροκοπήθη "had his hand(s) cut off" (Plut *Paral Min* 305c) to having both hands cut off (Polemon 1.10), and continuing to fight with his teeth after his hands were cut off (Schol Ael Arist iii 126 Dind, Justin 2.9.18).

115 ἑπτὰ . . . τῶν νεῶν Here too the tale grew in the telling: Justin 2.9.13 has the rhetoric of "multae" ships sunk and "multae" captured. That only seven were captured is consistent with a proportion of the fleet putting to sea before the battle (Appx 15 G4–6); but the practicalities of men on a beach capturing a moving ship even a short distance off the beach are considerable, even if there were no enemy troops on shore to resist them. These would be beached or still at anchor just off shore. It is clear that the majority got away: ἐξανακρουσάμενοι, a hapax, except for Plutarch's citation of the passage, *Mal Her* 862c, "pushing off from the shore".

αἰτίη . . . Ἀλκμεωνιδέων . . . ἀναδέξαι ἀσπίδα Here, αἰτίη connotes blame (cf p. 36). It seems clear that the story circulated as anti-Alcmaeonid propaganda, and Herodotus went to some trouble to rebut it, §§121–124. There are considerable difficulties in believing the story, as discussed in Appx 17 H2; not only whether a signal could be seen (which some seek to meet by postulating that the shield was used as a heliograph: though that is not what Herodotus says: ἀναδέξαι simply means "raise" or "lift up"; so ἆραι ἀσπίδα at Xen *Hell* 2.1.27); but even more so what such a signal could mean, especially one which caused Datis to change his plans at that stage. There are two basic explanations for the story. One is that someone raised his shield as a derisory gesture to the Persians, or for no particular reason. As the report of it spread, people assumed that it was traitorous; it was then ascribed to the Alcmaeonids, in popular tradition or by their political opponents. Alternatively, it was an invention by those opponents: Podlecki (1966) 138, for example, suggested Themistocles. The vulnerability of the Alcmaeonids to political calumny is discussed in the note to §§121–131; they were seen as the sort of people who would medise. Whatever the true expla-

nation, it should be seen against the background noted in Appx 17 C1, G1; cf on §109.1 and on μηδίσαι, §109.5: as soon as the Athenians knew that the Persians were going to attack them, there must have been many who expressed doubts as to whether they could win. In the aftermath of victory they could join everyone else in proclaiming their patriotism, and be happy to attach the blame to a scapegoat from a prominent family who was recalled as saying the same thing. Many would be ready to believe, or exploit the belief, that the Alcmaeonids would behave like Euphorbos and Philagros at Eretria, §101.2; whether or not it was logical to think that they would come to terms with the Pisistratids, and effectively reverse their own Cleisthenes' changes of 18 years earlier. The evidence of ostraka shows that other families could attract the same accusation: see on Δᾶτιν, §94.2.

116 ὡς ποδῶν εἶχον The first Athenians would not arrive until 10–11 pm, though most would probably get there by the early hours of the next day: Appx 15 H4. It would read too much into the tradition of "as fast as their legs would carry them" to argue that §103.1 implies the converse, that the army had marched out in formation: see *ad loc.*

ἐν ἄλλῳ Ἡρακλείῳ τῷ ἐν Κυνοσάργεϊ Cf §108.1; the sort of coincidence so beloved by Herodotus. He mentions this Heracleion at 5.63.4 as near the tomb of Anchimolos, the Spartan general who had died trying to free Athens from Hippias (note to §§49.2–55 para 4). The site is not universally agreed; at one time it was placed south of the Ilissos, south-west of the Olympeion: Travlos (1971) 340; no 192 on plans pp. 169, 291, and is so shown on the maps used by Wycherley (1978) 66, 105; text 229; but the better view is that it was closer to Phaleron, further downstream and further south-west (*ib* 230, with inscriptions cited in n. 37: used again c200 to encamp an army, DS 28.7, Livy 31.24.18); this better fits Herodotus. Garland (1992) 57 suggests that, whether or not the Heracleion at Marathon was a strategic choice (see on ἐν τεμένεϊ, §108.1), this Heracleion was chosen deliberately. They had just won, and they wanted to enlist Heracles' support again; he was to be included with other gods on the painting in the Poikile Stoa. That might be so if we can assume that there were several locations, from any of which the

Athenians could show themselves to Datis as ready to resist if he landed, and they selected this one.

ὑπεραιωρηθέντες Φαλήρου . . . ἀνακωχεύσαντες . . . ἀπέπλεον A curiously abrupt ending to the narrative. As discussed in Appx 15 H5, even if we assume that some ships left Marathon early morning and before the battle, few would arrive off Phaleron before the first Athenians got there around 10–11 pm. The Persians would not attempt a landing before a sizeable force (and a commander—Datis?) arrived, and it would be the early hours, dawn even, before enough ships, and therefore troops, had arrived for them to contemplate this. By then the bulk of the Athenians would be assembled on the land opposite. As also pointed out in H5, we do not have to assume that the whole Persian fleet had got to Phaleron before the order to withdraw was given. The phraseology here supports the scenario that the Persians had not been anchored offshore for long before they retreated: the logistics of keeping troopships at sea for any length of time in terms of cooking and eating alone would be formidable: cf Gomme (1933); van Wees (2004) 218. We might think that soon after dawn, Datis, or whoever was the commander, weighed up the situation and decided to go. If there had ever been a plan to land on the east coast of Attica (Appx 15 G4), there was now no question of doubling back to implement it. The regular nautical term for riding at anchor may have been ὑπεραιωρέομαι, but it is uniquely here and in the citation of this passage at Plut *Mal Her* 862e with that meaning. It usually means "suspend above" (4.103.3; otherwise only in Hellenistic writers: Arrian *Tact* 11.5, Plut *Marcell* 15.3, etc), but is common in medical texts from Hippocrates onwards to mean supporting one end of a broken or displaced bone.

117.1 ἑξακισχιλίους καὶ τετρακοσίους Apart from the conventional 600 ships for the Persian fleet, §95.2, this is the only indication in Herodotus of Persian numbers (Appx 17 E1). Because it is not a round number of thousands, it has a plausible air of accuracy, and Herodotus is probably giving us a figure current in mid fifth century Athens (so Wyatt (1976). He explores whether it was based on 33 Persians for each Athenian killed, rounded up: 192 × 33 = 6336; that is a complex and unlikely calculation for a popular tradition. A more plausible derivation is a rough count made to ascertain the

size of the sacrifice to Artemis noted in Appx 17 F2. For their burial place, see *ib* B4.

ἑκατὸν καὶ ἐνενήκοντα καὶ δύο There was a monument on the Soros recording the names (Paus 1.32.3; cf *IG* II^2 1006.69); there was also a cenotaph in Athens: Matthaiou (2003) 197–200. Unlike the monument on Samos, §14, Herodotus does not mention either, but it is likely that he was told the precise number of 192 because it was the number of names on that at Marathon. A selective count of the figures on horseback or in chariots on the Parthenon Frieze is 192, but it is doubtful if we can use it to corroborate Herodotus' number, or that they are idealised Marathon heroes: Neils (2001) 180–1, Jenkins (1994) 26.

117.2 Ἐπίζηλον He is Epizelos in Ael *NA* 7.38, but Polyzelos in other references, listed Harrison (1972) 376 (e.g. Plut *Glor Ath* 347c–d). Plut *Paral Min* 305c promotes him (and Cynegiros) to general (wrongly: see on §103.1). We know nothing else about him, but both Epi- and Poly-zelos were Athenian names: LPGN II 148 (4 other Epi-, mostly fifth-fourth century; one at *APF* 12402), 372 (20 other Poly-). Herodotus reports the anecdote in oratio obliqua without vouching for its accuracy, and ends it: this is what I learnt Epizelos said (ταῦτα μὲν δὴ Ἐπίζηλον ἐπυθόμην λέγειν). Even allowing for that, it is difficult to decide why he reported this epiphany, but not those which quickly came to circulate that gods or heroes had helped the Athenians: cf p. 34; all the more so if Epizelos was depicted in the Poikile Stoa painting, Appx 17 n. 6. Under the stress of battle and exuberance of winning, it takes very little to produce this sort of mass hysteria: "the gods are on our side", says someone after the favourable sacrifice, then they are on an adrenaline high: first the run and charge, then the fighting and eventual success. What one man claims to see, many see, especially with a people who had been prepared to accept Phye as Athena (1.60.4–5). Epiphanies are also recorded for 480: two local heroes saving Delphi from the Persians, 8.37–8, and several at Salamis: 8.65, cf Plut *Them* 15.1; 8.84.2; Paus 1.36.1; including Pan: Aesch *Pers* 447–9, Suda sv Ἀλίπλαγκτος (so Soph *Aj* 695); Garland (1992) 73. The epiphany of Pan to Philippides, §105.1–2 (also reported with qualification: see on Πάν, §105.1) was before the battle. But Epizelos' story is hard to understand. The apparition is

not helping the Athenians, but the Persians; yet it is described as a hoplite, i.e. a Greek, not a Persian, soldier (see on §117.3). But the story stuck and grew in the telling: though wounded and blind he went on fighting and killed 48 enemy, distinguishing them by the sound of their voices; the apparation was Pan (i.e. helping the Athenians): Schol Ael Arist iii 126 Dind, Suda svv Ἱππίας (II) and Πολύζηλος.

As we know nothing of Epizelos' age or previous medical history, or whether he was left with some residual perception (e.g. between light and dark) we cannot firmly diagnose his blindness; but if it was without being struck a blow, and bilateral, the obvious diagnosis is hysterical blindness; though patients usually recover from this, and he is said not to have done (τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ζόης . . .). A possible alternative is a stroke from raised blood pressure under the stress of battle; a severe stroke might affect the occipital lobe in the brain which serves sight, though it would be more likely to cause a hemianopia, partial loss of sight in each eye, than total blindness. Another possibility causing effective blindness, but only if he already had one lazy eye, would be retinal detachment caused by extreme exertion, or even a heavy blow to the back of the head (which his helmet did not cushion) of which he claimed to be unaware. The epiphany on any view has to be hysterical; if he was confused, e.g. which direction he was facing, he might well mistake friend for foe. If he had in fact received a blow to the head, it would disorientate him and add to his existing confusion and stress. Later tradition corrected him and made the apparition a friend (supra).

117.3 ὁπλίτην ἀντιστῆναι μέγαν Further to the previous note, ἀντιστῆναι as well as the statement that the apparition went past Epizelos and killed the man standing next to him (apparently on his own side) implies that it was in the opposing army. But Herodotus' audience or readers would understand ὁπλίτην as a Greek, not a Persian, soldier; he was the citizen of a Greek polis with civic responsibilities when fighting for his polis (cf Arist *Pol* 1305b33, 26a23), and it has this connotation in the dozen other occurrences in the *Histories*, including 5.111.1, where the horse of the Persian general Artybius, fighting the Cypriots, was trained to attack a hoplite (= infantryman) with its hooves, and 8.38 for the giant phantoms who protected Delphi from the Persians (see on §117.2); at 9.17.2 it refers to Phocians fighting for the Persians in 479. It is not surprising that Herodotus had reservations about what he was told.

118–120 *On the way home, Datis discovers a stolen Greek statue on one of the ships and leaves it on Delos. The Eretrian prisoners are resettled near Susa; their method of extracting oil is described. The Spartans arrive just after the battle and view the Persian dead.*

118.1 ἐν Μυκόνῳ Some 180 to 200 km sailing, so probably his second night from Phaleron.

ὄψιν For dreams in general, see on §107.1. Unusually we are not told what the dream was. Reading between the lines, Datis got wind of the matter from someone, and diplomatically claimed to have had a dream. Herodotus might have had the story when on Delos (cf §97.1), but it could also have come from a Persian or Ionian source. The story is used to argue that Herodotus was alive in the later 420s, because Delion was topical in 424 (see on Δήλιον, §118.2). But he must have had the story long before, and it adds a nice footnote to Datis' return journey. Also, he likes to use material if he has it: see pp. 3, 21. Paus 10.28.6 says that Datis found the statue in a Phoenician temple, and returned it to Delion; but this seems unlikely and may be a misrecollection of Herodotus, rather than an alternative tradition.

κεχρυσωμένον The statue was portable, so it presumably had a wooden core overlaid with gold leaf. We may infer that a Phoenician captain had engaged in a little private enterprise (σεσυλημένον) during the siege of Eretria or the stalemate at Marathon. Datis' actions would stem in part from not tolerating private looting: booty was the king's and to be distributed in his name (cf Xen *Cyr* 7.3.1; also 5.3.1–4 and 7.2.5–7); in part because gods should be respected unless they let their people reject the suzerainty of the king (see on ἐνεπίμπρασαν, §32). He had no quarrel with the Boeotians. It is more doubtful that Persians had any special respect for Apollo, or that Datis identified him with his own Mithra: see on οἱ δύο θεοί, §97.2. He clearly wanted rid of it (κατατίθεται), and as Delion had a sanctuary of Delian Apollo, Delos, only a short voyage away, was a convenient place to leave it. Hence τῇ ἑωυτοῦ νηί: he could let the main body of the fleet proceed while he made the detour.

118.2 ἀπίκατο . . . οἱ Δήλιοι Referring back to §97, where the Delians had fled to Tenos on Datis' approach and he assured them of his benevolence and told them to return.

Δήλιον As just noted, it had a sanctuary of Delian Apollo. Strabo (9.2.7) calls it a πολίχνιον in Tanagran territory, so it probably had a house for the priest and one or two farms as well as the temple itself. The Thebans defeated the Athenians there in 424–3 (Thuc 4.76.4, 89–101; see on §88). It was probably at modern Dhilesi, which well fits the description of the battle in Thucydides: Pritchett *SAGT* II 24–36; III 295–7; Hornblower and Rhodes on Thuc 4.76.4, even though Dhilesi is slightly closer to Eretria than Chalcis (c12 as opposed to c15 km), and is not really Χαλκίδος ἐναντίον. Livy 35.51.1 (5 miles from Tanagra and under 4 miles from the nearest crossing to Euboea) is to be preferred to Strabo, *loc cit* (30 stades, c5.4 km, from Aulis); there is no obvious ruin in that area. Cf Rhodes on Thuc 4.76.4.

118.3 οὐκ ἀπήγαγον . . . δι' ἐτέων εἴκοσι Θηβαῖοι αὐτοί Presumably the Thebans would know that the statue had gone missing, and also that it had been taken by a ship in the Persian fleet. The reference to an oracle suggests that someone on Delos eventually regretted earlier inactivity and approached Delphi; see also Appx 6 n. 1.

119.1 τοὺς δὲ τῶν Ἐρετριέων ἀνδραποδισμένους "Those of the Eretrians who had been enslaved" is virtually explicit that Herodotus knew that only a proportion of the population had been taken to Persia: cf on τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, §101.3. They probably numbered about 800: see on σταθμῷ, §119.2. Unlike with the Milesians, it is explicit that the first part of the journey was by sea (προσέσχον . . .); see on §20 for the likely routes.

We hear no more of either Datis or Artaphrenes, though their sons were commanders in 480: 7.88.1, 74.2; for Datis' alleged presence in the Aegean at the time of Miltiades' Paros expedition, Ephoros *FGrH* 70 F63, see Appx 18 para 15. They were probably relieved of their command, like Mardonius (§94.2). Plat *Leg* 698e has Datis threatened with death if he failed; but this is probably no more than the Greek perception of the absolute power of the oriental king; cf on κακόν, §9.1. Ctes *FGrH* 688 F13.22, also noted on Δᾶτιν, §94.2, has Datis killed at Marathon, and the Athenians refusing to return his body; it is immediately followed, at least in Photius' epitome, by Darius' death, in a different version to Herodotus' account. F13.25 makes this refusal one of two reasons for Xerxes' expedition. Cagnazzi (1999) 392–3 suggests that the story may be true, arguing that the

Athenians suppressed it out of shame, and detracting from their pride in the victory. But it is not easy to see at what stage of the battle or its aftermath the Persians could have asked for the corpse; or why the Athenians would not have boasted about killing him, if they had done so; Herodotus would have recorded it, as with Hamilcar's death at Himera (7.166; his body could not be found, a detail not in DS 11.22). The story of the dream and the statue, §118, could not have circulated if he was dead. Ctesias probably drew on a Persian version of Marathon in which they fought bravely and their leader was killed in the thick of battle; perhaps input from Datis' family, claiming a glorious death in battle rather than disgrace (or execution) in Susa.

ἀρξάντων . . . προτέρων In terms of Herodotus' narrative, it is rhetorical exaggeration: Eretria had sent fewer ships to Ionia than Athens (p. 53). But there was a story that before helping the mainlanders, she helped the Cypriots: p. 60 n. 200. If so, ἀρξάντων would be right. As there noted, Burn (1984) 199–200 accepts it, arguing that one reason was to encourage the Cypriots to help Ionia. Alternatively, the story may be basically correct, but the order of events has got mixed up. As the Cypriots apparently revolted only after Sardis (pp. 53, 61), we can envisage the Eretrians staying in the area when the Athenians returned home, and going on to help Cyprus. In that case, **ἀρξάντων** would be wrong chronologically, but correct in substance, in that from the Persian perspective, the Eretrians had played a greater role than the Athenians. At the practical level, Datis had failed at Athens and only Eretrians had been captured.

119.2 κακόν . . . οὐδέν Herodotus uses the same words for Darius' treatment of the Milesians: see on §20 for the presentation of the king as magnanimous.

σταθμῷ ἑωυτοῦ . . . Ἀρδέρικκα This Ardericca, fairly close to Susa, cannot be the Ardericca near Babylon of 1.185.2, at least 350 km distant. It is probably the Urdalika in a cuneiform inscription of Assurbanipal (668–631): *RE* II 614b. As Herodotus used σταθμός for a station on a royal road, 5.52, he may have intended the same here, but it might just mean a place on a royal estate. Geology and autopsy, particularly that in 1836 by Col (then Maj) Rawlinson, place it at Kir-Ab (sometimes Qirab), "bitumen water", about 65 km north-east

of Susa: Rawlinson (1839) 93–4 (accessibly summarised in the notes to earlier editions of his son Rawlinson's translation); Forbes (1994) 1.2 (map), 40. If so, Herodotus' 210 stades (38 km) would be too little. The Kir-Ab area, and nowhere else thereabouts, contains several significant surface deposits of oil (Rawlinson, Forbes, *locc cit*). Rawlinson found bitumen still being collected in the way Herodotus described. These Eretrians figure in other problematic texts. Philostr *Vit Apoll* 1.23–4 records visit by Apollonius of Tyana in the first century AD, claiming to use a report by Damis, Apollonius' alleged travelling companion. The visit is almost certainly fiction: Elsner (1997) 24, Bowie (1994) 187–92. Anderson (1986) strongly argues that Damis was a real person; but if Philostratus had a report under Damis' name it was a forgery. Grosso (1958) 365–6 makes a strong case that his source was Ctesias; alternatively we might envisage a writer accompanying Alexander (cf infra), or some other now unknown traveller. The location is wrong: Philostratus places it a good day's journey from Babylon, coming from Ctesiphon, 1.21, 24. Ctesiphon was 75 km more or less north of Babylon; Kir-Ab was c400 km east of either Ctesiphon or Babylon. Even ignoring the direction, the distance would need several days: Appx 4 para 2; and 1.23, speaking of the Eretrians being netted and deported to a place where there is a mixture of bitumen oil and water, is a reworking of Herodotus. But there are details in 1.24 which cannot come from Herodotus, and are sufficiently close to what Rawlinson was to find to rule out complete invention: either the traveller forgot the details of this stage of his journey, or the information got mangled in transmission. It says that the inhabitants diverted the river round their village as a moat, as protection against marauding nomads; the land was impregnated with bitumen and hard to cultivate; they grew their crops as best they could on an adjacent hillock, and had a short life expectancy because bitumen got into their stomachs (as if describing stomach cancer from the carcinogens in the oil); there were graves of the early settlers with carvings of ships and Greek inscriptions which the then inhabitants could no longer read. Rawlinson found the river (though not then moated), the ground impregnated with noxious matter, the waters most unwholesome, and the cultivated area on the adjacent higher ground. Philostratus also records the villagers' tradition that 780 persons, including women, old men and probably children, were taken from Eretria, but only 400 men and 10 women

arrived, the others dying en route. A tradition of 780 people is consistent with the logistics of transportation: cf Appx 17 G3; and, at least in the view of Grosso 361, consistent with the size of rebuilt Eretria noted in Strabo 10.1.10. No doubt there were graves; but the epitaph which he records is the second of two epigrams attributed (with minor textual variations) to Plato, *Ep* 9, 10; *Anth Pal* 7.259, 256:

Εὐβοίης γένος ἐσμὲν Ἐρετρικόν, ἄγχι δὲ Σούσων
  κείμεθα· θεῦ, γαίης ὅσσον ἀφ' ἡμετέρης.

Οἵδε ποτ' Αἰγαίοιο βαρύβρομον οἶδμα λιπόντες
  Ἐκβατάνων πεδίῳ κείμεθ' ἐνὶ μεσάτῳ.
χαῖρε, κλυτή ποτε πατρὶς Ἐρέτρια· χαίρετ', Ἀθῆναι,
  γείτονες Εὐβοίης· χαῖρε, θάλασσα φίλη.

Each is almost certainly a Hellenistic composition, attributed to Plato because of his mention of the Eretrians at *Menex* 240a-b and *Leg* 698c; cf DL 3.33, and not a genuine tombstone from Kir-Ab. The composer of the first knew his Herodotus ("near Susa"); the second is as geographically inaccurate as Philostratus: Ecbatana is some 300 km north of Susa and Ardericca; it might be metrical convenience, poetic usage to denote Persia (cf Aesch *Pers* 16, 535), or possibly a recollection of the bilingual "Boeotians moved by Xerxes" encountered by Alexander in 324, DS 17.110.4–5, who preserved some Greek customs; they were settled to the west of Behistun, about 200 km west of Ecbatana. See, generally, Page (1981) 171–3.

Other texts would imply that some of the Eretrians had been settled further north. Strabo 16.1.25 speaks of Eretrians "carried off by the Persians" in Gordyene, and Q Curt 4.12.11 names "Gortuae, really a Euboean race", as a contingent in Darius III's army at Gaugamela. His source was one of Alexander's historians, Callisthenes or Clitarchos, noting Greeks fighting on Darius' side, and his "Gortuae" could be men from Gordyene. Gordyene was an area south of lake Van, now in south-east Turkey (Barrington 89); the northern reaches of the Tigris rise in its hills. If the Eretrians had been landed at Cilicia and then marched overland (see on §20 for the route), Gordyene was c100 km north of the road at c700 km from Cilicia, and so about half way between there and Susa.

τριφασίας ἰδέας Herodotus often uses τριφασίοι for "three": 1.95.1, 2.17.3, etc. We would say "three materials" or perhaps "three components" where he says ἰδέαι, "sorts".

119.3 ἀντλέει A change in construction: "the man draws it up . . ."; Shuckburgh notes the use of the singular for an activity where many are involved at 1.195.1 and 5.16.2.

κηλωνηίῳ, ἀντὶ δὲ γαυλοῦ ἥμισυ ἀσκοῦ The κήλων or κηλώνιον is the shaduf, a pole mounted on the apex of upright sticks, with a bucket at one end which can be lowered into or raised out of a well by a rope at the other. A bucket of animal skin would be more practical than wood; less heavy, and, as they would need frequent replacing, cheaper in an area where both wood and coopers were probably scarce.

ἐς ἄλλο διαχεόμενον . . . τριφασίας ὁδούς . . . ἡ μὲν ἄσφαλτος καὶ οἱ ἅλες . . . τὸ δὲ ἔλαιον Herodotus is always interested in technicalities (e.g. welding iron, 1.25; Egyptian shipbuilding, 2.96, and the Pyramids, 2.124–5: some 10 cases listed, Brown (1973) 41–2), so it is not surprising that he wants to record this process; he had noted a different situation at Hit (Ἴς), where there was a surface deposit of bitumen: 1.179.4. Here, the deposit as a whole would be a mixture of crude oil, brine water, and earth or rock. Of the three components, the bitumen (ἄσφαλτος) separated out because it attached to the earth or other impurities, forming an emulsified solution, exactly in the way that Herodotus describes the pitch attaching to the myrtle branches at Zacynthos, noted infra: it does not simply settle out from crude oils (Forbes (1994) 1.45). The salts would crystallise out of solution naturally: see also infra; while the ἔλαιον would be crude or heavy oils; at this time, the skill of distilling petrols from oil was unknown. The precise method of separation is not clear, but τριφασίας ὁδούς probably means "goes three ways" (so Forbes), not that the second tank has three outlet pipes; the bitumen and crystalline salts would be removed by shovels or similar, and the oil collected in buckets, so that the substance of the text in S (συνάγουσι ἐν ἀγγείοις) is factually correct. To eliminate the lacuna Rosén emends to . . . ἔλαιον οὔ. Πέρσαι . . .; Nenci to . . . ἔλαιον <οὐ>. οἱ Πέρσαι. . . . Except in a late quotation of this passage, Hippol *Haer* 5.21, ῥαδινάκην is not otherwise known, but Herodotus may be fairly reflecting the Persian word: Kent (1950) 205 has "rad" as a verb meaning to leave or separate. The ὀδμὴν . . . βαρέαν would be hydrogen sulphide; anaerobic bacteria break down the sulphur compounds and exposure to air causes the gas to form (Forbes 3.172).

The Greeks had deposits of bitumen on Zacynthos (4.195.2–3; Herodotus' πίσσα reflects its purity), and further north around Apollonia and Epidamnos (Strabo 7.5.8; Vitr 8.3.8), but did not use it as widely as eastern nations, where it was used as a building mortar (so 1.179.2), and it is commonly so found in excavations, for waterproofing and as a paint (Forbes 1.66–74, 74–80, 85–9). It was used medicinally: citing only Hippocratic works of Herodotus' own time or a little after, as an ingredient of a poultice (*Ulc* 22), an expectorant drink (*Mul Affect* 1.78), an expectorant inhalation or for fumigation (*Morb* 3.10, *Mul Affect* 2.195, 200, etc; at 2.206 bitumen from Zacynthos is specified), and a suppository or pessary (*Haemorrh* 8, *Mul Affect* 2.130; also *Nat Mul* 30). It may have been used in some places to seal the cork stoppers of amphorae (the little archaeological evidence that has been found only proves resin or resin-derived pitch: Koehler (1986) 52–3). It was used in the east to caulk ships (as with the Ark, Gen 6.14, and Moses' basket, Exod 2.1: both written after the Jews had lived in Persia and no doubt seen it used there); noted for the Babylonians, Strabo 16.1.9, 15; generally Forbes 1.90–5); possibly in Greece also, if they used fibres soaked in pitch as alternatives to resin or wood tar (Morrison *et al* (2000) 183–7).

It may be significant that Herodotus speaks of ἅλες, "salts", as if he realised that they were a mixture. Analyses of bitumen show a wide variety of mineral impurities: calcium, sodium, magnesium, and aluminium, and carbonates, sulphates and silicates: Forbes 1.57 with Table IV. The salts were probably usable, though we cannot assume that common salt could be extracted, despite Plin *NH* 31.39.82, who, speaking in general terms about Babylon, says that under the bitumen and oil there is "sal". But they probably yielded both natron and alums. Natron is mainly calcium carbonate and calcium bicarbonate, and was used, at least in Egypt, for dyeing and glass making, and also mummification (Forbes 3.181–6, 199). The sulphates of the other three metals are alums, used in tanning: *ib* 189–91. It is not clear how Herodotus' readers would understand ἔλαιον. So far as we know, Greeks did not import or use petroleum oil for fire, perhaps not even after Alexander's conquest (Athenaeus 1.19e describes a juggler making πῦρ αὐτόματον which confounded his audiences): they used pitch, e.g. Thuc 2.77 (fire at the siege of Plataea), 4.100 (Delion).

119.4 μέχρι ἐμέο Despite this phrase (for which see p. 2), and the details of extracting bitumen and other products just given, it is

doubtful that Herodotus actually visited Persia; though he clearly had good informants (p. 7). The fact that gravestones in Greek (see on σταθμῷ, §119.2) are not mentioned is neutral. After one generation the inhabitants would still speak Greek; it is only over time and with intermarriage that linguistic change occurs: so the source for DS 17.110.4, cited *ibid*, could note that in 324 that community was already losing some of its Greek vocabulary and preserved only some Greek customs.

120 δισχίλιοι μετὰ τὴν πανσέληνον . . . τριταῖοι . . . ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ Since we should not estimate the Spartan male population by assuming one Spartiate = 1 *kleros*, we should not use the 9,000 *kleroi* to estimate the full strength of the Spartan army. Demaratos may have exaggerated when he spoke of 8,000 Spartiates to Xerxes, 7.234.2; the muster of 5,000 at Plataea, plus 5,000 *perioikoi*, 9.10, 28, is more realistic. Lazenby (1985) 74–5 should be read subject to Hodkinson (2000) 65–112; see also van Wees (2004) 248–9, 275 n. 28. Thus 2,000 men would be at least a fifth of the army, two-fifths of the Spartiates; and part of them may have been dealing with a revolt in Messenia (Appx 14 para 9; cf Appx 17 G7). Once they left, they exerted themselves: Herodotus stresses τριταῖοι with σπουδὴν πολλήν. Three long days to reach Attica (not Athens, still some 35 km distant) is feasible. It would be some 215–240 km (for the distance and terrain, see on δευτεραῖος, §106.1). 75 km per day is above average (for normal travel times see Appx 4 para 2), but achievable by fit and determined men. It corresponds to an average of 6.5 km (4 miles) per hour for 12 hours each day. They would be slower over the high ground, but we could envisage 14–15 hours of marching per day, still giving time for meals and a modest night's sleep. If they left Sparta soon after midnight (cf Appx 17 F1), they could cross from Megara into Attica on the third night. Holoka (1997) 350–1 seems to extend their journey to Athens, and denies that it could be done in only three days: he wants 4 or 5. He is perhaps correct to assume that helots followed with armour and weapons. The Athenians would have been watching for their arrival; but after the victory, they would also want to control a Spartan army in their territory. But "Attica", as well as denoting the end of the third day's march, might also reflect Philippides not having mentioned Marathon because he was sent before it was known where the Persians would

land (Appx 17 C4), so that the Spartans did not know where they might be needed.

καταλαβεῖν Powell sv 5 proposes an absolute sense of "come in time"; at 7.230 Herodotus has the fuller phrase καταλαβεῖν τὴν μάχην γινομένην, "come in time for the battle", so we may understand τὴν μάχην or perhaps (per Shuckburgh) τὰ πρήγματα.

θεήσασθαι τοὺς Μήδους Thus on any timetable for the battle and the Spartans' arrival, the Persians had not yet been buried; but that could not be long delayed.

§§121–124 *It is surprising that the Alcmaeonids were accused of treachery; they hated the tyrants even more than Callias. They were in exile during the tyranny, and instrumental in getting rid of it, even more so than Harmodios and Aristogeiton. It was not them who gave the shield signal.*

The way Herodotus presents his apologia for the Alcmaeonids has all the plausible insincerity of later sophistic rhetoric (cf p. 8 and on §124.1). The fact that it was needed suggests that there were those with an interest in perpetuating the story: opponents of the Alcmaeonids, and perhaps also of democracy. It is arguable whether Herodotus included it merely out of sympathy for the family, or because he was also sympathetic to democracy and Periclean Athens (pp. 28–30). It is easy to suggest that as Pericles had an Alcmaeonid grandmother, exculpating the family supported him. But, as discussed below, it is not clear whether the Alcmaeonids supported the democracy. As at 5.62–5, Herodotus uses both Alcmaeonid and popular traditions: Thomas (1989) 247–51. We may consider the shield signal unlikely, but Herodotus accepted it. See on αἰτίη, §115, and Appx 17 H2.

In political terms, the family came to have two problems: it was associated with the execution of Cylon, and it had to assert its priority over the tyrannicides in ending the tyranny. The basic story of Cylon, an aristocrat whose double stadion Olympic victory is assigned to 640 by Moretti (1957) no 56, and whose father-in-law was tyrant of Megara, was that he had tried to become tyrant of Athens in c630, and with supporters took over the acropolis; the

coup failed and they sought sanctuary there. They were promised safe conduct by the authorities, but when they came down they were killed, in circumstances in which the blame attached to the Alcmaeonids. For this sacrilege, the family was cursed, and it was said that the city itself had to be purified. Herodotus' version is at 5.70.2–71. He has Cleomenes, in his expedition of c508 (note to §§49.2–55 para 4) demanding that Athens expel "the cursed ones", τοὺς ἐναγέας, and explaining this in an Alcmaeonid version which exculpated them: the "prytanies of the *naucraroi*" were then in charge and authorised the killing, even though the Alcmaeonids were blamed. If it be right that the *naucraroi* were an innovation by Solon, as *Ath Pol* 8.3 indicates, that story was anachronistic. The version in Thuc 1.126–7 has all nine archons in charge; without naming the Alcmaeonids, it makes clear that they were involved. Plut *Sol* 12, like the lost first part of *Ath Pol* 1 (cf Epit 2) from an atthidographer, expressly names the Alcmaeonid Megacles as the eponymous archon, and adds that the city had to be purified; see also Schol Ar *Eq* 445; DL 1.110. Generally, *CAH* III^2 3.368–70 (Andrewes); Rhodes on *Ath* Pol 1, pp. 79–84; *HCT* and Hornblower on Thuc 1.126; Thomas 272–81, who notes the popular input in Herodotus. *Ath Pol* 1 says that the family were then condemned to perpetual exile (Plato *Leg* 642d confuses this with the exile ordered by Cleomenes); if true, it must have been rescinded, because Megacles' son, the Alcmaeon of §125, was an Athenian general in the First Sacred War. As late as 432, the Spartans could use it to demand that the Athenians expel "the curse", i.e. Pericles, Thuc 1.126.2. Despite the curse, the family showed remarkable resilience, as shown by the careers of Alcmaeon (see on §125), his son, the Megacles of §§127.4, 130.2, his grandson Cleisthenes, and the latter's grandson Pericles. An Alcmaeon was archon in 507 or 505 (Develin (1989) 53, *APF* 9688 XII): generally *APF* 9688 I, Thomas 144–53, 238–82; but they also attracted folkloristic stories: Alcmaeon, §125, and Megacles, §§125–131, only recorded in Herodotus.

As to the ending of the tyranny, Athenians knew in general terms that it was a two-stage affair (Thomas 242–51): Hipparchos was assassinated in 514 (5.55–6; Thuc 6.54–8), and Hippias was removed by Spartan forces in 510 (note to §§49.2–55 para 4). But it was the tyrannicides who were heroised, recalled in drinking songs, and given the unique honour of statues in the agora: see on §123.2; as Thuc 6.53 pointed out, people came to say that they had ended the tyranny,

and omitted the subsequent role of the Alcmaeonids. We may detect manipulation of tradition by political opponents who sought to downgrade the Alcmaeonid role, and stress that of the tyrannicides; because of the curse, the Alcmaeonids were an easy target. The basic facts seem to be that after 514 the Alcmaeonids tried to remove Hippias by force: they fortified Leipsydrion, a place on Mt Parnes (for its location, and Herodotus' incorrect geography, see Rhodes on *Ath Pol* 19.3); when that failed, they used their influence at Delphi to get her to involve Sparta to depose him. They were able to do that because they secured the contract (shortly after Leipsydrion, per Forrest (1969) 283–4) to rebuild the temple at Delphi, burnt in c548 on the Olympiad date in Paus 10.5.13. Herodotus' version, 5.62–5, is that the contract required limestone, but the Alcmaeonids beautified the temple by using marble; and, as the Athenians say, persuaded the Pythia to tell Sparta to liberate Athens: hence the expeditions of Anchimolos and then Cleomenes in 510. For this "persuasion" see on εἰ δὴ οὗτοι, §123.2. Pind *Pyth* 7.9 referred to the beautiful temple, but that was written in 486 for the Alcmaeonid Megacles. Of later accounts, Thuc 6.59.4 simply says that the Spartans liberated Athens; he did not need to explain how. The main fourth century versions are *Ath Pol* 19; Philoch *FGrH* 328 F115 = Schol Pind *Pyth* 7.9; Isoc *Antidos* 232, *Big* 25, and Dem 21.14 with scholium. The beautifying of the temple was stressed but the persuasion was omitted: the Alcmaeonids used their profits, or money borrowed from Delphi, to buy Spartan help or (omitting Sparta) mercenaries. See the discussions in Robinson (1994), Rhodes on *Ath Pol* 19, esp on 19.4, Forrest (1969), and Podlecki (1966); from the point of view of how traditions develop, Thomas 242–81 (though her suggestion at 245 that Ar *Lys* 1150–5 reflects a popular tradition that stressed Sparta to the exclusion of the Alcmaeonids can met by the reference to Leipsydrion at *ib* 665–70). The Spartans' motives for acting are considered in *CAH* IV^2 300–1 (Lewis).

As to the allegation of medism, Gomme (1962) 20 argued that as Xanthippos succeeded in his prosecution of the hero of Marathon the year after, it is inconsistent with the accusation then being current. The reality is harder to unravel. The family figured prominently, though not uniquely, in the 480s as candidates for ostracism; Megacles was ostracised; at least one other, Callixenos, and perhaps Callias son of Cratias, were candidates; though only one of the handful of ostraka which carry arguably medising accusations definitely

relate to an Alcmaeonid, P3786: see on Δᾶτιν, §94.2. Xanthippos also was ostracised. But Gomme's argument overlooks the resilience point, and implies a greater rigidity of political attitudes than was probably the case, at least in 489. Secondly, the result of the trial may reflect popular anger at Miltiades letting them down, not the character of the prosecutor; even if, as §131 and Thuc 1.126.2, supra, show, Xanthippos, with his Alcmaeonid wife, and Pericles could be perceived as Alcmaeonids. But it is not clear that Xanthippos, or Pericles after him, were Alcmaeonid supporters, or that the Alcmaeonids supported democracy: see Rhodes on *Ath Pol* 22.6 and Forrest (1960) 232–5. Cimon's Alcmaeonid wife did not hinder his career. Xanthippos may have had his own agenda, even if his wife's family also suggested that he prosecute.

121.1 οὐκ ἐνδέκομαι τὸν λόγον This is a different sort of θῶμα from §43.3, because there Herodotus is there upholding his own text; here, the Alcmaeonids' patriotism. He repeats the point with οὐ προσίεμαι ("I do not admit"), §123.1.

Καλλίῃ τῷ Φαινίππου The family cannot be traced further back; Hipponicos a friend of Solon (Plut *Sol* 15.7) is thought to be a late fifth century invention (*APF* 7826 I). Callias' dates were c590–c520: *APF* 7826 II, which on the chronology for Pisistratos proposed by Jacoby (1949) proposes that his purchase of the Pisistratid properties was c559 or c556. On that adopted here (see on §35.1), it would be c559–7 or c555–46. *APF* 7826 II also explores whether he was the Callias who dedicated a statue of Athena, Paus 1.26.4, and whether it is one now in the Acropolis Museum dated to c530–500. If so, it would be shortly before or just after Pisistratos' death, 528–7, and might be further evidence of the *modus vivendi* between the Pisistratids and other aristocratic families (note to §§34–41); in this case an old man perhaps hoping to smooth the way for his son, given the earlier purchase of the properties. See also on §122.1.

Ἱππονίκου Herodotus writes as if the name would mean something at least to an Athenian audience; perhaps as the father of Callias (II), who was politically active in Herodotus' own day, had married Miltiades' daughter Elpinice, and was wrongly said to have paid Miltiades' fine (see on ἔκτεισε, §136.3). His name reflects his father's

pride in his racing victories (§122.1), and he was possibly the first member of his family to hold the δᾳδουχία, the honour of carrying a torch in the Eleusinian procession; see *APF* 7826 III–IV. Xen *Hell* 6.3.4 shows that he became Spartan *proxenos* in Athens: the Callias who there speaks was his great-grandson Callias (III) (Hodkinson (2000) 340; cf *APF* 7826 II–V, VIII–XII).

121.2 ὅκως . . . ἔκπεσοι . . . ὠνέεσθαι Since ὅκως plus optative connotes "whenever" (Powell sv), and the present infinitive indicates that he did it more than once (Goodwin, paras 87, 97), Herodotus presumably believed that there was a sale of property each time Pisistratos withdrew; and that the sales were conducted, as later, by a public slave (hence τοῦ δημοσίου, sc δούλου).

τἆλλα τὰ ἔχθιστα If not persiflage, like Pan's frequent benefits (§105.2), Herodotus' audience may have known what these were. Even if ἄκρος ἐλευθερῶν τὴν πάτριδα, §122.1, is what Herodotus wrote, it adds nothing.

122.1 Καλλίεω This paragraph is not in the **a** MSS, and while a digression of this sort is perfectly Herodotean, this one probably started life as an interpolation about Callias; though it may possibly have displaced some Herodotean text, as it would be typical of him to have noted Callias' four-horse victory (cf on οἰκίης, §35.1). It interrupts the pattern of ideas in the text; Καλλίης . . . ἐμηχανᾶτο, §121.2, is naturally continued by καὶ οἱ 'Αλκμεωνίδαι in §123.1: (a) it is a wonder to me . . ., §121.1; (b1) the Alcmaeonids hated the tyrants more than Callias, *ibid*; (c) Callias acted thus, §121.2; (b2) the Alcmaeonids hated them no less, §123.1; (a) it is a wonder to me . . ., *ibid*. A series of unherodotean linguistic features are noted by H&W, and Rosén omits it. But the facts in this chapter are probably basically true.

ἄκρος ἐλευθερῶν See on τἆλλα, §121.2.

'Ολυμπίῃ . . . νικήσας These games are dated to 564 (Schol Ar *Av* 283; Moretti (1957) no 103). The immediately preceding Pythian games were in 566. For the family wealth which was able to support the keeping of race-horses (cf Appx 9) see *APF* 7826 VII.

122.2 τὰς . . . θυγατέρας We can plausibly identify the husbands of two of them: Stouthon, father of another Hipponicos; and Lysimachos, father of Aristides, the children each probably born c530: *APF* 7826 III (B) and (C).

τὸν ἑκάστη ἐθέλοι Unusual but not unique: Lacey (1980) 69 with n. 84, 107–9, collects instances of girls marrying from love and choice: e.g. Elpinice, sister of Cimon, who married Callias (II) (Plut *Cim* 4.7); cf Vérilhac and Vial (1998) 210. Legally, an unmarried girl was in the guardianship of her father or, if he were dead, her brothers or other male relative. He or they normally chose her husband; marriage involved the devolution of family property: Vérilhac and Vial 210–14 with 125–207 (dowries); cf Pomeroy (1995) 62–5. Possibly Callias was sufficiently wealthy not to worry about this; but since the marriages were during the tyranny (cf previous note), if parts of the girls' dowries had previously been Pisistratid property, some men might be reluctant to take them on.

123.1 καὶ οἱ ᾿Αλκμεωνίδαι See on §122.1 for the structure and train of thought.

μισοτύραννοι . . . τὸν πάντα χρόνον On any view, not true: Cleisthenes was in Athens as archon in 525 (ML 6, referred to in note to §§34–41). It may be that the Alcmaeonids put about the story of long exile because of Pisistratos, to neutralise the story that they had been exiled over Cylon (introductory note). This is so whether φεύγω: means "be banished" or "go into exile", i.e. voluntarily. Technically, Pisistratos had no formal position or defined powers, and fourth century writers asserting that he could banish show anti-tyrant sentiments but not necessarily that he could do it. Powell sv 2, 5, offers "be exiled" for 1.64.3 but "go into exile" for 5.62.2 and here. But that may be reading too much into 1.64.3, where Herodotus says that when Pisistratos finally established himself, some Athenians (μέν) were killed, others (δέ) including Alcmaeonids were exiled/went into exile. "Others" reappear at 5.62.2: the Alcmaeonids fortified Leipsydrion with other Athenian exiles. In the later versions of the end of the tyranny (introductory note), Philoch *FGrH* 328 F115 has the Alcmaeonids "sent into exile" (φυγαδευθέντες); Isoc *Big* 25 has "chose exile", but *id Antidos* 232 "were sent"; Dem 21.144 "exiled by the tyrants". Thuc 6.59.4 and *Ath Pol* 19.3 just has them as exiles, with

no indication either way. Thucydides is still ambiguous: does his Ἀλκμεωνιδῶν τῶν φευγόντων mean (a) the exiled Alcmaeonids; (b) those of the Alcmaeonids who were in exile; or (c) of the exiles, the Alcmaeonids, as *HCT* (Dover) *ad loc*? The natural meaning is (a) or (b); but a variant reflecting Herodotus with (c) seems to have got into the Atthidographers, because *Ath Pol* 19.3 speaks of "the exiles, of whom the Alcmaeonids were the most prominent". The same point also affects the case of Cimon (cf on φυγεῖν, §103.1). In fact, apart from him and Alcmaeonids it is doubtful if many others did leave Athens: the general sense of what we know, and express at §§35 and 121, is that aristocrats remained, and Pisistratos sought an accommodation with them (see note to §§34–41). We can rationalise it by following Bicknell (1972a) 59, that the Alcmaeonids were a large family; and the historical Alcmaeonids were one οἰκία within a larger γένος; preferable to *APF* 9688 I, that the "700" families whom Cleomenes exiled in c508 (5.72.1, 73.1) were descendants of the Alcmaeon of §125: not every Alcmaeonid was in exile. 700 is no doubt rounded up or a semi-conventional figure for a large number; we might reach 575 in 508 by postulating 6 siblings and cousins in the οἰκία in the generation before the Megacles involved with Cylon, a consistent average of 2½ children per generation, and including descent in the female line: 15 families in Megacles' time; 37 in Alcmaeon's; 92 in the Megacles' of §§127 and 130; 230 in Cleisthenes', and 575 if all the next generation were now adults. Whether a family could consistently so expand in real life is another matter. As a footnote, that Cleisthenes was archon in 525 does not necessarily mean that the whole family then returned to Athens, nor that he then stayed in Athens down to 510. Especially if the exile was voluntary, individuals would be free to come and go; and no doubt some did, if only to supervise or manage the family estates. On any interpretation of the Delphi temple story, the family wealth was intact. We might also note that if Herodotus had wanted to check this Alcmaeonid input, it is doubtful if many others would recall that Cleisthenes had been archon some 75 years earlier, and there was probably no written list of archons (pp. 14–15).

We can quarrel with Herodotus' argument by pointing to 1.59–61, where he says that the Megacles of §§127 and 130 had co-operated with Pisistratos on his second attempt at power, and married his daughter to him. However, he also says that Megacles led the Paralia faction against Pisistratos on his first attempt at power, and hints

that the subsequent support and marriage (which was never consummated) was under pressure. Herodotus is consistent in saying that after Pisistratos finally seized power, the Alcmaeonids were in exile, and here specifically adds that they were instrumental in getting Hippias removed. There was possibly another connection with the Pisistratids which the Alcmaeonids wanted to play down: the former claimed descent from Neleus (5.65.3); the same was said of the Alcmaeonids, per Paus 2.18.9; though on this see on §125.1.

ἐκ μηχανῆς . . . τούτων As is clear from §123.2, he takes as read his account of Delphi getting the Spartans to oust Hippias, related at 5.62–3.

123.2 Ἁρμόδιός τε καὶ Ἀριστογείτων Herodotus had to tread carefully. Mid-fifth century Athenian traditions had the correct sequence of events, but stressed the role of the tyrannicides, for whom see *APF* 11267 III (introductory note). They had been heroised and given the unique honour of statues by Antenor, and a cult in the agora. The statues stood about 50 m south-east of the altar of the twelve gods of §108.4: Travlos (1971) no 34 on plan p. 29. After their theft in 480 they were replaced by new ones by Kritios and Nesiotes, when the inscribed stele mentioned in Dem 21.170 may have been put up. We have a good idea of those: they are shown on an amphora of c402, and we have Roman copies: Paus 1.8.5; Simon (1981) plate LI; Stewart (1990) 135, illus 227–31. According to Dem 19.20, they were honoured like heroes (Dem 19.280; Podlecki (1966)). Not until 394 were further such statues erected (to Conon and Evagoras: Dem 20.69–70, Isoc *Evag* 56–7, Paus 1.3.2–3). They were also the subject of patriotic drinking songs, scolia (*PMG* 893–6 = Athen 15.695a–b); though there was also one commemorating Leipsydrion (*Ath Pol* 19.3 = Athen 15.695e; *PMG* 907. As noted on Ἁρμόδιός, §109.3, Miltiades was on firm ground in appealing to their memory. Hence Herodotus diplomatically reminds his readers of the true position with ὡς ἐγὼ κρίνω. The Alcmaeonids, after their unsuccessful attempt at Leipsydrion, had been instrumental in getting the Spartans to topple Hippias (introductory note).

ἐξηγρίωσαν Both 5.55 and Thuc 6.53.3 say that after Hipparchos' assassination the tyranny became harsher. Herodotus repeats it here, but attributes it to "the remaining Pisistratids". If not just a matter

of expression, it perhaps means Hippias putting one or more family members into positions of power. In turn, that raises the question whether the Pisistratids who were exiled in 510, 5.65, were just Hippias' immediate family (for whom see on Πεισιστρατιδέων, §94.1) or included collaterals. If the latter, it could not have included all, because we know of Hipparchos son of Charmos who was in Athens: see on §104.2(e).

εἰ δὴ οὗτοι . . . ἀναπείσαντες At 5.62.2–63.1, Herodotus had said that the Alcmaeonids, because they were wealthy (οἷα δὲ χρημάτων εὖ ἥκοντες: for the meaning, Powell sv ἥκω 3), used marble instead of their contractual limestone to beautify the temple at Delphi, and then, as the Athenians say, "persuaded" the Pythia (ἀνέπειθον τὴν Πυθίην χρήμασι, 5.63.1) to get the Spartans to act (introductory note). Strictly, ἀναπείθω meant "persuade strongly", "convince", e.g. 1.124.2, but it commonly connoted "bribe", e.g. §66.2, 3.145.2; and that is probably what Herodotus meant and how Greeks would understand it, here and at 5.63.1: as did Plut *Mal Her* 860d, even if he had an axe to grind. They had other euphemisms for it, e.g. ἀναγι(γ)νώσκομαι, "persuade", §50.2; προσποιέομαι, "win over", §66.2; cf 8.4–5, as well as the direct δωροδοκέω, §§72.1, 82.1. Here, Herodotus wants to tone down the popular tradition that the Alcmaeonids had bribed the Pythia. Indeed, 5.62–3 is itself ambiguous: if χρήματα was understood to mean the same in both sentences, then the second could be taken as meaning that Delphi acted out of gratitude for the expenditure of their wealth, not because of an extra "gift": see Robinson (1994) 368–9. But the Alcmaeonids were able to "gift" more discreetly than Cleomenes: cf on §66.2 for the narrow dividing line between gift and corruption. With our better understanding of how tradition forms and develops, we should reject Schweighauser's amendment of "as the Athenians say" at 5.63.1 to "as the Lacedaemonians say"; he had pointed to 5.90, that the Spartans were distressed on learning of the Alcmaeonid "arrangement" (μεμηχανημένα) at Delphi. Gift or not, Delphi may have decided that it was appropriate to remove Hippias; if the stories that his rule had become unacceptably harsh had a sound factual basis, the Alcmaeonids will have made sure that they were brought to Delphi's attention.

124.1 ἐπιμεμφόμενοι . . . τῷ δήμῳ The rather sophistic argument is: perhaps they betrayed Athens because they felt that the demos gave

them inadequate recognition. On the contrary (μὲν οὖν: Denniston 475–6), no family was more honoured.

δοκιμώτεροι . . . μᾶλλον ἐτετιμέατο It is not easy to identify Alcmaeonids after Cleisthenes who were prominent in politics, and even harder after 480: *APF* 9688 XI (unless we include Pericles, for whom see introductory note). The phrase reflects Alcmaeonid input, perhaps seeking to meet the higher profile of the Philaids: Miltiades had been disgraced (§§132, 136), but Cimon played a prominent role in Athenian affairs, and we hear of other Philaids down to 430 (*APF* 8429 XI–XIV).

124.2 ἀνεδέχθη . . . ἀγένετο γάρ Having absolved the Alcmaeonids, he still accepts the fact of the shield story, §115. His οὐκ ἔχω προσετέρω does not read like the similar phrase about Lade, §14.1. There he had variant accounts, but declined either to set them out or to offer a preferred version. Here it seems that he had no alternative tradition that someone else raised the shield. If so, it falls for comment that this did not cause him to doubt the fact of the shield, or to consider whether the shield caused Datis to change course (cf Appx 17 H2).

§§125–131 *The Alcmaeonids were a distinguished family, and Alcmaeon became rich on a visit to Croesus. His son Megacles was the successful suitor for the hand of Agariste, the daughter of Cleisthenes tyrant of Sicyon, when the latter arranged a year-long contest of suitors for her hand. Her granddaughter Agariste was the mother of Pericles.*

The problem with both these stories is that they contain an overlay of folklore, urban legend almost: see Thomas (1989) 264–82. There is no reason to think that Herodotus did not report them accurately, but recovering historical fact from them is not easy, and there is probably room for variant views to some of those expressed below.

125.1 Οἱ δὲ Ἀλκμεωνίδαι . . . λαμπροί At 5.62.3 Herodotus had said that the family was wealthy: see on εἰ δὴ οὗτοι, §123.2, and well thought of, δόκιμοι; whatever the source of its wealth, it could claim a four-horse Olympic victory, §125.5. It had eupatrid status, but, as *APF* 9688 I points out, did not control a cult; and there were two

inconsistent traditions about its distant origins, descent from Neleus or Theseus. It is as if it was in the second division of eupatrid families, struggling to get into the premier league. It is also hard to say much about the family wealth, whatever its origins, either as to date or source: *APF* 9688 XIV. The anecdote here suggests that they were perceived as nouveaux riches.

125.2 Κροίσου . . . συμπρήκτωρ The synchronism of Alcmaeon and Croesus is unrealistic (though it is possible, but by no means certain, that Alcmaeon named one of his sons Κροῖσος: *APF* 9688 IV). It perhaps recalls the synchronism of Solon and Croesus, 1.30. Croesus, like Midas, was an archetypal wealthy king and an appropriate person for the purposes of the story. Alcmaeon was the Athenian general in the First Sacred War, c595, and so cannot have been born later than c630; his son Megacles was married, as related in §§126–131, in 575 or 571, so he must have been born around, probably before, 600 (cf *APF* 9688 II, III). Croesus ruled from c560–c547; in Alcmaeon's time, the king was Alyattes, c610–c560 (p. 45 n. 156). The only other classical occurrences of συμπρήκτωρ are Soph *OT* 116, Xen *Cyr* 3.2.29 and Antiphon 3.4.6, with the meaning "companion" or (in Antiphon) "accomplice". Here, it seems to connote "contractor" or "agent"; for the dealings of Lydian kings with Greeks see Austin (1990) 295. Finds of pottery evidence Athenian trade with Lydia at this time: Roebuck (1959a) 93; while Lydian kings consulted Delphi: Herodotus records Gyges, 1.14, and Alyattes, 1.19, 25. Thus the family may have traded with Lydia, and had ξενία links with their Lydian counterparts, some of whom may have been connected to the royal family (for aristocrats as traders see Appx 2 n. 3; and cf on ἐξεινώθησαν, §21). If there was an accretion to the family wealth over and above the profits of trade, the story might have grown from a generous payment by the king, or extravagant gifting by a ξένος. Alternatively, noting Lydian consultations of Delphi, which may not have been confined to the king, we might see συμπρήκτωρ as someone who not only provided accommodation when Lydians arrived in Athens, but also a Greek-speaking escort to accompany them to Delphi, with introductions to his own ξένοι en route for their overnight stops: cf the Dolonci story, §35, and on Ἀμίαντος, §127.3; this would be close to the Sophocles and Xenophon passages supra. Eventually, the king rewarded this service. The attraction of this explanation is that it also suggests that the family would

be known in Delphi, irrespective of Alcmaeon's part in the First Sacred War, long before their involvement with the temple; cf Parke and Wormell (1956) I 143–7. See also next note.

Κροῖσος . . . μεταπέμπεται If Alcmaeon was still alive when Croesus consulted Delphi, he would be an old man (previous note). Forrest (1956) 51 suggests that the king did not send for Alcmaeon, but that Delphi sent him to assure Alyattes that its goodwill towards him was unchanged under its new management as a result of the Sacred War. At all events, we might infer that he left Lydia richer than he arrived. Alcmaeonid detractors may have helped to keep the story alive: to be a friend of kings would be no recommendation to the fifth century demos, but a "rags to riches" story was worth recalling.

χρυσῷ Gold would be a regular medium for payment in Lydia, e.g. for a cargo of Athenian olive oil (cf supra), before and perhaps after she acquired her electrum coinage during the sixth century.

125.3 ἐπιτηδεύσας The chiton was the normal Greek travelling garment: Casson (1994) 75, but the cothurni ("high boots", as at 1.155) suggest a theatrical touch to the story: paintings (e.g. Casson 33, fig 3) show travellers in short boots or sandals.

125.4 ἐξώγκωτο The same word in Herodotus only in §126.3; Powell (1937) 104 treats this as one of Herodotus' puns, "as if attracted by the sound of the word". It is common in medical writers but uncommon elsewhere, but see Eur *Or* 402, *Supp* 684, *Hipp* 938, and cf *HF* 1332.

125.5 ἐπλούτησε ἡ οἰκίη Once we discount the urban legend, all we can really say is that the family wealth may well have been boosted in the early sixth century by connections with Lydia, as canvassed on §125.2 (both notes); cf *APF* 9688 XIV and next note.

τεθριπποτροφήσας . . . ἀναιρέεται In 592 (Schol Pind *Pyth* 7 inscr: Moretti (1957) no 81). Forrest (1956) 51 doubts that the family could afford to keep horses before the golden handshake; but 592 can only be a few years later. It would be a notable achievement if, as Isoc *Big* 25 says, he was the first Athenian to win the race after some 90 years. See Appx 9 for the economics (para 2 for the dating), and

on οἰκίης, §35.1, for the prestige it entailed. Consistent with κάρτα λαμπροί, §125.1, and δόκιμοι, 5.62.3, we know of 7 other victories of the family at the Pythian and Isthmian games from Pind *Pyth* 7.10–12.

126.1 γενεῇ δευτέρῃ ὕστερον The "next generation" does not help on resolving the chronology of §125; it merely moves the narrative to the marriage of Alcmaeon's son.

Κλεισθένης . . . ὁ Σικυώνιος τύραννος c597–c566: see on Ἀριστωνύμου, infra. Cleisthenes ruled a modest sized but agriculturally fertile polis (Griffin (1982) 29–31); her political centre was around the acropolis, some 5–6 km from the coast. She also had a maritime interest, though Griffin 32–3 does not think that she was a major trading city. But Cleisthenes was said to have blockaded Cirrha by sea in the First Sacred War (Schol Pind *Nem* 9 inscr); she supplied ships for Cleomenes, §76.2 with §91.1–2; in 480 she sent 12 triremes to Artemisium and 15 to Salamis, comparable to Sparta's 10 and 16: 8.1, 43, 46.

πολλῷ ὀνομαστοτέρην It is clear that stories circulated: "all Greece" knew about Miltiades' attack on Paros, §134.1. However widely other stories about Cleisthenes spread (e.g. his participation in the First Sacred War and his anti-Argive policy), a lavish wedding story was just the sort of thing which would quickly spread and get embellished. However, Jeffery (1976) 165 suggests that the wedding was recorded by a court poet; this would explain, not just why the story circulated, but with the considerable detail that Herodotus could pick up some 125 years later. For its tone, see on §126.3.

Ἀριστωνύμου τοῦ Μύρωνος τοῦ Ἀνδρέω Herodotus does not digress into a history of the Sicyonian tyranny, and this stemma should be read for what it is: Cleisthenes' descent. It is, unfortunately, impossible to reconcile all our information about the family, and not easy to decide what should be accepted or rejected, or inferred. It is probable that neither this Myron, nor Aristonymos, were tyrants; but Andreas was the father of the first tyrant, Orthagoras: POxy 1365 = *FGrH* 105 F2 with DS 8.24; Arist *Pol* 1315b12–21. POxy 1365 details Orthagoras' rise from a frontier guard (περίπολος) in a war against Pellene to commander of the guard and then polemarch; becoming

tyrant is hinted at in the fragment, explicit in DS. We can reconcile most of other our information by inferring that Myron was Orthagoras' brother; his son Aristonymos married his cousin, Orthagoras' daughter; and their children were Myron (junior), Isodamos, and Cleisthenes, as referred to by Nic Dam *FGrH* 90 F61, who gives them 7, 1 and 31 years' rule respectively; Arist *Pol* 1316a30–1 has Cleisthenes succeed Myron directly. Thus, although Herodotus does not say so, Cleisthenes' maternal grandfather had been the first tyrant. None of our other sources say that Aristonymos was tyrant, but his father Myron is a puzzle. Paus 6.19.1–2 makes him an Olympic victor who thereupon made two dedications. His source assigned this to Ol 33, which would be 648 (Moretti (1957) no 52); however, the description of the dedications (one in the Dorian, one in the Ionian style) suggests a later date. If Pausanias had the dedicator correctly, either his source used a special system for numbering Olympiads, or his attribution to Ol 33 was wrong. Another problem is that while Nic Dam has a lurid story of Myron junior sleeping with Isodamos' wife, the latter killing Myron, and Cleisthenes plotting to take advantage of that to secure the tyranny for himself, Aristotle describes Cleisthenes as well as his forebears as good and law abiding tyrants. A definitive resolution of the problem, if that is possible, is not necessary for present purposes; but to the extent that internal politics were a factor in Cleisthenes' desire to marry Agariste out of Sicyon (infra), on any view the tyranny had been in his family for a good while. Aristotle says that it lasted 100 years. We should not interpret that arithmetically in our system, e.g. 650–550 (cf Appx 10 para 5); but he could be broadly right. We have to accommodate Cleisthenes' alleged involvement in the First Sacred War, c595, his Pythian victory of 582, Paus 10.7.7, and his being alive in 576 or 572 (see on §126.2); and give his successor, the last tyrant Aeschines, a few years before being removed by Anaxandridas and Chilon in c556 (PRyl 18: note to §§49.2–55 para 4). If we accept that Orthagoras became tyrant in his late 20s and lived into his 70s, note the reign lengths in Nic Dam and Aristotle's "100" years, and work backwards from Aeschines' removal, we may postulate: Orthagoras, c650–c605; Myron and Isodamos c605–c597; Cleisthenes c597–c566; Aeschines c566–556. See, generally, Griffin (1982) 40–59; Jeffery (1976) 162–6; *CAH* III 570 (Wade-Gery, who makes Aeschines Cleisthenes' nephew). The discussion in Shaw (2003) 210–38 usefully reviews previous assess-

ments; it concentrates on Myron and looks at the matter in terms of dating by Olympiads.

Ἀγαρίστη Discounting the folkloristic overlay in the story, the real question is Cleisthenes' motives for marrying his daughter, not to a member of a local family, but to an Athenian. There are two possible answers (which need not be mutually exclusive). One is internal politics: his family had already held the tyranny for some 80–90 years, and he may have sensed that while he could hold on to power in his lifetime, his son (or perhaps nephew) Aeschines was unlikely to do so (infra); he wanted to marry her into the safety of another polis (also avoiding a power struggle between Aeschines and his son-in-law). His middle brother Isodamos was said to have been weak-minded (Nic Dam *FGrH* 90 F61.2), and he may have judged Aeschines to be in that mould; in any case, he would be aware of pressure from Sicyonian landowners who wanted their share of power, and may have sensed that not all his policies were popular (cf Griffin (1982) 56, 57–8). At this time, it was not uncommon for élite Greeks to seek wives from another polis, and it is probable that no poleis prohibited marriage to such a girl: so Agamestor (Appx 20), Cylon (note to §§121–4), or Pisistratos (see on ἐγγυῶ, §130.2); cf Miltiades' second wife, §39.2; generally Vérilhac and Vial (1998) 50–3. Delphi was perhaps sensitive to the unrest: 5.67.2 records an oracle which called the mythical Adrastos a real king of Sicyon, while Cleisthenes was a mere λευστήρ. Usually translated "stone-thrower" or a nobody, Ogden (1993) argues that it connotes a pharmakos, a scapegoat to be expelled. Either meaning could imply diminishing popularity.

The other is if he felt that Sicyon's integrity was under threat, and a marriage alliance with another polis might produce military help. Relations with Corinth seem to have been good, though the looming bulk of the Acrocorinth, easily visible from the acropolis of Sicyon just 16 km to the east, would be a continuous reminder that Corinth was there. In practice she did not pose a threat; unless we give credence to a story in Front *Strat* 3.9.7 that Periander's friend Thrasyboulos of Miletos captured the harbour of Sicyon; and, according to Nic Dam *FGrH* 90 F61.5, when Cleisthenes first took over from Isodamos, he accused the latter of conspiring with the Cypselids. He had been able to absorb Pellene and then Donoussa: van Wees (2003) 38–41; cf on Ἀριστωνύμου, supra. Her real danger came from

the south. Argos was only c50 km away over low hills, and she treated Sicyon as in the lot of Temenos (Appx 15 n. 7; for Sicyon, Paus 2.6.4). Cleisthenes had already had a war with Argos and thereafter pursued an anti-Argive policy: 5.67–8: see Griffin 50–1; Jeffery (1976) 162–4. In the event it was Sparta who deposed Aeschines (see on Πέρκαλον, §65.2, and infra), though we cannot be certain that Cleisthenes could have foreseen Sparta as the main threat, nor that some 80 or 90 years later Cleomenes would be able to require her to provide ships, §92. For what it is worth, DS 8.19.1 says that Agariste was very beautiful, but this was clearly a political marriage.

126.2 κήρυγμα If this detail is historical, the announcement was made at the Olympics of 576 or 572, the latter being date preferred by Moretti (1957) no 96, and Nenci *ad loc*; the marriage was thus 575 or 571, which fits the dates and careers of the children of Megacles and Agariste: *APF* 9688 III, V–X. We may infer that panhellenic games offered a convenient opportunity for public announcements other than the proclamations of victors, as Cimon, §103.2, though the only other recorded one is Alexander's Exiles Decree of 324 (DS 17.108, 18.8; Bosworth (1988) 220–8).

126.3 ἐφοίτων μνηστῆρες There is a quasi-Homeric ring to the story, if only because μνηστήρ recalls the wooing of Helen, and apart from §§126–31 is only in classical prose at Xen *Cyr* 8.4.16. It is difficult to decide how far a story of generous entertainment of suitors followed by a lavish wedding grew as it was retold into a year long business, elaborated as "tyrannical" behaviour, with well-known names being added (cf on πολλῷ, §126.1). The names point arises, not because we know nothing of some of the suitors, but because where they are known, they cannot all be easily accommodated into c575. If the basic story is true, we might judge Cleisthenes to have been very shrewd. That he wanted to secure his daughter's future has been noted on 'Αγαρίστη, §126.1. He may have thought from the first that an Athenian son-in-law would be very desirable. But by doing it this way, he could be seen to be offering a fair contest, so that men from a potentially hostile polis, such as Argos, could feel that they were competing on equal terms. Also, he may have had approaches for his daughter's hand which he did not wish to accept, and this was a diplomatic way of refusing them. Finally, while he could not foresee the precise geographic spread of suitors, talking to

some of them would give him the opportunity to assess the realities of their poleis, political and economic, in a world in which hard and reliable evidence was not easy to come by. On that, it is instructive to plot the home cities of the suitors on a map: two from S Italy, three from N-W Greece, four from the Peloponnese, two from Athens, one from Euboea, one from Thessaly. We may speculate that in practice, their chances were not equal: Molossia and perhaps Epidamnos were marginal in the Greek world, Argos politically unacceptable and Arcadia perhaps too unsophisticated.

ἐξωγκωμένοι See on §125.4.

127.1 Σμινδυρίδης ὁ Ἱπποκράτεος Sybaris was famous for its standard of living (cf on Συβάριος, §21.1), and Smindyrides, whatever his true dates, was probably a by-word for extravagant luxury (χλιδή) in Herodotus' own day: Aristotle could so refer to him, *EE* 1216a16, and he was written up by Timaeus (566 F9 = Athen 12.541b–c). Later sources described him in exaggerated terms: he went to Sicyon in his private penteconter with an entourage of 1000 or more, the rowers doubling as fishermen or fowlers or cooks, and he boasted of his lifestyle, that for 20 years he had not seen sunset or sunrise (DS 8.19.1; Athen 6.273b; Aelian *VH* 9.24, 12.24 (3000 servants!)). Mentioning that Sybaris ἤκμαζε can be interpreted as a signal that her fortunes will change, as it did, §21.1: Lateiner (1982b).

Σιρίτης Δάμασος Ἀμύριος τοῦ σοφοῦ λεγομένου παῖς Siris, at the mouth of the river Siris, was c60 km north-east of Sybaris; originally said to have been founded by Trojans, it was a Crotoniate settlement which aimed to rival Sybaris in wealth: Strabo 6.1.14; Athen 12.523c; the Athenians had their eye on it (8.62.2). But we know nothing of Damasos or his father, or why the latter was called, ironically or not, wise.

127.2 Ἀμφίμνηστος Ἐπιστρόφου Both unknown.

Τιτόρμου . . . Μάλης Males himself is otherwise unknown. The story of Titormos was that he was a herdsman, βούκολος, of great courage and size, who beat Milon of Croton in a wrestling contest: Aelian *VH* 12.22; Steph Byz sv Τίτορμος. Milon is dated to the latter part of the sixth century (*OCD*[3] sv); Moretti (1957) dates his victories

between 540 and 516 (nos 115, 122, 126, 129, 133, 139); cf the story that Democedes was engaged to his daughter, 3.137.5. He is the subject of the Simonides epigram referred to on ἐς γόνυ, §27.3. If there was a suitor Males, he could have been an older family member who was later confused with the brother of the boxer.

127.3 Φείδωνος . . . Λεωκήδης This is our earliest mention of Pheidon, king of Argos, who is variously dated between 895 and now, and typically associated with strong military activity and also weights and measures. However, it is dangerous to say (as does, e.g. Shaw (2003) 93, cf 95) that Herodotus "clearly stated that the regulator of weights and measures was both perpetrator of the Olympic *coup* and father of Lacedas, suitor for Agariste"; not because he does not mention weights (cf next note), but because he was merely recounting a story in which Lacedas was named as one of the suitors, and the list is suspect. §127.3 is good evidence that the king was spoken of for both his Olympic interference and introducing measures; but not that his son was a suitor, and therefore he was ruling in 575/571. There are grounds for placing his death about 100 years before, c657; even if that is rejected, it is still unrealistic that his son Lacedas could have been a suitor. There are two basic solutions. He was spoken of as a strong king, and Arist *Pol* 1310b26–8 says that he started as a king and became a tyrant. Adding the son of such a man to the list of suitors could be evidence of its artificiality: cf on §126.3; whether or not it had a spark of historicity if, when ruling, the real Pheidon had sought a Sicyonian wife for his son as a political marriage, given Argos' claim to Sicyon (see on Ἀγαρίστη, §126.1). The other is that the suitor was a younger collateral, who with his father became assimilated to their older relatives in the story. See further Appx 16, esp para 6, and next notes. There can be no objection to an Argive suitor as such; Cleisthenes had given an open invitation, though he would be unlikely to choose him on political grounds.

τὰ μέτρα ποιήσαντος Pheidon of Argos was associated a system of both measures and weights, usually accepted and interpreted as regulating and encouraging fair trading in Argos. "For the Peloponnesians" is problematic, however. The commonest Greek standards were the Aeginetan and the Attic, the former being most usual in the Peloponnese; Pheidonian measures differed from both. A separate

problem is that some sources attribute coins to him, which is unlikely if not impossible. The best explanation is that "Pheidonian" could be used as a synonym for Aeginetan: see Appx 16 paras 4–5 with Endnote.

ὑβρίσαντος μέγιστα . . . τὸν ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ ἀγῶνα This too is a difficult question. Control of the Olympic Games was normally in the hands of Elis, but there are references to when others controlled them, the Anolympiads. Paus 6.22.2 (who also uses ὑβρίσαντα) puts Pheidon's control into the 8th Olympiad, 748. Other references speak of Pisatan control, in the 26th to 28th Olympiads, 676–668. Solutions are bound up with the wider problem of placing Pheidon within the history of archaic Argos, and the accuracy of Pausanias' Olympiads. For those who want a high date, 748 is acceptable, but the mid sixth century is more consistent with other evidence. Pausanias' "8th" is then dealt with in three ways: it was an error in his sources, it is an error in MSS transmission, or we should amend to "28th". Controlling Olympia is at least consistent with the picture of a strong, expansionist, king. Herodotus' ὑβρίσαντος need not be editorial, though he would disapprove of interference with a pan-Hellenic festival; Greeks generally might disapprove. See Appx 16 paras 1–3, including n. 5.

Ἀμίαντος Λυκούργου . . . Λαφάνης Εὐφορίωνος . . . Ὀνόμαστος Ἀγαίου None of these men are otherwise known, despite the anecdote attaching to Euphorion. Trapezous was some 10 km north-west of the later Megalopolis; Paion (Paos) was in the middle of Arcadia, south-west of Kleitor and about 60 km north-east of Olympia by river valley routes (map 7). Whatever were the facilities which Euphorion offered, accommodation for travellers (in this case, probably to Olympia) was important: cf on καταγωγήν, §35.2.

127.4 Μεγακλέης . . . Ἱπποκλείδης For Megacles' family see note to §§121–124. Hippocleides was first cousin to Miltiades the elder: see on τὸ ἀνέκαθεν, §128.2; stemma, Appx 20.

Λυσανίης . . . Διακτορίδης . . . Ἄλκων None have patronymics, and they are otherwise unknown. Adding μοῦνος to Lysanias might imply that Euboea could have been expected to provide more than one candidate: Chalcis (cf on §101.1) and Eretria (cf on §100.2) were both prosperous trading poleis. Crannon was in Thessaly, some 40

km south-west of Tempe (Strabo 7a.1.14; Steph Byz sv Κραννών), and to say that Diactorides was τῶν Σκοπαδέων was sufficient identification of his family background; the Scopadai were famous for their wealth in cattle (Schol Theocr 16.36). The Molossians were a mixed Greek-Illyrian race on the fringe of the Greek world, but they spoke Greek, and had Greek customs (Hammond and Griffith (1979) 45), as in the story of Themistocles and their king Admetos, noted on §68.1. Alcon's presence at Olympia shows that at least some of them could take part in panhellenic games.

128.1 πρῶτα μὲν . . . μετὰ δέ Whether historically true or not, this continues the quasi-Homeric tone of the story noted on §126.3. It is reminiscent of Helen's suitors, and the vocabulary used for the testing of the suitors evokes the aristocratic ideals found in Homer's world: family, honour, physical prowess (Donlan (1980) 1–34), brought up to date by substituting γυμνάσια for Homeric games (cf infra). The sixth century was a time when these values were losing ground as political power spread more widely, often associated with the rise of the hoplite class (Donlan 35–75). Cleisthenes might claim that his tyranny was to protect the demos against the aristocrats, but this story can be seen as a deliberate attempt to uphold traditional values in a world where they were beginning to crumble; we cannot assume that the suitors without patronymics were not aristocrats.

ἀνδραγαθίης . . . τρόπου Roughly "character, disposition, education, manners". To judge by the several occurrences of ἀνδραγαθία, or the corresponding verb -ίζομαι, in Herodotus and Thucydides, the concept it represented must have been well established: "good manliness", moral qualities of character irrespective of birth or wealth (but perhaps to be expected in those of high birth); e.g. absent in Cleomenes but present in Dorieus, 5.39.1, 42.1; in Thucydides usually connoting doing what the speaker argues is the honourable thing politically, e.g. 2.42.3, 3.40.4. For the related concept of καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθός, see Rhodes on Thuc 4.40.2, including the references to Bourriot (1995).

ἐς γυμνάσια . . . νεώτεροι . . . συνεστοῖ This indicates that some of the suitors were older men, perhaps in their forties. We may suspect that the γυμνάσια were more like ἀγῶνες, athletic contests, rather than those in the fifth century sense of part of a young man's educa-

tion at least in Athens, or γυμνασίη meaning "exercise" in Hippocrates, e.g. *Morb* 1.15, *Diaet Sal* 7. Powell sv συνεστώς (συνεστίη in the **a** MSS) offers "society", but it is generally translated "at (communal) dinner". As to why this is called the most important test, in view of what happened in §129, it is tempting to think that Cleisthenes wanted to see if they continued to behave like gentlemen even in liquor.

128.2 ἠρέσκοντό <οἱ> οἱ ἀπ' 'Αθηνέων Following the notes on Κλεισθένης, §126.1, and on §126.3, we could argue either that Athens was his city of choice from the start, or became so when he saw the other candidates. On the one hand, Athens was by no means the major city she became from c550 onwards; on the other hand, if with a touch of cynicism, we might infer that Smindyrides failed for indolence, and others for being too thuggish or too stupid; Leocedes/Lacedas was associated with the wrong city, and others from cities that were thought too provincial, on the fringe of the Greek world.

τὸ ἀνέκαθεν . . . Κυψελίδῃσι Archon in 566 (Develin (1989) 41). As to his ancestry (τὸ ἀνέκαθεν), his grandfather Agamestor had married a sister of Periander (*APF* 8429 I–II; cf on §126.3). The Cypselids had recently been removed from power (c583: Salmon (1984) 187 n. 1; Jeffery (1976) 152), but it is doubtful if that affected Cleisthenes' choice. Hippocleides could have had few Corinthian relations: Periander had died childless and the nephew who succeeded him had been killed.

129.1 ὡς δὲ ἡ κυρίη . . . The text is problematic. The father or other κύριος of the girl contracted to betroth her with ἐγγυάω or (ἐκ)δίδωμι; the future husband would accept with ἐγγυοῦμαι, as Megacles is represented as saying, §130.2; or λαμβάνω. The vocabulary is exhaustively analysed in Vérilhac and Vial (1998) 229–258. This was followed, immediately or after an interval, with the ἔκδοσις, the handing over of the girl by the father to the groom, who now became her κύριος. A dowry (προίς) was usual (discussed Vérilhac and Vial 125–207), but not necessary to complete the legal formalities. Finally, also immediately or after an interval, came the ceremonial part: the marriage feast, usually by the girl's family, at which the bride and female members of both families (at least where the couple lived in

the same area) were present. She was then escorted to her husband's house, and there might be religious rites thereafter: generally, Vérilhac and Vial 281–366. The general word for "wedding" was γάμος, which was strictly the physical consummation of the union, but in practice included the whole ceremonial part (Vérilhac and Vial 229). See Harrison (1968) 1.3–9, esp 6–7; Todd (1993) 212–14, 214–15, 215.

Here, the text has Cleisthenes choosing the bridegroom at a public feast. The phraseology of βοῦς ἑκατόν, Σικυωνίους πάντας, and the "contest" of §129.2 suggest a cross between a male-only symposium, and a large public feast, a ξενία τράπεζα (Hom *Od* 14.158, 17.155; Aesch *Ag* 401–2): the tyrant demonstrates his wealth, generosity and rank, and he will also announce the betrothal: cf Schmitt-Pantel (1992) 39–42, 53–60; yet κατάκλισις τοῦ γάμου should mean the marriage feast. Given νόμοισι τοῖσι 'Αθηναίων, §130.2, Cleisthenes wanted to honour the conventions. Either the public feast and announcement of the betrothal, and the wedding feast, have coalesced in the tradition; or we can translate ὡς ἡ κυρίη etc not as "the appointed day" (Powell sv; LSJ sv II 3) but "as the day for the wedding approached"; and either make κατακλίσιος refer to the public feast, or, keeping it for the marriage feast, make ἐκφάσιος etc (ἐκφαίνω, "make known") refer to the public feast, despite the τε in τῆς κατακλίσιος. We might argue that if κατάκλισις implies lying on couches, it suggests a symposium; but it may be doubted whether in practice men at a large public feast reclined. The wedding feasts of Athen 4.128c and 6.245a, which have κατακλίνω, are not in point here, because there only 10 and 30 men were present.

129.2 τῷ λεγομένῳ ἐς τὸ μέσον ἐς τὸ μέσον = to the assembled company, as infra §130.1, Plat *Rep* 536b, Theogn 495. Reciting and singing poetry, as well as dancing, were standard features of a symposium: Schmitt-Pantel (1990) 20–1; Tecuşan (1990) 238–47.

κατέχων The basic meaning of κατέχω is check or restrain (so §129.4; "repress", Powell sv 6). But the context does not suggest that Hippocleides physically restrained the others if they tried to stop him as his performance progressed. Translations import the idea of "prevail" which LSJ sv B3 and 4 offer for it when used intransitively. De Sélincourt and Mandilaras offer outstripping the others in the contest(s); but as it comes after προϊούσης τῆς πόσιος it is attractive to follow Shuckburgh, ahead in drunkenness or holding his liquor.

Waterfield, Nenci and D'Accinni are more ambiguous: as the drinking continued, Hippocleides was outdoing the others. McQueen offers "virtually holding the others spellbound".

ἐμμελείην . . . ὀρχήσατο Plato *Leg* 816b treats the ἐμμελεία as any dance other than a war dance; in later writers it is called τραγική, and it may have been used to describe the dance movements in tragic plays: cf Suda svv (two entries). Athen 14.631d calls it σπουδαία, almost "classical" as opposed to "pop", the comic and vulgar κόρδαξ and σίκιννις (e.g. Athen 1.20e, 14.630e, Lucian *Salt* 22, 25; cf Schol Ar *Nub* 540); he cites as an example the ἀλητήρ from Sicyon and Ithaca, and (with the name κίδαρις) Arcadia. The implication is that what Hippocleides did exceeded the proprieties even for a symposium: cf on §129.3; perhaps even more so if in fact he so behaved at the actual wedding feast. Although we hear more about dancing in the procession that took the bride to the groom's house, there was also dancing at the feast: Barker (1984) 1.22 with n. 11, Hom *Il* 18.494, *Od* 23.145. Athen 1.14d and 14.629a refers to other Sicyonian dances; but Cleisthenes was objecting to Hippocleides' behaviour, not because he was doing a non-Sicyonian dance. It was the opposite of ἀνδραγαθίη: to dance properly was the mark of the educated gentleman: Plat *Leg* 654a (. . . ἀπαίδευτος ἀχόρευτος . . .).

ἑωυτῷ μὲν ἀρεστῶς ὀρχέετο This may mean no more than that he began by fooling about and raising a laugh, or that he was doing the sort of dancing which might occur at a private dinner party (cf Athen 4.134a–c).

129.3 Λακωνικὰ σχημάτια . . . Ἀττικά The σχημάτια are the dance movements or steps: cf Ar *Pax* 323, 324. We should ignore Plut *QC* 747a–e, saying that dance is divided into φορά (carriage or movement), σχῆμα (the pose in which a movement ends), and δεῖξις, a pointing by the dancer to something; it is confused and at best may reflect some theoretical treatise: cf Lawler (1964) 25–7; *id* (1954). The dances called Laconian and Attic of which we know (except for a transvestite Laconian dance called βρυδαλίχα (Hesychius sv)) are all associated with religious cults or other special occasions. Of Laconian dances there is (a) the *enhoplion* and *pyrriche*, war dances (Xen *Anab* 6.1.11–12; Athen 4.184f, 14.630e–631b; they were not confined to Sparta: Barker (1984) 28 n. 28); (b) the *paean*, at the

Hyacinthia and Gymnopaidia festivals: Lawler (1964) 100, citing Xen *Ages* 2.17, *Hell* 4.5.11; (c) various others, all inappropriate at a wedding: the *hypochematike*, Athen 14.631e, a dance with song; the *dipodion* (Ar *Lys* 1242–4); dances for boys (*embateria*, marching dances taught to them as part of their education, Lawler 123); girls' dances (Lawler 92, 102–3, 123; cf Alcman fr 1 Page); and skits (Athen 14.621e–f; Hesych sv δεικηλισταί). For Athens, apart from dances in tragic or comic plays, we know of dances associated with the festivals: Dionysia (Lawler 80, 112) and Panathenaia (Eur *Her* 777–83; Lawler 108), and with the cults of several gods: Artemis, Bacchus, and Heracles (Lawler 105–6, 76, 112), and Demeter (including at Eleusis: Eur *Ion* 1074–86; Lawler 93, 94). If Hippocleides was doing (or parodying) them, the fact that it was at a wedding would be offensive to Greek taste.

τὴν κεφαλὴν . . . τοῖσι σκέλεσι ἐχειρονόμησε Unparalleled in surviving literature, though perhaps not uncommon behaviour at a drunken private dinner party, where the sight of the dancer's private parts would no doubt enhance the evening's entertainment. χειρονομέω and -νομία were the words for hand movements in dancing, to portray the story by mime: Athen 1.21f–22a; Luc *Salt* 78; Arist fr 583 R. Athen 14.631c says that the *pyrriche* (supra) is also called *cheironomia*, presumably because of its perhaps aggressive hand gestures (Plat *Leg* 830c uses the word for shadow-boxing). There is a pottery fragment of a dancing dwarf by the Peleus painter (school of Polygnotus, c450–425), whose name is restored as [Ιππο]κλειδης (ARV^2 1079 no 6; MDAI(R) 52 (1937) 44 and pl 14); but dancing dwarves, and other paintings of them, are known, and it is more probable that this one called himself after this anecdote, perhaps because book 6 had recently been published and the story was circulating, than that the painter was depicting this story (Beazley (1939) 11).

129.4 ἀποστυγέων The story is nicely told: he moves from being suspicious, ὑπώπτευε, of the jesting, §129.2, to hating both the ὄρχησιν, the Laconian and Attic dances, as out of place at a wedding, and the ἀναιδείην, indecent display from dancing on his head.

ἀπορχήσαό γε μὲν τὸν γάμον "You have danced away the marriage": the verb usually recurs only in later retellings of the story, e.g. Athen 14.628d, Suda sv Οὐ φροντὶς Ἱπποκλείδῃ (the late paroemiographer

Arsenius included the phrase as a saying, Arsen 18.62d). See LSJ sv ἀπό D2 for compounds meaning "finish completely". In an incidental reference to the story, Plut *Mal Her* 867b used the somewhat commoner ἐξορχέομαι.

Οὐ φροντὶς Ἱπποκλείδῃ The proverb was already in Herm fr 16 K–A (fifth century); and often cited later, e.g. Luc *Apol* 15; Ps-Luc *Philopat* 29; Eust *Il* 1.246 *ad* 1.598; Suda and Hesych sv. We may speculate whether, behind the story, lurks an unwillingness on the part of Hippocleides to marry Agariste.

130.1 Ἄνδρες . . . μνηστῆρες Hippocleides' conduct would be a blow to Cleisthenes' τιμή (cf on §65.1), and the speech that follows is a masterpiece of diplomacy to rectify that; if substantially accurate, it helps explain why he had a good reputation for Aristotle (see on Ἀριστωνύμου, §126.1).

130.2 τάλαντον ἀργυρίου To have Cleisthenes dispense 12 talents to the 12 disappointed suitors represents him as the grandiose and generous tyrant, who can dispose of his state's wealth: cf on ἐπικούρους, §39.2, and the 100 penteconters and 40 triremes attributed to Polycrates of Samos, 3.39.3, 44.2. The payment would be in bullion: 575 or 571 was before coinage in Greece (Appx 16 para 4). Sicyon used the Aeginetan standard (Appx 16 Endnote (c)), but it is possible that there were only 70 mina to the talent, so that it would be similar to the Attic talent: see the commentary to RO 45 there noted, pointing out that several larger offerings were of 70 mina or multiples, as if they were of an Aeginetan talent. Even so, the talent would be c26 kg (Appx 11 n. 20). This can be conceptualised at up to £100,000: see on πεντήκοντα, §136.3.

ἐγγυῶ . . . νόμοισι τοῖσι Ἀθηναίων This is the first stage of a marriage: cf on §129.1, though there was no reason why it could not be done at a public feast such as is described. Vérilhac and Vial (1998) 236, noting that Cleisthenes names his daughter, suggest that, unlike betrothal scenes in middle comedy, it is unlikely that she would be present, supporting the view that the dinner was not the actual wedding feast. As to νόμοισι τοῖσι Ἀθηναίων, until Pericles' citizenship law of 451–0 (*Ath Pol* 26.4 and Rhodes *ad loc*; Harrison 1.24; Todd 177), the children of the marriage of an Athenian man

to a non-Athenian women were legitimate citizens. Vérilhac and Vial 52–3 suggest that this was so only where the marriage itself was under Athenian law, and point to Hegistratos, son of Pisistratos and his Argive wife Timonassa, called νόθος at 5.94.1. They suggest that he could not be a citizen because his parents' marriage had been under Argive law; and Cleisthenes added the words here precisely to ensure that the marriage was recognised in Athens, and the children would be full citizens.

φαμένου δὲ ἐγγυᾶσθαι Μεγακλέος ἐκεκύρωτο ὁ γάμος Megacles formally accepts Cleisthenes' offer, so completing the ἐγγύη (he uses the middle: Vérilhac and Vial (1998) 236), and the ἔκδοσις takes place immediately. Any of the other events such as a family meal and post-nuptial rites are lost to us.

131.1 τούτων δὲ συνοικησάντων The marriage produced five children: stemma Appx 21, and see *APF* 9688 V–X. The normal word for living together after a marriage was συνοικέω, so also §131.2; it lacks the connotation of "cohabitation" in the modern sense: Vérilhac and Vial (1998) 231.

Κλεισθένης . . . τὰς φυλὰς καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίην This is the only place in the *Histories* where Herodotus uses δημοκρατία for Athens; for his use of the word and synonyms see Appx 11 sec 3. He had described Cleisthenes' creation of new tribes at 5.66.2, where he also said that Cleisthenes won his contest for power with Isagoras when he τὸν δῆμον προσεταιρίζεται, "takes the demos into his own party". In terms of structure, §131 skilfully ends the excursus which began at §121: it was the Alcmaeonids who, having toppled Hippias, established democracy; §131 implies, they continued it under Pericles. But Herodotus was not concerned to write up fifth century Athens, and different views are taken on his attitude to Pericles and Athenian democracy: see pp. 28–9.

131.2 οὗτος . . . Ξανθίππῳ This Hippocrates is otherwise unknown; his son Megacles was ostracised in 487 (*APF* 9688 X). Agariste's marriage to Xanthippos was c496: see on Ξάνθιππος, §136.1.

ὄψιν . . . λέοντα Pericles was born in c494 (*APF* 11811 III); this is Herodotus' sole allusion to him. Dyson (1929) surveys other literary

references to the lion, and strongly argues that the dream story entered tradition from Agariste herself; her son would be strong, brave and courageous. Herodotus records a Lydian legend of a king whose concubine gave birth to a lion, 1.84 and an oracle which prophesied the birth of a lion to Labda, mother of Cypselus, 92β.3 (parodied, perhaps with an additional allusion to Agariste's dream, in Ar *Eq* 1037 for the birth of Cleon). However, the passage is ambiguous; elsewhere, the destructive attributes of the lion is stressed: perhaps 5.56, where Hipparchos dreams that he is called "lion" the night before his assassination; Aesch *Ag* 717–36. One may debate whether Herodotus recorded this dream to approve of Pericles (e.g. for strength) or attack him (e.g. for ferocity); cf Brock (2004) 170–1.

§132–140 *Miltiades, popular after Marathon, persuades the Athenians to give him a force of 70 ships on a promise to enrich them. He goes to Paros, demands 100 talents, and besieges her when she refuses; without success. The Parians say that the vergeress of the underworld goddesses told him to go to the temple of Demeter for a successful result; he injures his leg and withdraws. His enemies now prosecute him for deceit; he is too ill to speak in his own defence. A death sentence is commuted to a 50 talent fine, which is paid after his death by his son Cimon. While in the Chersonese, he had captured Lemnos for the Athenians; it had formerly been settled by Pelasgians who had been expelled from Attica.*

There were Athenian version(s) of the siege, and we have windows into them from Ephoros and other writers. For the end of it they offer two basic stories: one of negotiations to surrender frustrated by what was said to be a Persian fleet arriving; one that Demeter had shot Miltiades at her temple as a signal to go. At first blush inconsistent with Herodotus, it is possible to suggest ways in which they can be reconciled: see Appx 18. As to why Herodotus chose to suppress them, he could not disguise Miltiades' failure, but perhaps he did not think that either did him credit, and he wanted to end this *logos*, and his papyrus roll, on an upbeat, complimentary note with how Miltiades took Lemnos, and thus recovered the debt which had long been owed to Athens (§§139–40): see *ibid* para 19.

The expedition was probably in spring 489. Because Datis was placed in one of the Athenian stories, it has been argued that we should put it into autumn 490, as if Datis stayed longer in the Aegean than his call at Delos, §118: Appx 18 n. 31. But Miltiades would

not be likely to venture into an area where the Persians were still present, and in any case (for instance if he believed that they had returned to Cilicia), he would be unlikely to embark on this expedition in the autumn. Dating also touches on when, and why, Athens acquired Corinthian ships, §89; 489 is consistent with the view advocated in Appx 12 para 6, that Aegina was after Paros. To transport men to Paros, the ships did not need to be ἀξιόμαχοι, suitable for fighting at sea: cf on §89. Spring 488 is less likely, though there could then be an additional motive: if that was the year when the ostracism law was introduced (so Rhodes on *Ath Pol* 22.3–4), or even proposed, success in this expedition would help pre-empt any attempt to make him its first victim. Also, given the political ambitions of others (cf on §136.1), Miltiades could not rely on popular support because of Marathon indefinitely. By 488 it would have begun to evaporate.

132 τρῶμα A favourite word of Herodotus for military disaster: 1.18.1, etc. Here it refers to the defeat of the Persians, not the effort and cost of the victory to the Athenians.

αἰτήσας δὲ νέας ἑβδομήκοντα Probably spring 489 (introductory note); Herodotus reserves Miltiades' motives to §133.1. The request would have to be made to the assembly: only they could authorise the despatch of troops: Hamel (1998) 5–14. The ships would be mostly galleys, and do not prove an "Athenian navy" in the sense of polis-owned ships at this date: Appx 2 paras 2–4, and cf introductory note. 70 is no doubt a rounded up number, but we can readily imagine a total force of 4,000 to 5,000: 3,000+ men who rowed, doubling as soldiers and the rest carried as passengers (cf Appx 2 n. 10). This would be quite sufficient to maintain a siege around walls of 1.75 km (see on τοῦ τείχεος, §133.3); it is also consistent with the sort of costs which the expedition entailed (Appx 18 para 6).

οὐ φράσας . . . καταπλουτιεῖν One could find a literary parallel for concealing the purpose or destination in Herodotus' account of Cleomenes' recruitment in Arcadia, §74.1. But the contexts are different. Whatever Miltiades' aims (see on Λυσαγόρην, §133.1), he had to motivate the Athenian assembly to give him ships and men; and the prospect of easy money has universal appeal. Hamel (1998) 169–71

argues that he must have told them where they were going to secure a vote in his favour, but that depends on the limited authority of generals in the later fifth century, and probably did not apply in 489. 10 years earlier, Aristagoras had said that the wealth of Persia was easily acquired when persuading the Athenians to support his revolt (5.97.2; cf p. 59); the wealth of Sicily would lure their (great)-grandchildren to authorise the expedition of 415.

ἐπαρθέντες The verb ἐπαίρω occurs 14 times in Herodotus, usually connoting rouse up or incite. It was probably vernacular Ionic; in Attic, it is poetic: Avery (1979). Karavites (1977) 131 suggests that the word implies that opposition to the expedition was overruled, but quickly exploited by the Alcmaeonids on Miltiades' return.

133.1 ἐπὶ Πάρον Once the expedition started, and at least once past Sounion, Miltiades would have to reveal his destination; they would arrive within two days. If we read into some of Archilochus' poetry the implication that Paros was a poor island in his time (c680–640), it had no doubted profited from the boom in public buildings in Greece since the mid sixth century, particularly the replacement of wooden temples with marble-faced stone ones, e.g. that at Didyma, for which see on ἱρόν, §19.3. Herodotus mentions the Parian marble on the public buildings on Siphnos, 3.57.4, and the rebuilt temple of Apollo at Delphi, 5.62.3, for which see note to §§121–31. Cf also on τοῦ τείχεος, §133.3. It may also have been an Aegean emporium: it was the second largest contributor to the Delian league, with an assessment of $16^1/_6$ talents (18 from c442). Themistocles raided it in 479 (8.112).

πρόφασιν . . . πρόσχημα Both words connote "excuse" or "ostensible reason". For πρόφασις see p. 36; πρόσχημα (τοῦ) λόγου means "professedly" (Powell sv 1b, as at 4.167.3): cf πρόσχημα at §44.1 for the ostensible object of Mardonius' expedition. The excuse that Paros had medised presumably derives from what Miltiades himself said. He might have hinted to the assembly that he would get his promised wealth from islands which had medised, later recalled as specifically Paros. Equally likely, once he revealed his destination (previous note), he might add that she had medised. The defence may have repeated it at the trial, to justify the expedition. With ὑπῆρξαν, "began it",

ἀδικίας may be understood, "initiated the wrong-doing"; the full expression, 4.1.1, 7.9.2. How far it was believed even at the time is another matter: Paros had little choice but to submit, and was not the only island to have to comply: cf on στρατιήν, §99.1. But she was one of the richer ones, supra. At some stage, he might also have mentioned the grudge against Lysagoras; though Macan II 252 suggests hostile Alcmaeonid input, presumably by someone who knew about the Lysagoras incident. It remains open whether the sources said that Lysagoras was the real reason, or Herodotus has elevated it to that status: cf next note. Whatever Miltiades said to justify the expedition, it was a πρόφασις in another sense: a cover story for his actual motive, his need to maintain the momentum of Philaid prestige after Marathon until Cimon was old enough to take an active part in politics (cf Appx 18 para 6). In 489 élite families in Athens could still have such ambitions; cf the note on Themistocles and Aristides in Rhodes on ὠστρακίσθη, *Ath Pol* 22.7, and Kinzl (1977) 204, 208, 214. Both prosecutions of Miltiades show how intense their rivalries could become, and the hostility he would want to counter. But the burden lay on his shoulders. His son Cimon was then only about 20 and too young for public life: for Cimon's birth date, not before 510, see on γαμέει, §39.2. We may reject the hostile canard that he wanted to become tyrant of Athens: Appx 18 para 16, and on πόλις πρώτη, §109.6. Even if it crossed his mind, he was surely too shrewd to think that it was feasible.

Λυσαγόρην . . . Ὑδάρνεα It is typically Herodotean to identify a personal grudge as a motive for political action; although in Miltiades' world it may have been more true than we realise: p. 36. Lysagoras is otherwise unknown; without knowing the occasion when he and Miltiades allegedly fell out, we cannot securely identify Hydarnes (Vidarna, "support", security", Kent (1950) 208). The two likely occasions are at the Danube bridge (p. 49), e.g. if Lysagoras was serving in Darius' army, in which case Hydarnes might well be the conspirator who had helped Darius to power 9 years earlier (3.70.2); or some incident in the Chersonese (or the Asian side opposite) which brought Miltiades into conflict with the Persians, in which case Hydarnes might be the conspirator, now a local military commander, or perhaps a relation. In the late 480s, a Hydarnes has such an appointment (στρατηγὸς τῶν παραθαλασσίων) in Asia Minor, dining the Spartans who were en route to Susa (7.135–6); while in 480,

Sisamnes son of Hydarnes commands a Persian contingent (7.66.1) and Hydarnes son of Hydarnes commands the ten thousand (7.83.1).

133.2 ἐπολιόρκεε This was a bold step to take: Greeks as a whole had little experience of sieges at this date: see Appx 15 n. 8; Cleomenes chose not to try it at Argos. It is probable that Miltiades did no more than camp outside the walls and cut the city off by land from the rest of the island. Whether he could successfully block access by sea, at least by night, is doubtful: see Appx 18 para 7.

ἑκατὸν τάλαντα This is the amount which the Samians are said to have extracted from Siphnos, 3.58.4, and which Sicyon paid Aegina in response to the latter's demand for 500 talents, §92.2. It is about 6 times Paros' normal annual tribute to the Delian league, 16–18 talents. Although, unlike at §130.2, we are now in an age of coinage, it is still difficult to translate it into meaningful modern terms. On the argument proposed on πεντήκοντα, §136.3, it can be conceptualised at up to £10,000,000.

133.3 ἄλλα τε ἐπιφραζόμενοι As recorded, this is just a generality, as we might say "did what they could, particularly strengthening the walls". But we could envisage that, before the Athenians were fully deployed, the Parians brought supplies of food into the city from the countryside, and perhaps moved some of the older and younger inhabitants out (cf Hansen and Nielsen (2004) 764 for her settlement pattern). During the siege, they would probably be able to bring some supplies in by sea at night: see Appx 18 para 7.

τοῦ τείχεος The walls have been recovered in excavation; they had a circuit of 1.75 km: Rubensohn (1901) 181–9 with plan IX; photo of part, Müller (1987) 992. That Paros had a wall by 489 is an additional pointer to her prosperity; walled poleis were comparatively few at this time: see on §101.2. Curiously, Winter (1971) does not note Paros.

134.1 οἱ πάντες Ἕλληνες The ultimate sources for any stories about the expedition can only have been Athens and Paros. "What all Greeks say" is evidence that such stories circulated, e.g. in the mouth of travellers and traders (cf 7.149–150, where there was an Argive account and a very different Greek one); also that Herodotus heard

this one elsewhere than Athens. For the Athenian accounts see Appx 18.

ἀπορέοντι ἐλθεῖν ἐς λόγους The Timo story reads like an urban legend: Appx 18 para 11; Herodotus is careful to put it into *oratio obliqua*. But, as noted *ibid* para 12, the Athenians also had Miltiades injured at the temple in curious circumstances, so the story seems to have a substratum of fact. The view proposed here is that she did approach him, because the Parians sent to tell her to do it; she actually told him that the temple contained treasure: *ibid*. While ἀπορέοντι is a necessary part of the story, it was probably factually true: as the days went by with no sign of success, Miltiades would become increasingly concerned at his own position, should he have to return home empty-handed: *ibid* para 6.

αἰχμάλωτον . . . ὑποζάκορον τῶν Χθονίων Θεῶν She was a prisoner because the temple was outside the city and therefore in Athenian hands. The temple of Demeter and Persephone has been located on the hill (κολωνόν, §134.2) now called Mikro Vouno, c3 km N-E of the city, at or about the site of the chapel of Ag Giorgos: Rubensohn (1901) 209–15. This seems better than the alternative position c 2.5 km to the south marked ? on Barrington 61; cf next note. A ζάκορος, in classical Greek only in Menander: a man in *Dis Exap*, fr 5 K-A; a woman in *Leukadia*, frr 1, 5 K-A, can be translated as temple warden; it was a proper name in an Athenian family holding a hereditary priesthood, Lys 6.54. Thus an ὑποζάκορος would be an "under-warden", though the word survives elsewhere only the third century AD sophist Eutecnius, and in Hesych sv, who defines it as νεωκόρος, literally "temple sweeper"; LSJ suggest beadle or verger, and we could imagine her normally living in a hut by the temple.

ταύτην . . . συμβουλεῦσαι, εἰ περὶ πολλοῦ ποιέεται Πάρον ἑλεῖν For why she should be helping Miltiades to take her own city, see Appx 18 para 12. As the story is presented, she is inviting Miltiades to commit sacrilege. Because it is a story, we should not put undue stress on εἰ περὶ πολλοῦ etc, if it was very important for him to *capture* Paros (so ἅλωσιν in §135.2). He had promised the Athenians to return with money or bullion home, and there must be a question whether he really wanted to take the city: see Appx 18 para 8. Also, we cannot understand "capture" literally, despite κατηγήσατο, "showed

the way", and ἐξηγησαμένην . . . ἅλωσιν "explaining (how to) capture", §135.2. The lie of the land, with Paros city (essentially modern Paroikia) at sea level c3 km away, precludes the notion of an underground passage connecting city and temple; the same would be true in substance if we adopt the alternative location for the temple. How her "advice" might be understood by a Greek audience is discussed on εἴτε κινήσοντα, §134.2. We should also note that the use of "capture" in the Parian story cannot be accounted for as Philaid propaganda, seeking to attribute to Miltiades the original idea for the Delian league, even if we think that explains some of the "other island" references in our other accounts (Appx 18 para 3).

134.2 κολωνόν See on αἰχμάλωτον, §134.1, for its location.

ἕρκος The temple would be within an enclosed piece of ground, with the altar in front of the temple. It was enclosed by what Herodotus here calls ἕρκος (wall or fence: LSJ sv), but αἱμασιήν below. It was probably a stone wall, and it would be misleading to understand "fence" and think of Miltiades impaling his leg on a piece of it when he fell. The first θύρας would be doors or gates in that wall, and the θύρῃσι the doors of the temple itself. The μέγαρον was the inner part of the temple, where there would be statues of the goddesses, some probably overlaid with gold or silver, like that of Apollo at §118; and cult objects and other items dedicated to them, many of precious metal.

εἴτε κινήσοντα . . . εἴτε . . . This is either assumption or overlay in the tradition: Appx 18 para 11. As suggested *ibid* para 12, she probably told him about the valuables in the temple. But the story as presented could have been understood by Herodotus' audiences in one of two senses: she told him either about a cult object, or a talisman, which the Parians would pay to get back. Unless there was a second temple of Demeter at Paros, this is where the cult of Demeter Thesmophoros was celebrated: a fertility cult for married women only, universal in the Greek world: see on Θεσμοφορίων, §16.2. Men were rigorously excluded; the separation of the sexes is stressed by Parker (1996) 81–3; cf 2.171.2, noting the secrecy of its rites. We thus know little about them, although a phallus shaped object was involved, perhaps touched or stroked by the women at some stage: Burkert (1985) 242–4. In view of the accusation against

her, τὰ ἐς ἔρσενα γόνον etc, §135.2, some might think that Timo suggested he took it. The point was that the Parians were sensitive to their fertility. Unusually for Greeks, Parian men worshipped Demeter under the name Kabarnoi, as noted by Steph Byz sv Πάρος, Burkert 245; also, they said that a few generations earlier, Dionysus had made them impotent for exiling Archilochus, and required his reinstatement as the price of restoring fertility (Mnesiepes fr 16–57 = Arch *Test* 12 Lasserre = 4 Tarditi). Accounts of a god visiting impotence on a people for some transgression were widespread (see on §139.1), and Miltiades might easily be persuaded that his possession of such an object would make the Parians fear the consequences. Such a cult object is connoted by the hapax οἰφολίωι at line 20 of the Mnesiepes fragment: οἰφόλης and οἰφολίς refer to phallic worship (Kontoleon (1952) 79). Alternatively, it could have been understood that Timo was speaking of a guardian statue, a talisman; while the city possessed it she was impregnable. The audience would know the story of Odysseus and Palamedes entering Troy and stealing the Palladium (though not, apparently, from a temple; or if it was, it was not treated as sacrilege): Iliad Parva, Arg 1 and 2 Bernabé; *OCD*[3] sv Palladium. Many examples of such items are given in Austin on Vergil *Aen* 2.163, 166, and Frazer on Ov *Fast* 6.421; although there is no parallel, even distant, for an artefact associated with Demeter being such a talisman.

πρόκατε Only in Herodotus, and Callim *Aet* fr 110: "immediately". It is a vivid description of Miltiades having a panic attack, unable to open a door that was almost certainly not locked, or at least bring himself to open it: even if it depends on the story teller's imagination (Appx 18 para 12).

αἱμασιήν A low stone wall, as at §74.2: see on ἕρκος (supra).

τὸν μηρὸν σπασθῆναι . . . τὸ γόνυ προσπταῖσαι It seems reasonably clear that neither the Parians nor anyone else knew just what the injury was, except that it was to the upper leg. Formally, οἱ δέ might hark back to "all Greeks" at §134.1, although after the digression about the Parians consulting Delphi, the account of the trial that follows must come from Athens. As there noted, the ultimate sources can only be Paros and Athens. The Athenian accounts spoke of a

leg injury (Appx 18 para 1). The knee, whatever the sources, could only be assumption. The real point is that, whatever the original injury, it was probably not serious; but it became infected, and his expectation of life was then short: see Appx 18 paras 13–14. There is an interesting question, however, as to what Herodotus meant by τὸν μηρὸν σπασθῆναι, conventionally translated "twisted his thigh" (τὸ γόνυ προσπταῖσαι as "stubbed his knee"). Herodotus usually uses σπάω in its ordinary classical meaning of "draw" or "pull" (Powell sv; cf Daly (1980)); but in modern Greek, σπά(ζ)ω means "break" (a limb). Did the word already have that meaning in Herodotus' Ionic? There are traces of it in the κοινή: Plut *Lys* 12.4 has σπάσμα with the meaning of fragment, and Sopater in the fourth century AD may have so understood his source (Herodotus?), as he called it a fracture (Appx 18 endnote S3); Sophocles (1900) cites Achmet (c950 AD) for σπάω as "break". But Plutarch also used σπάσμα in its classical sense of "draw", e.g. *Otho* 17.1, and has τὸ σκέλος ἔσπασε at *Arat* 33 to mean "twisted his leg". A serious fracture could account for Miltiades' condition at trial; but there are other explanations for that (Appx 18 para 14; n. 30).

135.1 φλαύρως ἔχων At 3.129.2, φλαύρως ἔχοντι (ἔχοντι intransitive) clearly means "being ill", and it probably means that here, rather than "failed" (in his mission), which would be φλαύρως πρήξας (as of Mardonius, §94.2). But it has no diagnostic value; if not just retrojection from his subsequent desperate condition, it need be no more than that his leg was bandaged.

δηιώσας The word connotes ravaging, e.g. for supplies, rather than taking booty: Jackson (1969); in the context it underlines that the expedition returned empty handed.

ἕξ καί εἴκοσι ἡμέρας This precise number has the ring of an accurate detail recalled in the tradition; cf Appx 18 para 5.

135.2 Πάριοι . . . πέμπουσι ἐς Δέλφους It is not uncommon for οἱ to be omitted with names of nations: Smyth para 1138. We have to account for (a) an apparently secret conversation between Timo and Miltiades becoming known, and (b) why the matter was referred to Delphi (unless we imagine that the consultation was fiction, though

quickly taken into the story). The answers proposed are that (a) she was told to do approach him by those in the city; and (b) it became a political issue: see Appx 18 paras 12, 18.

ὑποζάκορος . . . κατηγήσατο . . . ἐξηγησαμένην . . . τὰ ἐς ἔρσενα . . . For ὑποζάκορος see on αἰχμάλωτον, §134.1; for κατηγήσατο and ἐξηγησαμένην see on ταύτην, §134.1; for the things forbidden to men, see on εἴτε, §134.2.

καταχρήσωνται Literally "use to the full", here, execute (Powell sv II).

135.3 δεῖν γὰρ . . . φανῆναί . . . κατηγεμόνα If the consultation is historical, we can assume that Delphi would be well aware of what had happened (for their intelligence system cf on §66.2); and their answer was a typical piece of Delphic diplomacy: it was not the real Timo who tempted Miltiades, and even if it was, she was the agent of the gods (αἰτίην may be translated either "cause" or "blame": cf p. 36 n. 117). On the scenario proposed, the answer would be credible: even though Timo had been asked to approach Miltiades, it was her φάσμα that actually did it. The Greeks believed that apparitions were possible in a variety of circumstances: cf those concerning Demaratos' mother, §§61, 69.1; and the epiphanies before or at Marathon, §106.1, §117.3, and others not in Herodotus, Appx 17 A2.

136.1 εἶχον ἐν στόμασι As at §§27.1 and 92.3, ἀπονοστέω has epic overtones of return coupled with misfortune. At 3.157.4 εἶχον ἐν στόμασι connotes "praised", here the opposite. The prosecution shows persisting political rivalries between prominent families: cf on πρόφασιν, §133.1, and, as in 493, the use of the courts for political ends: see on §104.2(f). Also, the initial verdict of death shows that the Athenian demos was as fickle and volatile as it is recorded to have been on subsequent occasions; cf on πεντήκοντα, §136.3.

Ξάνθιππος Unlike at §104.2, Herodotus names the prosecutor. Xanthippos, father of Pericles (§130.2), had married the Alcmaeonid Agariste junior in c496 (*APF* 11811 I), and this prosecution suggests that he was now an Alcmaeonid adherent politically (but see Rhodes on *Ath Pol* 22.6). He was ostracised in 485; one of his ostraka has been noted on Δᾶτιν, §94.2. But he was recalled, and was a general in 480–79: 7.33, 8.131.3, 9.114.2, 120.4. He probably died a few years later (*APF loc cit*).

θανάτου ὑπαγαγὼν . . . τῆς Ἀθηναίων ἀπάτης As with Miltiades' first trial, we cannot be certain of the tribunal. ὑπάγω is the non-technical word for summonsing someone before a court: §§72.3, 82.1, 9.93.2, Thuc 3.70.3, etc. Moreover, the charge, Ἀθηναίων ἀπάτη, is attested as ἀπάτη τοῦ δήμου in the fourth century (e.g. Dem 20.135, 49.67; *Ath Pol* 43.5); as is προδοσία, treason, the charge as recorded in other sources (Appx 18 endnote, Nepos and S2). Then, both were in a group of charges alleged to involve a serious threat to the public interest, begun by impeachment, εἰσαγγελία, and not necessarily heard in a court. In 489 εἰσαγγελία cases were heard in the Areopagus. But it may be a false friend to infer that this case was begun by impeachment and went before the Areopagus; indeed, the extent of the Areopagus' jurisdiction is unclear. Herodotus' ὑπὸ τὸν δῆμον, especially given δικαστήριον at §104.2, is more appropriate to the assembly. The fact that there was a defence speech or speeches is neutral, though the language (infra) might suggest a trial. Generally, see on §104.2(a)–(e); here, the way that the death penalty was commuted to a fine perhaps tips the balance in favour of the assembly; see also on πεντήκοντα, §136.3.

136.2 οὐκ ἀπελογέετο (ἦν γὰρ ἀδύνατος . . . σηπομένου τοῦ μηροῦ) . . . ἐν κλίνῃ This, the worsening condition noted in §136.3, and his death, are more significant than the variant leg injuries of §134.2. While σηπομένου is not a clinical description (σήπω was the ordinary word for "be putrid"), and is here used by laymen, there can be no doubt as to what had happened. Whatever the original injury, his wound had now become infected beyond the ability of his body's natural defences to cope. He was already toxic and in considerable discomfort, and he would soon die. See Appx 18 paras 13–14.

ὑπεραπελογέοντο οἱ φίλοι The technical word for such speakers was συνήγορος, and they are commonly recorded in fourth century trials (Todd (1993) 94–5; Harrison (1971) 2.158; Lavency (1964) 84–9). They would normally supplement the speech of the defendant himself, but would effectively conduct the defence where the defendant was under a disability (e.g. a woman or minor), and other cases are recorded of a sick defendant (Aesch *Fals Leg* 14; Plut *Vit Dec Or* 839c). In classical Greek ὑπεραπολογέω is rare (Xen *Hell* 1.7.16, Antiph 2.4.2), but very common in later writers. Nepos (Appx 18 endnote) makes the speaker a brother "Sagoras"; this is probably confusion with the real but deceased Stesagoras of §39.1. No other

relative is known who was then alive; *APF* 8429 VIII suggests that the "brother" is an imaginative expansion of φίλοι.

τῆς μάχης . . . ἐν Μαραθῶνι . . . καὶ τὴν Λήμνου αἵρεσιν Because great play was made of the standing of the parties in an Athenian court (litigation "employed . . . character, reputation, and probability", Cohen (1995) 61), it is not appropriate to use modern terms and see these as points of mitigation rather than defence. Herodotus gives the Lemnos story at §§137–40, with the actual capture at §140.

136.3 προσγενομένου "Were brought over" to his side, on the question of penalty.

τοῦ θανάτου Miltiades would probably have been executed by ἀποτυμπανισμός, some form of crucifixion, though its precise details are not clear (hemlock came later): Allen (2000) 200–1, 232–5; Todd (1993) 141; Bonner and Smith (1938) II 276–87. There are several literary references to the pit, βάραθρον, including the story of the Persian heralds at 7.133.1 (see on §49.1), e.g. Plato *Gorg* 516d, Xen *Hell* 1.7.20; but it was probably for disposing of the bodies of executed criminals, not a method of execution; there is no recorded instance of an actual execution at Athens so carried out. For the problem of locating it, see Allen 218–20.

πεντήκοντα ταλάντοισι There are procedural implications. The verdict could support the idea that the matter was before the assembly, with each side proposing the penalty (but that might equally apply in a trial: infra). An alternative view is that the prytanis story (Appx 18 para 2, endnote S3) is basically correct; the prytanis intervened in the debate and persuaded the assembly to decide for a fine. On another view, there were two charges, whatever the tribunal: deceit i.e. breaking his original promise to enrich the Athenians, and treason, e.g. withdrawing from Paros and/or before the Persians, for whom see Appx 18. He was acquitted of treason, which carried the death penalty, but convicted and fined for deceit. Or the later attested procedure of *timesis* might have been used: the defence could propose a penalty other than that demanded by the prosecution. Another possibility is that the defence argued that as Miltiades was dying, execution would do the polis no good, but a fine would.

50 talents was a huge sum: much more than the largest contributor to the Delian league (Aegina, 30 talents). Two of our other texts (Appx 18 endnote S1, 4) have 40 talents, probably from misreading ν̄ as μ̄ at some stage. It was perhaps twice the cost of the expedition: see Appx 18 n. 17. It is very hard to offer a meaningful modern equivalent; Greek prices cannot be compared to broadly equivalent modern ones, whether for consumables such as food and clothes (e.g. the list in Fisher (1976) xi), or capital items such as land and houses (or slaves). We can note wage rates at Athens: 2, later 3, obols for soldiers and jurors (Appx 18 n. 16), and 3 obols for rowers; the juror who complains that 3 obols is insufficient to feed his one child family at Ar *Vesp* 300–1; 1 dr per day for skilled workmen building the Acropolis; the plaintiff in Lys 32.28 argued that even in a rich family, 1000 drs per year, over 3 dr per day, was excessive to feed three children and two attendants. But they cannot be meaningfully compared with modern wages, which reflect costs such as housing, travel, and heating, which have no relevance to the ancient world. As to capital amounts, the family estate over which Demosthenes litigated totalled only some 14 talents, including over 50 slaves (*APF* 3597 XIII–XX); the rich young defendant of Lys 21.1–5 had spent generously on liturgies; they came to 10½ talents over 7 years. In the fourth century an estate of some 3–4 talents was sufficient to make the owner liable for liturgies (*APF* pp. xx–xxiv). The temple of Asklepios at Epidauros, built in the fourth century, cost only 23–24 talents; the Parthenon, with substantial expense on its Pantelic marble, some 470 talents (Burford (1965) 24–6). It took 10 years to build; the fine was thus equivalent to over a year's expenditure on it. Purely as a concept, if we give Aristophanes' juryman just £8 per day to feed his family of three, that makes a talent £96,000, or a round sum of £100,000.

Apart from the fickleness of the Athenians, noted on §136.1, we can detect features well attested for later: the argument that the defendant was a public benefactor, the bias of Athenian juries against the better off, and the penalty (§136.3) being used as a form of redistribution of wealth: Ober (1989) 192–247, especially 199–205, 205–12, 226–33.

σφακελίσαντος . . σάπεντος τελευτᾷ As with σηπομένου, §136.2, the words are laymen's, not the clinical notes of a doctor; but they clearly

reflect a tradition that after the trial, his condition got even worse. He would die within some 5 weeks of the original injury: Appx 18 para 14; nn. 29–30. We must envisage a trial within a couple of weeks after his return from Paros, and his death a couple of weeks after that. Although Herodotus does not say so, Miltiades probably died in prison (Appx 18 para 19; n. 8). It was one method of enforcing a fine at Athens: Harrison (1971) 2.177, 241–4; cf next note.

ἐξέτεισε ὁ Κίμων Cimon was now about 20 (see on πρόφασιν, §133.1); Herodotus would know of his later prominence in Athenian affairs. His being unsuccessfully prosecuted has been noted on §104.2(e), and cf Appx 18 n. 14. To judge from later evidence, Cimon had to pay not just as a matter of τιμή and to avoid calumny in his own political career. A fine made the man a public debtor, and could be enforced by imprisonment (previous note), but in some circumstances also by loss of rights (ἀτιμία), and that could devolve on the man's children: see Harrison 2.169–72, esp 172–4, 185–90; Allen (2000) 202, 228, 389 n. 19, last two entries. That Cimon could pay gives an insight into the total wealth of the Philaid and Cimonid properties, now united (see on τὴν ἀρχήν, §38.1); he had not yet married his rich wife: *APF* 8429 X–XII, XVI; Wells (1923) 127–8. The story that the fine was paid by his brother-in-law Callias (Callias (II): see on Ἱππονίκου, §121.1) is almost certainly wrong: *APF* 8429 X.

137.1 Πελασγοί . . . ἐξεβλήθησαν §§137–9 are the allegedly historical background to justify Miltiades seizing Lemnos for Athens, §140. The story is set in a mythical past, and not a construct to justify the Athenian seizure of Lemnos; if it contains historicity, either in the expulsion or the subsequent "negotiations", it is lost in the folklore. Several details are anachronistic: see on τὴν Ἐννεάκρουνον, §137.3, and on ἐλόχησαν, §138.1. Pelasgians are elusive: you never actually meet one: Fowler (2003) 2. The word has no etymology, though that has not prevented suggestions (see Frisk sv; Fowler n. 34). It has different meanings in different contexts. In the distant past, it has a range of connotations, which can overlap. Some places and things in Greece were Pelasgian; Pelasgians were a pre-Greek people who had occupied parts or all of Greece; sometimes they go elsewhere, either voluntarily or being forcibly expelled by Greeks; sometimes they are not much different to Greeks, indeed become Greek

or can be thought of as the ancestors of Greeks. Apart from Athens, they are particularly found in Argos, Arcadia, and Thessaly. Hom *Il* 2.681 has "Pelasgian Argos"; their eponym Pelasgos was a son of Niobe by Zeus: Acus *FGrH* 2 F25, cf Hecat *FGrH* 1 6b; Gantz (1996) I 204–5; he would thus be brother to the eponym Argos of §80. But Pelasgos was also Arcadian, e.g. Hes *Ehoiai* fr 160 M-W and, apparently, Hecataeus, *loc cit*; Herodotus calls the Arcadians who emigrated to Ionia Pelasgians (p. 37 n. 122). For Thessaly see Fowler 15–16; Sourvinou-Inwood (2003) 109, 113, 115–17. Whether the pre-Greek inhabitants of Greece did call themselves Pelasgian, or even had a more or less common culture and language, is quite irrecoverable. In the fifth century, it is a name attached to or associated with non-Greek peoples outside Greece: Thrace, and particularly Etruria (Tyrrhenia), and Caria. For Etruria see Soph fr 270 Radt; Hellanic *FGrH* 4 F4 = Dion Hal *AR* 1.28; Caria, Nic Dam *FGrH* 90 F41 (Pelasgians and Carians on Scyros); Steph Byz and Suda sv Νινόη, a Carian city inhabited by "Pelasgian Leleges"; Schol Hom *Il* 10.429. In the account of the present incident in Plut *Mul Virt* 247a–f the Pelasgians are called Etruscan, as Philochoros seems to have done, *FGrH* 328 FF100–1; cf Stadter (1965) 58–68, esp 66–7. See also on §140.2.

Herodotus' many references to Pelasgians who have or have not become Greeks, particularly 1.56–8, 2.51, 2.171.3, 7.94–5, 8.44 are hard to reconcile: see Sourvinou-Inwood 121–31, who suggests that as the focus of each passage is different, and tradition could accommodate differing accounts, each could be accepted as "true"; Thomas (2000) 117–22; Harrison (1998) text and nn. 98–108. One aspect is reasonably constant: Herodotus accepts the Athenian claim to be autochthons, for which see on §106.2. But at 1.56–8 he makes them Pelasgians who had become Hellenised, in contrast to the Dorians, Hellenes who moved about Greece before settling in the Peloponnese; for a discussion of these difficult passages see Sourvinou-Inwood 122–7, with bibliography. His account at 8.44 is similar: the Athenians were called Cranai when they were Pelasgian; Cecropidae under Cecrops; Athenians under Erechtheus; and Ionians when Ion son of Xouthos became their general; the Ionians, whom he immediately identifies as the Athenians, were originally Pelasgian who became Hellenes. But at 2.51 he speaks of Pelasgians from Samothrace coming to Athens at the same time as the Athenians were becoming Hellenes.

Perhaps he had in mind the Athenian tradition recorded at §137.3, which made the Pelasgians a distinct group, *Gastarbeiter* as we might put it, who had come to build the wall; so at 2.51 they were a distinct group to the *echt*-Athenians, whether they were the wall-builders or not. See further on τοῦ τείχεος, §137.2; for the Pelasgians on Lemnos, see on ἄλλα, §137.4. Generally on the impossibility of reconciling all the statements about them, not just in Herodotus, reflecting as they do sources derived from multiple traditions which said different and inconsistent things, see the discussions in Fowler and Sourvinou-Inwood 107–21.

The expulsion story itself (generally, Sourvinou-Inwood 132–40) should be seen against two features of Pelasgian stories. It is but one of several stories of their expulsion from somewhere in Greece. Secondly, where they are set in the mythical past, they have a wide chronological spread, from Deucalion's flood down to after the Trojan War (Sourvinou-Inwood 134–6, 133–4). This one is somewhere in the heroic age: cf on οὐ . . . οἰκέτας, §137.3; they expel the Argonauts' grandsons, noted on ἄλλα, §137.4.

εἴτε . . . οὐκ ἔχω φράσαι Herodotus commonly offers two or more versions, with or without expressing a judgment as the accurate one: cf p. 24.

Ἑκαταῖος Only here does Herodotus name Hecataeus as his source, though he drew on him for other detail, especially in book 2 (p. 15 n. 49; cf on Αἰακοῦ, §35.1), and may have included him in the other writers of §55 (see *ad loc*). He noted his role in the Ionian revolt as the cautious adviser of Aristagoras, pp. 53, 54, 56, 62; as with DS 10.25.4 cited in Appx 11 it shows a mature adult, and is the evidence by which we date him. *FGrH* 1 F127 prints the whole of §137, but only §137.2 is from Hecataeus (ἐν τοῖσι λόγοισι). Herodotus clearly marks his citation or paraphrase by *oratio obliqua*, §137.2. It is probably from the *Periegesis*; but see West (1991) 145 n. 5). It is difficult to assess his story without knowing what else he said about either Pelasgians in Attica, or other details of early Athenian history. None of his other fragments referring to Pelasgos or Pelasgians, FF6b, 14, 119 and 133, throw light on the first. As to the second, the references to Cecrops in F119 and Ion in F16 tell us little, but he did have an idiosyncratic stemma for Deucalion; in contrast to the usual one, p. 39, he gave him three sons called Pronoos, Orestheus

and Marathonios, with Hellen the son of Pronoos and so grandson of Deucalion (FF13, 15), and Xouthos the son of Marathonios; though, as in the traditional stemma, he probably made Ion the son of Xouthos (see, e.g., Fowler (2003) 7–9). Xouthos was said to have founded the Marathonian tetrapolis. To some extent this is not dissimilar to 1.56–7, where Herodotus says that Dorus, but not Ion, was descended from Hellen; perhaps both men were influenced by versions circulating in Ionia as opposed to the mainland.

137.2 ὑπὸ τὸν Ὑμησσόν The feature common to the two accounts is cultivable land to the south-east of the agora, with Hymettos itself further to the east (map 9); see also on §137.3.

τοῦ τείχεος Athens had been settled between 2000 and 1600 (Camp (2001) 13–14). The Mycenaean kings, whose palace was on the Acropolis, built two walls on it. Towards the end of the thirteenth century the whole upper part was enclosed in a Cyclopean wall 760 m long, up to 10 m high, and 3.5 to 6 m thick, enclosing an area of 25,000 m^3. It fortified the acropolis down to the fifth century, and stretches still exist (Hurwit (1999) 74–5; photo 76; plan 69; Travlos (1971) 52–3; photo 70; no 101 on plan p. 57; in less detail, Camp 16, 19; plan and photo 17). Hurwit 75 points out that it was built at one time, not in phases as seen on other Mycenaean sites; this might suggest that the Athenians got skilled men from Tiryns or Mycenae to build it; in turn, that might have fed a tradition which called the builders Pelasgians, a name long associated with Argos (see on §137.1). But there is an alternative view. The acropolis was further protected by a wall at a lower level round the western half of the rock, and it was possibly this which was called "the wall of the storks", πελαργικὸν τεῖχος, e.g. 5.64.2, Thuc 2.17.1 with Hornblower *ad loc*, Ar *Av* 832, *Ath Pol* 19.5 (Hurwit 78; Travlos 52; marked "outer Pelargikon?" on the plan (no 105)). Whatever the long forgotten reason for "stork", it could later have become associated with the Pelasgians by a piece of false etymology (Rhodes on *Ath Pol*, loc cit, who suggests some forgotten religious association). That Pelasgians had built the wall was part of Athenian tradition: Cleid *FGrH* 323 F16, Philochor *FGrH* 328 F99.

φθόνον καὶ ἵμερον . . . πρόφασις As this is all in the *oratio obliqua*, both the motive and the excuse are probably taken from Hecataeus, not

glosses by Herodotus, even though πρόφασις is the regular word in Herodotus for an excuse or ostensible reason (p. 36), and makes a nice contrast with δικαίως in the next sentence.

137.3 Ἀθηναῖοι λέγουσιν There was another Athenian tradition in which the Pelasgians were expelled for revolting: Philoch *FGrH* 328 F100, noted on §137.1. There is a subtle difference between ὑπό with the accusative in §137.2 and dative here (LSJ sv C1, motion towards and under; C2, simply under) and is noted by Mandilaras: in §137.2 the Athenians give land "at the foot of Hymettos" (στους πρόποδες του Υμεττού); here, he translates κατοικημένους . . . ὁρμωμένους etc as "were accustomed to leave their houses on Hymettos (στον Υμεττό) to chase the girls . . ." Herodotus does not specifically say that the Athenians said that the Pelasgians had built the wall, but it is implicit, and it was part of Athenian tradition, as noted on τοῦ τείχεος, §137.2.

τε καὶ τοὺς παῖδας Legrand also brackets it, but not Nenci or Rosén. Arguably inconsistent with αὗται, because it would not be natural to send boys to do girls' tasks, it would make sense if they were young boys escorting teenage sisters.

τὴν Ἐννεάκρουνον Strictly anachronistic: Pisistratos erected the structure called Enneakrounos on the site of a spring or well called Callirhoe, Fair Stream: Thuc 2.15.5. It has been identified at the south-east corner of the Agora (Travlos (1971) 204; no 31 on plans pp. 8, 21). Camp (2001) 37, fig 35, has a nice illustration of a sixth century black-figured vase showing women collecting water from such a building.

οὐ . . . οἰκέτας This sets the anecdote in the mythical past, pre-Homer and reminiscent of Hesiod's golden age; see also Vidal-Naquet (1983) 75–80, and cf on §137.3, 138.4.

ὕβριός τε καὶ ὀλιγωρίης βιᾶσθαι The same phrase is at 1.106.1 for the Scythians' rule in Asia. In Greek thinking, rape was often regarded as redeemable by marriage, or punishable by a fine. But this is something much more, and is part of the justification for the expulsion: it is group rape with "arrogance" or "violence" and "insolence".

οὐκ ἀποχρᾶν . . . ἐπιχειρήσειν This is a typical folk-tale touch; they were not content with the rape, but also wanted to take over the city. For ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ see on §72.2.

137.4 ἄνδρας ἀμείνονας In the same vein as ὕβριος . . . βιᾶσθαι, supra; they behaved like criminals, we behaved like gentlemen. A variant version of this story at Schol Ael Arist iii 79 Dind first notes 1.57 and combines elements of §137.4 and the Brauron incident of §138: the Pelasgians were λῃσταί who had come from Etruria to Thessaly (cf on §137.1), but expelled from there went to Athens, where they raped (βιασάμενοι) Athenian women (γυναῖκας, not girls) and fled to Lemnos; the Lemnians then fell ill and the oracle required them to surrender the Pelasgians to Athens, which they did (cf on ἐς Δέλφούς, §139.1).

ἄλλα . . . χωρία . . . Λῆμνον Herodotus perhaps adds ἄλλα . . . χωρία because Pelasgians were typically thought of as leaving Greece and settling elsewhere, as noted on §137.1. They are commonly put on Imbros as well: so 5.26.1, when the islands fall to the Persians; in the accounts calling them Etruscan noted on §137.1 and Plut *QG* 296b; and Anticleides *FGrH* 140 F 21 = Strabo 5.2.4. Sometimes the story only concerns Lemnos, as with the anecdote of 4.145, also at Paus 7.2.2, where the Pelasgians expel the grandsons of the Argonauts; Plut *Mul Virt* 247a–f, noted on §137.1. Some connection between the pre-Athenian Lemnians (whoever they were) and Etruria is now confirmed by two inscriptions from Lemnos in a language with affinities to Etruscan: see Sourvinou-Inwood (2003) 106–7.

138.1 πεντηκοντέρους κτησάμενοι The mention of penteconters might help place the episode in the past (cf on οὐ . . ., §137.3), but might also carry the connotation of freebooting raiders using a type of ship suitable for carrying their captives away: cf Appx 2 n. 3, para 8; κτησάμενοι perhaps implies that they acquired or built the ships with this end in view. The abduction story by these Pelasgians/Etruscans is included in the accounts of Philochoros and Plutarch noted on §137.1 and in the previous note.

ἐλόχησαν This part of the story has two chronological problems: it is set in a period before Brauron was part of Attica, and before

Delphi functioned, for which see on ἐς Δελφούς, §139.1. As to the synoecism of Attica, see Appx 17 n. 22; Fontenrose on this oracle, (1978) Q 132, queries if Brauron was part of Attica before 800. If the story implies a temple at Brauron, that was built by Pisistratos: Parker (1996) 74, noting Photius *Lex* sv Βραυρωνία.

Ἀρτέμιδι ἐν Βραυρῶνι . . . γυναῖκας Artemis had been worshipped at Brauron from Mycenaean times (Parker (1996) 11–12, 18, 24–5); her sanctuaries were often located some distance from a polis (Cole (1998) 27). For a discussion of the various facets of her worship, see Burkert (1985) 70, 149–152, 263. She was a virgin goddess, and only associated with married women in relation to childbirth, especially those who died in childbirth. At Brauron, at least from the time that Pisistratos built the temple (see on ἐλόχησαν, §138.1), the rites concerned pre-pubertal and unmarried girls (Lloyd-Jones (1983) 91–8; Parker 74; Parke (1977) 139–41). Herodotus has women, γυναῖκας, celebrating a festival (for ἀγούσας, Powell sv V 1); Parker 76 suggests that this could be explained if Brauron was one of the sites where her cult was "reshaped and expanded" in the second half of the sixth century, and earlier, there had also been rites for women, or perhaps newly wedded girls. But the word might simply mean "females", e.g. post-pubertal celebrants; alternatively the story might imply that those carried off included mothers or other relations accompanying the celebrants.

παλλακάς Concubines, presumably because the Pelasgians already had wives on Lemnos. To the Greeks, this would not necessarily seem objectionable. There are numerous references in Homer to the keeping of concubines and the acceptance of children by them. Athenian law recognised that a man might have such children; the rape or seduction of a concubine and a wife attracted the same penalties; and the children of the union could be citizens until Pericles' law of 451/0, and in any event were not excluded from inheritance: Harrison (1968) 1 13–15, cf 61–70; Pomeroy (1995) 91; Lacey (1980) 41–2, 103, 112–16, 190.

138.2 ὑπεπλήσθησαν A rare word in classical Greek: only Plat *Phaed* 254a and Arist fr 62 Rose = Plut *QC* 734d, in its primary meaning, "fill", and only here in its secondary meaning of being pregnant, for which LSJ cites Ael *NA* 12.21 and Poll 3.49. The sense, as is conventionally translated, is that they bore many children.

ἄρχειν . . . οἱ παῖδες ἐδικαίουν This part of the story might appeal to Herodotus, as reminiscent of Cyrus' boyhood (1.114–15).

138.3 δεινόν τι ἐσέδυνε "The seriousness of it sank in"; διαγινώσκοιεν in its less common meaning of "decide", e.g. Thuc 1.118.3, 4.46.3.

138.4 τὸ ἐργάσαντο αἱ γυναῖκες . . . Λήμνια The story that the Pelasgians killed their Athenian concubines and children is only in Herodotus. Elsewhere "Lemnian deeds" are the story of Lemnian women killing their menfolk, when Hypsipyle spared the life of her father Thoas, king of Lemnos. They were able to replenish the island by the fortuitous arrival of the Argonauts; the Pelasgians in turn expelled the grandsons of the Argonauts (see on ἄλλα, §137.4). Hypsipyle herself sleeps with Jason and gives birth to Euneus, who grows up to be king (*Il* 7.467–71; Aesch *Cho* 631–6; Pind *Pyth* 4.251–4; Gantz (1996) I 341, 345–6). Lemnian deeds are also in the mythical past (cf on οὐ . . ., §137.3).

139.1 οὔτε γῆ καρπὸν ἔφερε . . . The phrase is almost biblical, but there were many stories of a god visiting impotence on a people for some transgression. One on Paros is noted on εἴτε, §134.2; others include the Scythians, 1.105; the Etruscans who killed Phocaean prisoners, 1.167.1, the Therans who disobeyed the oracle of Delphi, 4.151.1, and the Apollonians for blinding Euenius, 9.93.3. The dying Cambyses cursed the Persian nobility with barrenness if they failed to ensure the continuity of Achaemenid rule, 3.65.7. Crop failures were always serious (cf Appx 9 n. 14). A crop failure in Epidauros was part of the sequence of events said to underlie the old quarrel between Athens and Aegina, 5.82.1 (Appx 12 para 2).

ἐς Δελφοὺς ἔπεμπον Another anachronistic detail; Delphi did not function before the eighth century: Parke and Wormell (1956) I 83. Fontenrose (1978) Q 132 notes the answer as set out in Schol Ael Arist iii 79 Dind (cf on §137.4), that Delphi told the Lemnians to hand the Pelasgians over to Athens, which they did. If that version goes back to an early Athenian version, it perhaps added that Miltiades came and helped the Lemnians to do it.

139.2 τὰς . . . αὐτοὶ . . . δικάσωσι The story of Euenius of Apollonia (9.93–4) noted on §139.1, offers a parallel for the notion that Delphi might assign to the injured party the right to set the compensation.

If there were negotiations, before or after Delphi started, they are lost beneath the folk tale motifs, not least the full table, the unreal nature of the Athenians' demand, and the Pelasgians' reply, which adds an impossible term to it.

139.3 τράπεζαν ἐπιπλέην Cf the deceptive full table in Miletus at 1.21–2, and the deceptive chests of gold at 3.123 which trapped Polycrates.

139.4 Ἐπεὰν βορέῃ . . . The Athenians' demand would require time to achieve; the Pelasgians extend the time by imposing an impossible condition (like apples on the lilac tree).

ἐξανύσῃ "arrive", so 7.183.3; literally to accomplish, in this sense with the period of time or distance usually expressed, e.g. ἁμέραν, Eur *Med* 649; δρόμον, id *Ph* 163. Nep *Milt* 1.4–6 has a variant version, complicated because his Miltiades both settles the Chersonese and fights at Marathon, in which the Lemnians promise to surrender the island to him as he goes out to the Chersonese, if he starts from home (domo) on a north wind.

140.1 ἡ Χερσόνησος . . . ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ Immerwahr (1966) 125 thinks that the Hellespont is specifically mentioned in order to make a link with Xerxes' expedition in the succeeding *logoi*. But it is an intrinsic detail in Miltiades taking Lemnos for the Athenians (cf on §140.2); even if Herodotus presents it as Miltiades recovering a debt long owed to Athens. As always, the Pelasgians remain enigmatic. Two of the Hermon stories noted on §140.2, in DS and Charax, have the Pelasgians expelled; and their association with Etruscans suggests that they were thought of as going to Italy. Thus Anticleides, noted on ἄλλα, §137.4, says that they moved to Italy under "Tyrrenos the son of Atys"; Ps-Scymn 220–1 says that Etruria was founded by the Lydian Tyrrenos son of Atys. Philochoros, *FGrH* 328 F99, may have sent them to Italy. But Plut *Mul Vert* 247a–f and *QG* 296b, noted on §137.1 and on ἄλλα, §137.4, has them going to Sparta and Crete respectively; and the first version repeats the story of 3.147, of wives enabling their husbands to escape from prison by exchanging clothes with them on a visit, there attributed to Minyae who had been expelled from Lemnos by the Pelasgians. It is impossible to rationalise all these stories.

ἐξ Ἐλαιοῦντος . . . ἐς Λῆμνον Elaious to Hephaistia is about 80 km; Myrina, the other principal polis, a further 25 km. In the Delian league, both were tributaries. That Elaious was part of Miltiades' bailiwick is probable but not certain: see on §36.2.

προηγόρευε ἐξιέναι . . . ἀναμιμνήσκων σφέας τὸ χρηστήριον Miltiades is said to waive the term as to the prime condition of the island; in any case, it will have long recovered from any crop failure. The date of the episode is controversial. Hammond (1956) 122–7, 129, argued for 515–14 (so *HG* 179), after marrying Hegesipyle and before accompanying Darius' Scythian expedition; some place it in the early 490s, at the time of the Ionian revolt, e.g. *BM* 157; Rausch (1999) 9–12, who postulates Athenian troops helping at the same time as others were sent to Miletus to help Aristagoras; Burn (1984) 218–19 would put it in 495, to accommodate his view of §40. We need to fit in Lycaretos' tyranny, Hermon's rule, and the settlement of Athenians there. Lycaretos, brother of Maeandrius, was appointed in c512 but died in post (5.26–7; p. 50); the impression is that his reign was short. A pre-existing Athenian settlement which then fell under him is unlikely. The best dating for Miltiades' expedition is thus the late 510s; we cannot rule out the early years of the Ionian revolt, though that involves Athenian settlers then going there despite the Athenian reverse in Ionia, spring 498.

140.2 Ἡφαιστιέες . . . Μυριναῖοι Here, we have other input. The incident gave rise to the proverbial expression Ἑρμώνιος χάρις, Hermon being the ruler of Hephaistia: doing something apparently voluntarily but in fact under compulsion. It came to circulate in several versions; we do not know who first recorded it, and Herodotus, who likes to note such sayings (see on §1.2), seems not to know it. DS 10.19.6 calls Hermon's subjects Etruscans (Nep *Milt* 2.5 says that Miltiades took Lemnos from Carians): the Etruscans under their leader Hermon left Lemnos because they feared the Persians and handed it over to Miltiades on account of certain oracles. Hesych sv Ἑρμώνιος χάρις says that when the Athenians came and ordered Hermon to surrender, he could not resist and said that he would do it διὰ χάριν, although in reality it was under compulsion. Suda sv Ἑρμώνιος χάρις said that when Darius was going against Thrace and subduing everything, Hermon handed over Lemnos to the Athenians, apparently χαριζόμενος but in fact out of fear of Darius.

Charax (date unknown) *FGrH* 103 F18 = Steph Byz sv Ἡφαιστιάς also told the story. If Hermon was historical, he could have taken power in Hephaistia, but not also in Myrina, after the death of Lycaretos, and surrendered Hephaistia to Miltiades from two motives: he feared that the Persians would punish him for taking over after Lycaretos and not allowing their own man to be installed; and he felt unable to resist Miltiades, perhaps believing that an oracle was being fulfilled. For the Pelasgians' departure, see on §140.1.

More tangibly, the result of Miltiades' enterprise was that Lemnos (and probably Imbros) was settled by Athenians, evidenced by early fifth century items: a helmet dedicated at Olympia (Ἀθεναῖοι [τ]ον ἐγ Λέμν[ο]), and an inscription naming Athenians on Lemnos (*IG* I^2 948): for both, Meiggs *AE* 424; *IG* XII Supp 337, an early fifth century list from Hephaistia of Athenian names; and a dedication at Rhamnous to the goddess Nemesis by "Rhamnusians on Lemnos" (Rausch (1999) 8, 13–6). On any view, Miltiades ἔσχε Lemnos (§137.1), and made its relationship to Athens sufficiently close to be relied on at his trial as an achievement worth mentioning. As to Imbros, the Pelasgians are commonly put there also: see on ἄλλα, §137.4; Plut *QG* 296b has them expelled from both islands. Moreover, it was a safe haven for Miltiades in spring 493: §41.2. In the Peloponnesian War, the two islands are consistently linked as helping Athens, and having the same language and customs as her (Thuc 7.57.2; cf 3.5.1, 4.28.4, 5.8.2), though there one can only infer that Athenian cleruchies were settled on Imbros as well as Lemnos in the mid fifth century (Meiggs (1973) 160, 424–5; Figueira (1991) 138, Appx B). Both islands probably fell back under Persian control in 492: see on Θασίους, §44.1; in 480, the only deserter from Xerxes' fleet at Artemisium was a Lemnian (Antidorus: 8.11.3), and the Athenians gave him a grant of land on Salamis. There is neither evidence nor even implication in fifth and fourth century literature to support Nepos *Milt* 2.5, that Miltiades also brought all the Cyclades under Athenian control. If not an error by Nepos (Appx 18 para 2) and he found it in a source, it reflects the same confusion in oral tradition between Miltiades' taking Lemnos, his expedition to Paros, and the start of the Delian league, for which see *ibid* para 3.

οὕτω δή We can be confident that this sentence ended a papyrus roll. It marks a definite end to the *logos* which began at §94: Cagnazzi (1975) 309–401, Immerwahr (1966) 122–6; p. 74.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

CHRONOLOGY OF BOOK 6

There are three main sequences to consider: the Ionian revolt, the years between that and Marathon, and the fighting between Athens and Aegina. The latter is more conveniently discussed separately in Appx 12. For the revolt, Herodotus only says that it lasted 5 years, §18. For the events which follow, he introduces each year with a time marker: §§31.1, 43.1, 46.1, 95.1–2. Whatever their source (p. 16), it is probable that he thought of a "year" as beginning in the spring.[1]

I *The Ionian Revolt*

1 Marathon was in summer 490,[2] and, to anticipate sec II, the events of §31 onwards took place in 493–490, beginning with the spring after the capture of Miletus. Whatever the length of the siege, she fell in summer-autumn 494 (para 8). This was ἕκτῳ ἔτεϊ of the revolt, §18, the fifth year in our terms (cf on πεντετηρίς, §87). We can thus place the approach by the Naxians to Aristagoras in 500 and the flotilla sailing to Naxos in spring 499. The four month siege there would be from April to July/early August. The revolt began in August-September 499 with the events at Myus and Aristagoras' departure for Sparta, with the expedition to Sardis in spring 498.

[1] Hammond (1955) 381–6, 386–96, argued that Herodotus used Athenian archon years, summer to summer; Rhodes (2003) 60 developed this to argue that he used a Persian diary (where the year would begin in the spring), which an Asiatic Greek then "transposed" into Greek calendar years, which, like archon years, generally began in the summer. Their similar datings are at 381 and 71 respectively. I prefer Strasburger (1956) 135 n. 31, that Herodotus used campaigning or agricultural years, which began in the spring. Also, if he could access such a diary we might have expected more dates and less uncertainty about when other events happened. It makes no difference to the dating proposed here; see also nn. 11–12.

[2] Marathon was in the archonship of Phainippos, *Ath Pol* 22.3, whose term began in summer 490: Develin (1989) 55; and see Appx 17 F4.

2 The occupation of Sardis was brief, and the Greeks withdrew to Ephesus, c100 km, normally 3 days' journey (5.54.2). They were there overtaken by local Persian forces and defeated, 5.102. We now have to allow time for the Ionians to meet and jointly decide to continue and spread the revolt, for ships to go the Hellespont and Caria, and for the Cypriots to hear of about this and implement their own revolt. These events may be all be put in mid to late spring 498. It took a year finally to quell Cyprus, i.e. over 498–7 (5.103–4, 108–15).

3 At 5.116 Herodotus moves from the reduction of Cyprus to events in Asia Minor with μὲν δή . . . δέ (p. 21). As at §1.1, δέ should have the force of "meanwhile", an impression reinforced by the further reference to the attack on the Ionian troops at Ephesus. Three Persian generals, sons-in-law of Darius, reduced much of the Hellespont and the Troad, Aeolis down to Cyme and Clazomenae, and, after some difficulty, part of Caria, certainly as far south as Labraunda (5.116–23; cf on αὐτίκα §25.2). Their successes persuaded Aristagoras to quit (5.124–6). There are three points to consider: (a) could the Persians spare troops for Asia Minor when they had Cyprus to deal with; (b) how long did it take for both the generals and the troops to gather; and (c) how may we reconcile the Ephesus reference with 5.102. The answer to (a) is probably yes. The Persian forces sent to Cyprus would sail from ports in Cilicia or the Levant; although a little time seems to have elapsed before their large force (στρατιὴν πολλήν, 5.108.1) was reported to the Cypriots, the Persians probably had sufficient troops within two or three weeks march of those ports, without necessarily affecting their ability also to send troops to western Asia Minor. The strict answer to (b) is that we lack the evidence, but there seems no reason to doubt that within a month or so, a substantial body of troops could be mustered from the more distant parts of Artaphrenes' satrapy and adjacent Dascylion (cf Appx 3 para 7). The presence of three generals all related by marriage to the king is more problematic, but we may take two views. One is that they had to be sent from Susa. Allowing time for Artaphrenes' despatches to reach Sardis and the generals to prepare their departure, they could be in Asia Minor within 6 to 7 weeks.[3] The other is that they

[3] A despatch might reach Susa in about 10 days: Appx 4 n. 5. Once the generals left Susa, they would need some 35–45 days for the 2130 km to the Halys (generally, Appx 4 para 2).

were already living in Asia Minor, for which we could offer two explanations. One is that it was an agreeable posting within the empire, with a pleasant climate and control of substantial estates, to which men acceptable to the king as sons-in-law could make claim. The second, which might be additional to the first, is that Darius maintained significant forces in western Asia Minor because he hoped to deploy them to extend his empire across the Aegean when the opportunity arose.[4]

4 That leaves (c), how to resolve the conflict between 5.102.1 and 5.116 about Ephesus. One option is to assume that Daurises, at all events, was based not so far from Sardis, so that a few days after the initial force had beaten the Greeks he was able to arrive with reinforcements, perhaps regular troops as opposed to militia (cf Appx 3 paras 6–7); as a general, he also had the status to arrange or confirm the return of Ephesus to the Persian fold which we infer.[5] Another is that there has been some confusion or carelessness in either Herodotus or his sources, perhaps because Daurises arrived by sea at Ephesus from Cilicia. A third is to note that the three generals would only move against the Hellespont or Caria after these areas had revolted, which in turn means some time after the original defeat at Ephesus; the text perhaps reflects the fact that the troops which had beaten the Greeks there were now augmented by troops under one or more of these generals.

5 However we resolve the foregoing, it seems reasonably clear that the generals started their operations in late spring or early summer 498. The narrative reads as if they were over fairly quickly, within the same year (a few days for the Hellespont, 5.117), even allowing time for Daurises then to march the 400–450 km to Caria. Thus the Persians might reach Cyme and Clazomenae, and the Labraunda area, by autumn 498, the earliest time for Aristagoras deciding that he ought to leave. That is consistent with operations stopping, partly because of the season, partly because, with their losses in Caria, the Persians perhaps felt that they lacked the power to continue. Aristagoras

4 This is suggested by Kienast (2002) 5.

5 We may infer that the Persian forces initially at Ephesus were modest, because the Ionians felt able to send troops to Cyprus. For Ephesus probably surrendering at this stage see p. 61.

either left then, or decided that he was safe over the winter and left in spring 497; he would also leave then if we assumed that the Persian operations were only completed in 497. See also para 7. From Thuc 4.102.2–3 we can date his death at Myrcinos as 496 (see Rhodes *ad loc*). That is acceptable: Herodotus' ὁρμώμενος ("raiding"), 5.126.2, indicates that the fatal sortie was not the first one.

6 Turning to Histiaeus' movements, the very earliest he could be at Sardis would be July 498. If Artaphrenes alerted Darius immediately after the burning of Sardis, his despatch would reach Susa within some 10 days (n. 3). If Histiaeus' conversation with Darius was soon afterwards, and his departure a few days after that, and allowing him the 3 months needed for the journey,[6] he would arrive in Sardis by July 498, which would more or less coincide with the Persian generals starting to recover territory. As his attempt on Miletus was after Aristagoras had left, and so cannot realistically have been before autumn 498, this would mean that he spent some 2 to 4 months in Sardis and then Chios before going to Byzantium.

7 Other combinations of dates are arguable, depending on the weight given to the following factors: (a) how long after the burning of Sardis did the news arrive at Susa (p. 65), how long after that did he get permission to leave, and how long did he take to prepare for his departure; (b) if the events in (a) were spread into late summer 498, did he wait to leave until spring 497, to avoid travelling during the winter; (c) how long did he spend in Sardis (perhaps between a week and a month: see pp. 67–9); (d) may we read into the events on Chios, §§2–5, a period that could have been as long as 9 or 10 months (arrival, summer 498; attempt on Miletus spring 497); further or alternatively, did Histiaeus prolong his stay in Chios because Aristagoras was still at Miletus; (e) was Aristagoras' departure from Miletus in fact connected with Histiaeus' arrival in

[6] Using the royal road (timing, Appx 4 para 2), which would bring him to Susa. 5.108.1 says that while he was travelling ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, other events happened. This could mean while travelling to the coast in Cilicia, from where he could take ship for Ionia. This would take slightly less time: 1700 km to Cilicia (cf on κατέβαινε, §43.1), up to 60 days, and some 20 days to sail to Ionia (cf on §43.3). By that route, he would disembark, not at Miletus, but Ephesus, and then go overland to Sardis (see pp. 54–5 for his probable business in Sardis). We could shorten either land journey if we assumed that, like a general, he had access to the royal facilities such as changes of horses.

Sardis, because he genuinely feared that Histiaeus might arrest him, or, alternatively, Histiaeus had warned him to leave, the Persian military successes being coincidental or an additional reason for him to go, and (f) did the Persians retaking the Aeolis and Clazomenae (5.123) have any bearing on Histiaeus' decision to leave Chios. On one view of these factors, we could place the end of Persian military operations, Histiaeus' arrival, and Aristagoras' departure, all into autumn 498, with Histiaeus' attempt on Miletus then or early 497; on another, we could make Aristagoras leave before Histiaeus even got to Sardis. It is hard to go further than suggest the probabilities that Histiaeus arrived in Sardis in late summer or early autumn 498, Aristagoras had left Miletus by spring 497, and Histiaeus went to Byzantium in summer 497.

8 There are problems in dating Lade and the length of the siege of Miletus. At §6.1, Herodotus moves from Histiaeus' activities in Byzantium (in the imperfect) to the Persian expedition being expected with a μέν-δέ clause: while Histiaeus was doing this, the Persians were awaited. That could mean news either of the Persian preparations, or that the expedition had set off; probably the former. The preparations needed time, both building ships and mobilising troops, and news would circulate. It was clearly a large expedition. Darius had lost perhaps 100–150 ships at Myus in 499, and more at Cyprus (see on §8.1). He may have started to replace some immediately, but would want to wait and see what success his generals had in Asia Minor, and Cyprus, in 498–7, before deciding if he needed a further expedition, and if so of what size (and expenditure). Once that was clear, he would not want to delay; we can envisage it being put in hand fairly soon after Cyprus. The logistics and distances strongly suggest that orders for mobilisation would have to be sent out the year before setting off: Appx 3 para 3. This perhaps favours 496 for the shipbuilding and mobilisation orders, and the expedition itself in 495, rather than 495 and 494.

9 Lade was at the time of the Ephesian Thesmophoria.[7] It was an autumn festival; where we have evidence it was celebrated between

[7] The possibility of dating the later stages by this festival is not mentioned in the otherwise careful review of the evidence for the chronology of the revolt in van Compernolle (1958).

the second and fifth months, broadly between August and November. August-September at Ephesus best suits Lade: see on Θεσμοφορίων, §16.2. The Persian forces may not have arrived till the summer. A substantial part of them were marching overland (§6), presumably from Cilicia. But there is an air of leisure about the progress of Persian armies (Appx 3 para 9). They could have taken up to three months to reach the environs of Miletus, the time it took Cyrus' army in 399 (Appx 4 para 2); their route would be similar (in the reverse direction) up to Keramon Agora, about two thirds of the whole march, and the total distance was comparable. As to the seaborne contingents, it might have been on this occasion that the Persians besieged Lindos, delaying them by a month or more.[8] §§9 and 12 show that there was some delay before Lade; the Persian diplomacy of §9 may reflect a considerable period of stalemate. The Ionians' complaint of heat (ἡλίῳ) during this time, §12, offers some support for August-September, and October-November is late in the year for what is conventionally thought about Greek and presumably Phoenician maritime activities.

10 Assuming we accept August-September for Lade, the considerations as between 495 or 494 are these. On the analysis in para 8, it would be 495, with the siege of Miletus including the winter of 495–4. If it was 494, we must assume (a) that either the preparations spread over two years, 496–5, or Darius waited until 495 before starting them; and (b) that the siege was very short. Unfortunately, §18 is not helpful. It stresses the Persian input of siegecraft, but gives no hint whether it was necessary because the siege was going slowly, or it simply achieved a quick result. The fall of Miletus was not early in the year; after the Persians dealt with the captives and confiscated land, they could only go on to recover control of Caria before the end of the campaigning season. That was not a short task; they had not got much further south than Labraunda in 498–7, and some Carians resisted them now: see on αὐτίκα, §25.2. Again, this is more consistent with Miletus falling in summer 494 after a long siege, rather than late in 494 after a short one.

11 We also have to fit in the Samians who emigrated after Lade. They are said to have left immediately after Lade, hearing that the

[8] For the details of the siege and our knowledge of it see note to §§94–101.

Persians intended to restore Aeaces (§22.1); they would have to leave quickly, if we also accept §25.1, that Aeaces was then restored. Also, they were joined by some ἐκπεφευγότες Milesians. As the siege of Miletus also began after Lade; these could be either people who escaped from the city just before the siege finally closed it off, or from the Milesian *chora*; if the latter, they would be able to get away after the siege had begun. It is possible that the Samians actually left, as opposed to deciding to go, after Aeaces was restored.

12 Events in Sicily (for which, and the dates mentioned below, see note to §§22–24) do not help, because dating them is controversial, and involves the various activities of Hippocrates of Gela.[9] The Samians first put in at Locri Epizephyrii, and they were there (a) during part of the campaigning season, as Scythes was away besieging Cale Acte; and (b) long enough for Anaxilas to liaise with them. If it be right that Anaxilas only started to rule Rhegion in 494 (see on §23.2), that contact cannot have been in 495. Robinson (1946) dates the 5 years of Samian coinage to 493–489, but at 13 he assumes that it started the year after Lade, which he puts in 494. But 489 is a plausible end to the series, if Anaxilas was able to take over Zancle in c489 and expelled the Samians in 488. Minting coins need not have started the year of their arrival. Dunbabin (1948) 390–1 has them arriving in 494, but on the basis that Lade was early 494. That is too soon for the Persians to have arrived in Ionia, and inappropriate for the Thesmophoria. If Lade was September 495, we may have the Samians leaving shortly after and overwintering in Locri; alternatively leaving Samos in early spring 494, albeit probably after Aeaces was restored; either way Anaxilas' message and their settling in Zancle is then spring or early summer 494. Similarly, if Lade was September 494, we can have them either overwintering in Locri or leaving in spring 493, with Anaxilas' message and their settling in Zancle in late spring 493. Either way, they start their coinage during 493.[10] But we cannot use the Samians to date Lade, or Lade to help date the Samians.

[9] See also the discussions in Vallet (1958) 346–53; chronological table, with other views listed, 352.

[10] Or we could move the coinage down to 492–488, with the last issues just before their expulsion.

13 There is a slight argument that the siege was longer rather than shorter from the change of mind which the Persians had about restoring the tyrants, as noted in Appx 11 sec 3. It would postulate that during the siege, Artaphrenes made efforts to find a replacement for Histiaeus from amongst the Milesian landowning class in the *chora*, and learnt that none of them wanted the job, but also that Ionians generally would not welcome tyrants; and that this was one factor in influencing the Persian change of mind.[11]

14 No resolution of the problems discussed in paragraphs 8 to 13 can be certain, but I suggest that the balance of probabilities favour Lade as 495: (a) it is more consistent with Darius not delaying unduly once the overall position became clear after Cyprus, i.e. ordering preparations in 496, with the expedition moving off in 495; (b) it is more consistent with the Persian needing to use their siegecraft skills to succeed, Miletus holding firm over the winter of 495–4; (c) putting the fall of Miletus into summer 494 gives the Persians adequate time to deal with their captives and the land, and then to retake the rest of Caria, before the winter; (d) it gives a little more time for the Samians to settle in Zancle. But there is no way of "proving" this, and many opt to put both Lade and the capture of Miletus into 494.

15 Histiaeus returned when news of τὰ περὶ τὴν Μίλητον γενόμενα reached him, §26.1. As noted *ad loc*, this could mean that the siege had begun or had ended; his motives are discussed on p. 71. The only firm detail is that he was captured as the corn was ripening, §28, and so about May. We can reasonably infer that he had overwintered on Chios, raided Thasos in the spring, and ran out of food on Lesbos by May. On the basis that the Phoenicians who caused him to quit Thasos were part of the Persian fleet of §31.1, sailing in spring 493 (para 16), he spent the winter of 494–3 on Chios. This suggests that he left Byzantium during 494, however long the siege was. We could accommodate him leaving in 495 and spending two winters on Chios, but that is not how Herodotus puts it. At first

[11] Another possible argument for a longer siege can be drawn from Persepolis tablet Q1809: Datiya, probably Datis, drew rations at Sardis in early 494 for a journey to Persepolis; see note to §§94–101: if we assume that he was one of the generals at Miletus, he left the other general(s) part way through the siege to return to Persia. Hammond's timetable n. 1, also put Lade into autumn 495 and the fall of Miletus into the first half of 494 (he treats as within one calendar year).

blush that favours a shorter siege; but we do not have to imagine him leaving Byzantium the moment he heard of it.

II *§31 onwards*

16 The time markers noted at the beginning seem to give us a simple chronology. §31.1 opens with the Persian fleet overwintering (χειμερίσας) near Miletus, i.e. winter 494–3, and moving off the following year (τῷ δευτέρῳ ἐτεϊ), spring 493; it and the army reduce first Ionia and then the Chersonese, followed by Artaphrenes' political settlement: §§31–3, 42. The following spring (ἅμα δὲ τῷ ἔαρι, §43.1), i.e. 492, Mardonius is first in Ionia and then in Thrace and Macedonia. In the year following (δευτέρῳ ἐτεϊ τούτων, §46.1), i.e. 491, Darius orders Thasos to take down her walls and hand over her ships, §46.1; he also demands earth and water of the Greeks and has ships built (§48.1; cf §94). Datis' expedition sets off in the ships ordered the previous year (τῷ προτέρῳ ἐτεϊ, §95.1, i.e. spring 490. By the time he reaches Marathon Phainippos is archon, n. 2.

17 This is all neat and logical, but unfortunately at §95.2, Herodotus says that Datis steered across the Aegean to avoid another Athos, which he puts "in the previous year", τῷ προτέρῳ ἐτεϊ. This might be there from dittography or an erroneous marginal gloss, but if it is Herodotean it is explicable as a slip on his part. The realities of organising a large expedition require us to give the king 491 to conscript and get the men down to Cilicia, with the expedition starting in 490: see on §95.1.[12]

[12] We can save §95.2 on the Hammond chronology, n. 1, by putting Athos at the beginning of the Greek calendar year (our summer 492), and Darius ordering his ships in the spring of the same year, our 491. Both are then in the previous year to the Greek year which spans summer 491 to summer 490, in the spring of which Datis set off from Cilicia. But the order and natural meaning of χειμερίσας . . . τῷ δευτέρῳ ἐτεϊ at §31.1 makes it almost impossible to accept Hammond. That requires us either to reverse the order in translation: "in the next year [sc which had begun about June], after overwintering . . .", or accept that the "next year" did not begin until around July. The first effectively ignores the campaigning in Caria after the fall of Miletus, §25.2, which must have taken up the first half of that year, summer to autumn 494. The second would make the Persians idle the spring away before starting to reduce the rest of Ionia. No help either way can be gleaned from 7.37.1 and 8.113.1, where Herodotus uses χειμερίζω and ἅμα τῷ ἔαρι; there he is not concerned with same or next year.

APPENDIX 2

NAVAL MATTERS

Greek "navies"; triremes and galleys

1 Between the events in book 6, or earlier ones relevant to topics in it (e.g. the Aeginetan raids on Attica of c505), and Herodotus accessing his sources, two related things occurred across much of the Greek world: poleis acquired triremes, and with it some mechanism for paying for their maintenance and crewing, though our main if not only evidence for the latter is from Athens. The start of this can be dated with fair precision to the two or three years before Xerxes' invasion, the late 480s; triremes were sent to Artemisium and Salamis in fair numbers. From that time, one can speak without being anachronistic of a polis having a navy in the modern sense: ships designed for war, owned by the state. Broadly speaking, that was an innovation.

2 Throughout this book, I use "galley" to mean a ship with one bank of oars, such as a penteconter. The Greeks had the technical ability to build a trireme type of ship since the sixth century; earlier, if one accepts the literal dating of Ameinocles of Corinth in Thuc 1.13.3. But they were uncommon before the late 480s. They needed a large crew and so were expensive to operate, and had limited carrying capacity (paras 5–7). They were essentially warships. When we hear of them, they are owned by rich individuals or tyrants, a symbol of power and wealth: Polycrates of Samos, 3.44; Philippos of Croton, friend of Dorieus, Cleomenes' half-brother, 3.47.1; the wealthy Cleinias in 480, 8.17. It is thus feasible that Hippias had one (§39.1), and Miltiades five (§41). But we should treat any reference to a trireme before 480 with care; a later source might naturally use the word for a ship used offensively without realising that it had, in fact, been a galley.[1] The ships involved in the fighting

[1] This may explain why Charon *FGrH* 262 F10 as reported in Plut *Mal Her* 861c–d refers to triremes for the Athenian contingent to Ephesus in 499, where Herodotus 5.99.1 has "ships". Some future scholar may puzzle why "car" usually means a saloon but sometimes includes vans and other vehicles.

between Athens and Aegina, §§89–92, or those which Miltiades took to Paros, §§132–3, were all, or at least mostly, galleys. Thuc 1.14.3 was alive to the point; he notes that the "navies" of Athens and Aegina were mostly penteconters.

3 I put "navies" in quotes, because we should not call the ships "the Athenian" (or "the Aeginetan") "navy" in the modern sense as noted in para 1. With few exceptions, the polis did not own warships, nor did she need to.[2] Until after the Persian wars, both sea-fights, and the need to move troops across the sea, were rare. If the polis needed ships, her citizens, usually traders, would provide their galleys; those would be the ships, for instance, used by the Aeginetans in c505 and at §§92–3.[3] There were at least two reasons for this. One is that the provision of their ships would be seen as a civic duty, analogous to the obligation to serve as a soldier (Appx 18 para 6). The other, which for book 6 particularly applies to Aegina, is that in an aristocracy, where the men who own the ships also provide the government, the borderline between polis and private aggression can be narrow, as with frontier disputes (Appx 11 sec 1); see Appx 12 para 2 for the c505 aggression.

4 There are two possible exceptions relevant to book 6. It is possible that Corinth had a navy for patrolling the Gulf of Corinth: see on διδοῦσι, §89. Athens is a special case because of the *naucraroi* problem. In brief, the classical references, including 5.71 (note to §§121–124), assign only administrative and financial duties to them: *Ath Pol* 8.3, 21.5, with Rhodes on 8.3; Cleid *FGrH* 323 F8; Androt *FGrH* 324 F36 = Schol Ar *Av* 1541. But Bekker *Anec* 283 says that they had to provide ships, and Poll 8.108 says a ship and two horses (so that some argue for an early Athenian cavalry: see on §112.2).[4]

[2] Scott (2000); van Wees (2004) 203–6. For possible exceptions, see Scott 105–8. Whether the ships attributed to a tyrant were "owned" by him or his polis may be a matter of semantics.

[3] The aristocratic raider represented by Odysseus' alter ego, son of Kastor, (p. 72 n. 234) becomes a trader, using penteconter type galleys: Salmon (1984) 149–154, van Wees (1992), Gabrielsen (1994) 24–6, and Tandy (1997), whose title, "Warriors into Traders", encapsulates the position; cf Scott (2000) 99–100; Snodgrass (1983) 16–17. There are vase paintings of galleys ploughing purposefully through the sea, e.g. the two on Morrison and Williams (1968) Arch 53, pp. 93–4, Plate 14: raiders or traders?

[4] Bekker is particularly suspect, because it says that they had to provide ships,

Their source(s) are unknown: did they have solid information, or was it assumption that ναυ- meant "ship" rather than "temple" (in Ionic, both ναῦς, ship, and ναός, temple, are νεώς; in compounds ναο/νεω-ποιέω/ποιός usually refer to temples: see LSJ)? The κραρος component probably means "head", "chief": Vélissaropoulos (1980) 12. Did sixth century Athens, an essentially agricultural polis, need a navy, or perhaps ships maintained by designated citizens for polis use when required? Despite Rhodes, *loc cit*, there is no history of regular maritime aggression which might motivate her to organise a navy. Athens does not figure in the endnote. The tradition over capturing Salamis, c600, was that she used fishing boats and a triaconter (Plut *Sol* 9.3), and the few occasions when she sent men abroad could easily be done in her citizens' galleys.[5] There is also a question as to how many *naucraroi* there were: *Ath Pol* 8.3 indicates 12, one per tribe. Pollux 1.108 also says 12, but then adds: 4 per trittyes. It is not agreed that he meant that there were 48 (Rhodes, *loc cit*), though some have argued that the 50 ships of §89 comprised 50 naucraric ships, or 48 naucraric ships plus 2 others, e.g. 2 state ones deduced from §87 (for the difficulties of which see on τὴν θεωρίδα, §87); e.g. Jeffery (1962) 53–4, who also wrongly calls them "triremes". A further problem is that *Ath Pol* 21.5 says that the *naucraroi* were abolished by Cleisthenes and replaced by demarchs with the same duties; the apparent conflict with Cleid 323 F8, speaking of 50 *naucrariai*, may be a matter of nomenclature, not substance: "demarchs" do not readily suggest ships. If there had been naucraric ships until 508, any survivors would now be at least 20 years old, and in poor condition, unless well maintained. But others think that *naucraroi* did have ship duties, which were only abolished in 483 when Athens started to build triremes. Whether they numbered 12 or 48 or 50, the two basic arguments for believing that they provided a navy are (a) the etymological and (b) the circumstantial detail of the horses in the source used by Pollux, which is not inherent in the meaning "ship chief". A variant view is that the *naucraros* had the

---

and "captain triremes" (τριηραρχοῦντες), which would anachronistic for the pre-trireme era, and be "subordinate" (ὑποτεταγμένοι) to the polemarchs, which reads like an inspired guess. Pollux is problematic as to the numbers of *naucraroi*, infra.

[5] Colonists or troops to Sigeion, probably c620 and again c570 (see Isaac (1986) 162); to help Lygdamis of Naxos (1.64.1–2); Miltiades senior and his colonists to the Chersonese, §35; and troops to Ionia in 499 (p. 53).

duty of owning and maintaining a ship, which was his, or he could use, but had to be made available to the polis if needed (Wallinga (1993) 16–19). This is powerfully argued by van Wees (2004) 96, 203–5, who at 234 also favours ship duties continuing after Cleisthenes.[6] But the classical references give no hint of a ship connection, and we may doubt that Athens had a naucraric navy: Gabrielsen (1994) 20–24; Haas (1985). She had enough traders with galleys to supply the occasional polis needs for ships.

Crews and carrying capacities

5 An Athenian trireme had a crew of about 185 (plus marines), of whom 170 were rowers. The Phoenician trireme seems to have been a little shorter, though a little broader in the beam. It may therefore have needed slightly fewer crew, perhaps 150–160 rowers plus officers.[7] Clearly, galleys needed fewer men to row; one should comment that, despite the literal meaning of triaconter and penteconter, vase paintings, even allowing for artistic license, suggest that which we might infer anyway, that there was no rule which said that galleys could only be built for exactly 15 or 25 men per side; a ship for 40 or 46 rowers would no doubt be called a penteconter.

6 A trireme was built as a warship, with strengthened bows for ramming (cf para 11). None have been recovered in archaeology, but the Trireme Replica gives a good idea of its limited carrying capacity. It is 5.45 m broad, reflecting the width between roof columns in the Zea shipsheds, and the necessary internal structure fills up most of the hull: see the plans, Morrison *et al* (2000) 194; Shaw (1993) fig F3, p xiv; fig 9.1, p. 53. In practice, what space remained was needed for equipment such as sails and ropes, and food. Passengers

[6] He relies, *inter alia*, on the interpretation of the couplet on ostrakon P16873 (noted on Δᾶτιν, §94.2) by Figueira (1986), that it was attacking Xanthippos as head of a *naucraria*, and *naucrariai* are assumed still to have had ship duties.

[7] For the Athenian trireme, Morrison and Williams (1968) 254–6. The pictorial evidence for Phoenician three-banked ships suggests a slightly shorter ship; the wider beam suggests increased carrying capacity and obviated the need for an outrigger for the uppermost row of oars. See Casson (1995) 94–6, who notes one illustration with the same number of thranites, 31, as Athenian ones; Wallinga (1993) illus 19, 20. Thus a total crew, including officers, would be some 160–180.

could be carried; the numbers depended on how much of the ship was decked. An Athenian trireme could carry 12 to 14 marines: Morrison *et al* 108–111. Those of Phoenician design were probably more fully decked, and, as noted, were broader: they could carry up to 40 passengers, as at §15.1, with better carrying capacity.

7 A trireme did not need to be rowed by a full crew. Apart from when casualties were suffered in battle, they were rowed from the top (thranite) benches only when converted to a horse transport: Morrison *et al* (2000) 156; generally Wallinga (1993) 170–8. Thus when those captured at Myus were taken to their new home ports, p. 57, we do not have to assume that full crews were needed. When Histiaeus went off to Byantium, §5.3, he may not have gone with full crews. Hence it could be used as a troopship; indeed, the Athenians developed the distinction between the στρατιῶτις, "troopship", and the fast trireme. The first could be used for duties other than moving men, and the distinction seems to have been one more of maintenance than design, e.g. the dryness of the hull (cf n. 29). The men could be seated on the lower benches; whether they could also row would depend on their skill and experience. Athenians might;[8] many Persian troops would not, especially the average conscript from a mainly landlocked empire, with little if any experience of the sea (and cf on νέειν, §44.3). It takes training to learn to row a trireme efficiently: cf para 10. Similarly, we could envisage a trireme being used to move goods, food or equipment for an army, say, if these were loaded on to the lower benches; a Phoenician trireme might perhaps offer a little more capacity than an Athenian one. Wallinga (1964) 39 n. 1 suggested that when Demosthenes sneers at Meidias for stuffing his trireme with goods, 21.168, the implication is that they were loaded on the lower benches and he had it rowed from the thranite benches.

8 For moving supplies if not men, the galley was more efficient both in terms of crewing and space.[9] Again, we are limited because

[8] So the Athenian soldiers going to Sicily, Thuc 7.43, probably rowed: *HCT ad loc*, Gabrielsen (1994) 249 n. 11, preferable to Wallinga (1993) 175–7. For rowers doubling as soldiers see also van Wees (2004) 62.

[9] The evidence from the Sicilian expedition is illuminating. Triremes were used to move troops, but penteconters were used to move the stores: Thuc 6.43–4.

none has been recovered in archaeology, but we can form a fair idea of their capacities. At 7.184.2, Herodotus postulates 30 passengers per penteconter in Xerxes' fleet. This seems modest: a penteconter could carry more passengers, or some 66 m^3 of cargo.[10] A merchantman, the γαῦλος of §17, had even more capacity, and the Persians may have used them for supplies that could arrive later; as it depended on its sails, and therefore the winds, for power, it would not be able to keep up with a fleet powered by oars.[11]

The implications of Dionysius' training and the Diekplous

9 Herodotus accessed traditions which recalled Dionysius of Phocaea trying to teach the diekplous, but imposing excessive discipline, §12; at least some of them biased self-serving accounts to provide an apology and excuse for the Ionians' "strike" before Lade, and, in the case of several of the contingents, their desertion (cf note to §§6–17; Lateiner (1982a) 151–7). But, helped as we now are by the experiences of the Trireme Project, we can assess him as an experienced sea captain with an excellent appreciation of what was needed if the Greeks were to have a chance of winning. The description of the battle in §§14–15 suggests that had there been no desertions, it might well have been won. How far the "strike" and desertion were due to poor leadership, overzealous training, and an inability to inspire his men, and how far to the Greeks' own reluctance to put effort into the preparations, perhaps influenced by political considerations, must remain a matter of debate.

---

[10] The actual capacity of any galley depends on its depth and beam, and, for passengers, its decking and/or bench arrangements; pictorial evidence from vases tells us little about that. Herodotus' 30 men may reflect a policy of leaving adequate space for food and equipment. We can get good impressions of the capacities of galleys from Viking remains, although they were clinker built. In particular, the Gokstad ship was essentially a triaconter (32 rowers), and autopsy of a replica is enlightening. Even if Greek or Phoenician galleys were not quite so broad, we can envisage that a trianconter could take some 40–45 passengers or carry some 48 m^3 of cargo; a penteconter some 50–60 passengers or 66 m^3 cargo: Scott (2000) 112–13; *ib* 101–2 for numbers of rowers.

[11] For merchantmen generally see Casson (1995) 65–8, 157–168, 169–200. Triremes and galleys had sails, but did not depend solely on the wind for their motive power.

10 Whatever the precise numbers at Lade, crewing the ships stretched the manpower of the various cities: see on Μιλήσιοι, §8.1. Their experience will have varied. Some would have rowed a fully manned trireme: older men who had had to go with Darius' expedition to Scythia some 18 years earlier, or in 499 to Naxos (cf p. 55); and the mostly Samians who had recently gone to Cyprus (endnote [11]).[12] Others would range from those who regularly rowed trading galleys (cf n. 3; they might also have had experience of warding off pirates), but with no experience of a three-banked ship, to farmers who perhaps did very little rowing, and that in small boats. As the Trireme Project showed, even experienced rowers need time and practice to row a trireme just in a straight line. They might easily learn to keep time with the other rowers in their own bank of oars, but it takes practice not to foul the oars of the other two banks.[13] Only then can other manoeuvres be learnt.

11 Greeks, including Ionians and Aeolians, had little experience of fighting at sea: I believe that the endnote summarises every one we know of prior to Lade; and probably only [6] [7] and [10] (if historical) were with triremes. If they addressed their minds to it, they would think of having soldiers on their ships to fire missiles or sling stones at enemy ships, and eventually boarding them.[14] The reference

[12] A few of the oldest Samians might have rowed triremes for Polycrates up to 30 years earlier, and fought in the two sea battles, endnote [6] and [7]); these must have been before c522, when he was killed (for the date, Shipley (1987) 68). Some will have removed the captured triremes from Myus, but these may not have been fully crewed: see para 7.

[13] I here assume that the majority of the ships at Lade were triremes (cf on §8.2). Like Phormio some 65 years later, Dionysius would appreciate the advantage of trained crews. For the Trireme Project, see, generally, Shaw (1993) chaps 6 (Shaw), 9 (Rankin), and 10 (Shaw); Morrison *et al* (2000) 236–40, 247, 248–56. For a review of the ancient evidence, Shaw (1993) chap 17 (Whitehead), esp at 92; cf Morrison and Williams (1968) 309 and n. 17.

[14] This is the likely explanation for the death of Amphidamas in endnote [1]. It is mentioned at Salamis 8.89.1, and Syracuse, Thuc 7.40.5; at 1.49 Thucydides calls it the "old fashioned" way of fighting, in contrast to ramming. In addition to archers and spear or javelin throwers there could be stone throwers and slingers: they are mentioned in sea fights from Syracuse (413: Thuc 7.31.5, 33.1, 4) onwards: Pritchett *GSW* V 60–1. Many vase paintings of galleys include soldiers and/or shields: Morrison and Williams (1968) Geom 2, 4, 8(3), 9, 25, 39; Arch 1, 2, 5, 8, 20, 35; but to the extent that they reflect real life, the artist may have been thinking of men being taken overseas to fight, or to protect a trading ship against pirates, though Arch 89(2) does show archers at both prow and stern. The aim was to crip-

to soldiers at §12.1 suggests that this was envisaged here, and cities other than Chios (§15.1) may have sent them. Galleys are depicted with rams, and no doubt seafarers thought of ramming as a possible way of disabling a hostile ship. The Samians may have done it in the recent fight off Cyprus, but they were only about one-fifth of the total force at Lade. But Dionysius, unlike most Ionians, but in common with many fellow Phocaeans, knew its importance, and also how to do it to best effect; it required the ability to turn in tight circles, quickly ram, and then reverse away. Apart from his own experience of dealing with pirates, in c535 Phocaea had held her own in a sea battle off Alalia, Corsica against the odds (endnote [5]). The narrative makes clear that it had involved a significant amount of ramming.[15] How it had been achieved must have been common talk in Phocaea when he was a boy; cf on Διονύσιος, §11.1. The same skill, turning quickly and efficiently, was equally important as a defence against being rammed. To do that in a trireme required much more skill than in a galley.

12 It is thus reasonable to infer that Dionysius' first aim was to get his heterogeneous crews to learn to row a trireme efficiently and in a straight line. §12.1–2 can at best be a concise summary of some seven days' training; but ἀνάγων . . . ἐπὶ κέρας, putting the ships to sea in line ahead, is not the obvious way to teach the diekplous, but is an entirely sensible recollection of getting his crews to practice straightforward rowing: each bank of rowers in time with each other, and not fouling the other banks. Once they had achieved a reasonable standard, he could go on to teach the diekplous. The word simply means "to sail through and out", but as a battle tactic it meant, in theory, sailing through the lines of enemy ships, and then turning and coming back to ram an opponent from behind.[16]

ple the enemy crew before closing and boarding: the references to capturing ships at Artemisium (e.g. 8.11) imply boarding parties.

[15] The Phoecaeans fielded 60 penteconters (1.164.3) against double that number of Phoenician and Etruscan probably similar ships. They lost 40 ships, and the prows of the other 20 were so badly damaged, i.e. from the ramming, that the ships were unfit for service (1.166).

[16] In a non-technical sense, διαπλέω meant to go along a channel or strait, a διάπλους; ἐκπλέω and ἔκπλους sailing away, either a simple departure or from a potentially difficult situation. The double compound διεκπλέω and διέκπλους, not in a battle context, mean essentially the same as διαπλέω etc (so often in Herodotus).

Unfortunately, understanding it has become befogged by two things: an erroneous interpretation by modern scholars of what it involved, and a failure to recognise the difference between theory and the realities of a sea-fight. An ancient sea fight began with the opposing fleets in line abreast.[17] One still finds statements that the diekplous was done by a squadron of ships in line ahead sailing through the enemy lines.[18] In fact, it is clear that it was thought of as being done by single ships, or perhaps a couple of ships; the opportunity to do it was most unlikely to arise at the outset, but had to be seized as the fight progressed, and movement and counter-movement on each side broke up the neat lines in which the two sides had started, and offered the space for a well-rowed ship to get past an opponent, and then turn.[19] In a real battle, even if there were no adverse weather conditions,[20] the many ships' movements would soon make the sea choppy (and the choppy sea make the ships move). You needed space, both to get between two enemy ships without fouling your own oars, and then sufficient room to turn, which needed nearly twice your own length.[21] To ram your opponent head on was to

---

That as a battle tactic it was followed by turning (ἀναστροφαί) and coming in to ram is really explicit at Thuc 2.89.8, 7.36.3; cf Schol Thuc 1.49.3, 2.89.8, 7.36.4, and in the Suda svv Διέκπλοι and Περιπλεῖν. See further Lazenby (1987) 170–1.

[17] The usual word is παρατάσσομαι; at §8.1 Herodotus uses the simple τάσσομαι. At any stage, it was most dangerous to expose the side of your ship to the enemy.

[18] Most recently, Morrison *et al* (2000) 43. This assertion depends partly on the references to ἐπὶ κέρας in §§12 and 15, and misinterpreting ἐπὶ μιᾶς in Xen *Hell* 1.6.31 (Arginusae) as "in line ahead". Morrison *et al* repeat the first edition and ignore the authorities in the next note.

[19] Lazenby (1987), Lazenby (1988), Shaw (1993) 102–4, and Wallinga (1993) 172 n. 7; see also Whitehead (1987). Lazenby (1987) showed that ἐπὶ κέρας at §12 and 14 refer to the ships putting to sea, and that ἐπὶ μιᾶς in Xenophon must refer to the Spartans drawing up their "better-sailing" ships in a single line abreast, against which the Athenians had a double line (172–3). At 175 he suggested that Dionysius practised the marines (ὁπλίσειε, §12.1), to maximise the protection given to their ship as it sailed solo past enemy ones. Shaw 99–104 glossed Lazenby and Whitehead and interpreted them as saying that the manoeuvre was or could be by two or more ships in line abreast breaking through (see summary, 105). He discussed the likely realities of an actual sea fight, and concluded that a single ship would be at considerable risk of counter-attack from the enemy; when done by more than one ship, there was no particular advantage in doing it in line ahead or line abreast. He did, however, stress the importance of the attacking ship(s) being able to turn efficiently and quickly.

[20] Phormio was well aware that the wind could play havoc with a neat formation, Thuc 2.84.2–3; Dio 39.42.2–3 (Romans against the Veneti in 56) makes clear that the wind seriously interfered with the sea-fight.

[21] In the Trireme Project, the tightest turning circle, using oars on one side only, had a radius of 62 m (Shaw (1993) 65); the ship was about 35 m long.

risk doing more damage to your own ship than to your opponent's.[22] It might be easier to ram your opponent broadside on, but harder to disengage. Best was to sail past her, execute a sharp turn, and come in at her rear at an angle, it reduced the risk of your ship being embedded in the enemy, and it was easier to reverse and disengage yourself.[23] In actual battles, our sources more often report cases where, for one reason or another, it was not or could not be done; but the many references to it from Thucydides onwards show that it remained a regular theoretical tactic for seafights right into Roman times.[24] There is a question whether it was originally a tactic devised by the Phoenicians, picked up from them by the Carthaginians and used against the Phocaeans at Alalia; the latter, as skilled sailors, would quickly have learnt how to use it. It is Dionysius' knowledge at Lade that matters, not who originally devised it.[25]

13 If it just were a matter of teaching the tactic, Dionysius could have done that to groups of captains by drawing diagrams with a stick on the beach, and stressing that they would have to seize their own opportunities to do it. But as noted supra, it required turning

---

[22] See, e.g. Shaw *et al* in Shaw (1993) 101, citing Thuc 7.36.5: it is folly in helmsmen to do it.

[23] Shaw (1993) 99–101 shows that a sideways ram at 90° needs less acceleration than coming in from the rear, but it is likely to be harder and needs more rowing skill to disengage. As he also shows, much depends on the relative speeds of the two ships. He likens the kinetic energy of a trireme (here taken as 40 tons with a full crew; see also on ἐπιβάτας, §12.1) crashing into the side of another ship at 4 knots to that of a small but laden car of 1.2 tons crashing into a stationary object at 23 mph (37 kmh).

[24] Not used, or could not be used, or guarded against: e.g. Corcyra, 433, Thuc 1.49; Phormio I, 429/8, Thuc 2.83.5; lack of space at Syracuse, Thuc 7.36.4, 70.4; Arginusae, 406, Xen *Hell* 1.6.30–1; the Artemision fight in Sosylos (late third century) *FGrH* 176 F1; generally Lazenby (1987) 169; H&W on §12.1. For later fights it is recorded for Chios, 201, Polyb 16.4.14–15; Side, 190, Livy 37.24.2; off Brittany, 56, Dio 39.42.2–3 (as amended); Naulochus (Sicily), 36, *id* 49.3.2.

[25] Sosylos (previous note), describing a naval engagement at "Artemision" (not in Herodotus; very possibly an incident in the second Punic war: Walbank on Polyb 3.95) calls it a Phoenician tactic. Per Hdt 8.9, the Greeks at Artemisium decided to attack and make an ἀπόπειραν of τῆς τε μάχης καὶ τοῦ διεπλόου. Some, e.g. Hignett (1963) 184–5, argue that it means they wanted to make trial of the Persians in fighting and the Persian tactic of the diekplous; others that it just means that they themselves wanted to try the diekplous against the Persians (Morrison and Williams (1968) 137). Hignett goes on to argue that Herodotus is therefore being anachronistic in saying that the Greeks did it at Lade, and it was only adopted by the Athenians later in the fifth century. This is a non-sequitur; further, what other manoeuvre did Herodotus' sources mean by the diekplous?

your ship in a tight circle; ceasing to row as your ship rammed, and then reversing away, all to be done quickly and efficiently. He wanted to practice his crews in all these manoeuvres. It is clear from both literary references and experience with the Trireme Project that a man such as Dionysius would know the importance of such training.[26] For instance, a tight but speedy turn partly depends on the skill of the helmsman, but also requires the oarsmen on the inside of the turn to hold their oars in the water in prompt and accurate response to the *keleustes*' command, while those on the outside continue to row accurately. Reversing away also needs a prompt response to the command. The same abilities could also move your ship away from a ramming opponent. It looks as though Dionysius had the right ideas, but pressed his men too hard. Yet his training seems to have paid off: the diekplous was used in the actual battle and those who stayed acquitted themselves well.

14 The foregoing does not mean that what the sources recalled was wrong. Granted that ἐπὶ κέρας refers to setting off (n. 18), and, as suggested, reflects the initial stages of learning to row the triremes, they could have practised turns as the ships sailed in line ahead. If we number such a squadron 1, 2, 3 . . . etc, we can envisage no 1 turning to left or right through 270°, and then rowing at a right angle between nos 2 and 3, or 3 and 4.[27] Perhaps his intention of going on to practise it with opposing lines of ships was frustrated by the strike.

---

[26] The vocabulary speaks for itself: Thuc 1.31.1, the Corinthians παρεσκευάζοντο for their attack on Corcyra, 433; 1.142.5–7, 9, Pericles to the Athenians in 432/1: ἐμπειρία, ἐπιστήμονες, μελετῶντες; 2.84.3, 86.5, Phormio I, 429: the ἄπειροι Peloponnesians could not lift their oars out of the rough water, and put their helmsmen into difficulties; before Phormio II they trained for 6 or 7 days; 8.103.3, Cynossema, 411, where παρεσκευάζοντο for 5 days becomes ἀναπείρας ποιούμενοι καὶ γυμνάσαντες τοὺς ἐρέτας in Ephoros, stressing the greater skill, albeit smaller numbers, of the Athenians (DS 13.39.3–4). The Athenians were defeated at Oropus, 411, precisely because their crews lacked experience: Thuc 8.95.2; the problem of inexperienced crews was recognised and addressed by Iphicrates in 375, Xen *Hell* 6.2.10–14. Phormio I vividly describes what happens when crews cannot hear and therefore react to orders. Morrison and Williams (1968) Arch 50 depicts a two banked ship in the process of turning: the keleustes is giving orders (a clear hand signal), in response to which one bank of rowers has reversed oars, to help pivot the ship round. The condition of the ship itself is a contributory factor to maximum speed, but the rowers are the motive power.

[27] Depending on the spacing between ships, the speed at which they were sailing, and the time it took no 1 to turn, she could then sail between two of the ships in the line behind her.

15 Another possible tactic, given precision rowing and an ability to ship your own oars smartly in response to command, was to build up speed and coast sufficiently close to an enemy ship to shear her oar tips off. There are few reported cases in practice; it can only be speculation that Dionysius either sought to teach it or warned captains to guard against it.[28]

16 As a final note, we must be cautious not to apply information retrospectively from detail recorded for later sea battles: we are concerned with the situation as it was just before Lade, and what Dionysius was trying to achieve. For instance, it would be a red herring to introduce the issue of "better sailing ships". It became a factor for admirals to decide what tactic to adopt, and in one passage it is specifically said that the side with such ships should use the diekplous.[29] Some of the ships at Lade may have been "better sailers",[30] but Dionysius had to deal with things with the ships and crews which he had.

Endnote: known sea battles prior to 500

[1] In the Lelantine war, the hero Amphidamas is said to have been killed in a sea-fight: Plut fr 84 Sandbach (Schol Hes *Op* 650–2; but id *Sept Sap* 153f simply says that he was killed).

---

[28] See Shaw (1993) 102, effectively refuting Holladay (1988) that this was the object of the diekplous. The attacker would have to ship oars; to do that, as Professor Lazenby points out to me, requires the two upper rows, thranites and *zugioi*, to untie their oars from the thole pins, and the bottom row, the *thalamioi*, to pull theirs through the sleeves, all in a short time between ceasing to drive their ship forward and the collision. However, DS 13.78.1 and 99.3 says that it was done at Mytilene and Arginusae, 406; and it is recorded for Chios in 201, Polyb 16.4.8–14.

[29] In Phormio's speech before Phormio II, Thuc 2.89.8. General references: Shaw (1993) 91–3 (Whitehead); Wallinga (1993) 179 n. 21. It is controversial whether "better (i.e. faster) sailers" means better designed or constructed, and better maintained and less waterlogged (Morrison in Whitehead 93; cf Morrison *et al* (2000) 151–3), or with better crews (Whitehead, Wallinga). The answer may well be both: a skilled crew would always do well, but a skilled crew in a well designed and maintained boat would do better. Less weight, and lower friction between boat and water, had to be preferable.

[30] Phoenician triremes, such as we assume were captured at Myus, are expressly noted in 480 as being fast: 7.96, 8.10.1; but see Appx 17 n. 77. The downside was that he would also be facing them in the forthcoming battle.

[2] Corinth v Corcyra, Thuc 1.13.4; his date of c680 is often lowered, e.g. Hornblower *ad loc*, to the late sixth century.

[3] An Anaxilas of Rhegion is said to have defeated the Zancleans at sea around 664, per Paus 4.23.8, in a problematic account discussed on §23.2.

[4] Aegion is said to have captured an Aetolian penteconter, c650: Suda sv Ὑμεῖς ὦ Μεγαρεῖς.

[5] Phocaean traders living in Alalia, Corsica had a major battle (60 penteconters) against Carthaginians and Etruscans in c535, 1.166; it is possible that there had been an earlier one, depending on whether the MSS Μασσαλία at Thuc 1.13.6 is an error for Ἀλαλία or refers to another encounter (see *HCT* and Hornblower *ad loc*).

[6] Polycrates of Samos (c540–c522) fought a sea-battle against Lesbos, 3.39.4 and used his ships to exercise some sort of political or economic power over adjacent islands and the mainland.

[7] Polycrates fought a sea-battle and then a land-battle against political opponents, 3.45.

[8] Around 520 the Liparians had to organise themselves to fight piracy by Etruscans and Carthaginians, and won a victory at sea when Etruscan power waned: Timaeus *FGrH* 566 F164.9 = DS 5.9.4–5.

[9] In about 520 Aegina and Cretans jointly attacked Samian exiles then living in Cydonia, Crete, and won a sea-fight: 3.59.

[10] Between Eretria and Cypriots (presumably Phoenicians) in c498, per Lysanias of Mallos, *FGrH* 426 F1 (see p. 51 n. 87).

[11] Between Samians with some other Ionians and Phoenicians in c497, 5.112 (p. 61).

APPENDIX 3

THE PERSIAN NAVY AND ARMY

1 The Persians had acquired a navy under Cambyses, c530–525, initially based in Phoenicia, which had fallen to Cyrus with Babylonia; and it seems clear that they were prepared to invest substantially in it.[1] Its financial implications in the years before 500 are noted on p. 47, and Herodotus can suggest that Xerxes mustered 3,000 ships, of which 1,207 were triremes: 7.89–97.[2] Greek tradition typically expressed Darius' fleets as "600": Scythia, 4.87.1; Miletus, §9.1; Datis, §95.2. For Mardonius Herodotus twice says that his fleet was large, §§43.1, 4; that too may have been thought of as 600: see on τριηκοσίας, §44.3.

2 Their navy was well organised. Phoenicia had been an important element in it from the start, and the majority of their fleet was kept in bases all around their Mediterranean subjects: at Lade, §6, their ships were rowed by Phoenicians, Egyptians, Cypriots and Cicilians.[3] Darius if not Cambyses established a base at Aleion Pedion (also an army camp) near Tarsus in Cilicia, the starting point for Mardonius and Datis (§§43.2, 95.1), and probably for the expedition against Miletus. It would help our understanding of where the ships for Naxos came from, and so where they were heading on the return journey (cf p. 57), if we knew the position in Ionia and adjacent areas such as Myndos at the time. In 480 they had bases at Cyme and on Samos (8.130), but we can only speculate when they were founded; on one reading of §95.2, Samos might predate 490 (see on οὐ παρά). We might infer a base at Abdera by 491 from §46, but she may just have been a convenient anchorage whence the Persians

[1] Wallinga (1987) 48–9, 54, 66–8; (1993) 118–129.

[2] At 7.184.2 he seems to say that there were 3,000 galleys plus the triremes, an even bigger investment.

[3] In 480, over half of Xerxes' fleet came from these four nations: 7.89–91. Phoenicia continued to be important for the fifth century fleet: see the consecutive articles of Littman and Ehrhardt (1990).

could remove the ships elsewhere, e.g. down to Cilicia. In 411 Aspendos was probably a base, not just an anchorage: Thuc 8.81.3, 87–8.[4] In addition to bases, there is the further question whether they kept some of their fleet amongst their maritime subjects. Even without §48.2 we would infer that the Persians had some of their ships built in Greek ports; we hear of triremes built at Ephesus in the late sixth century.[5] Some think that they also kept ships in these ports;[6] certainly the obligation to crew them seems to have extended to all their maritime subjects, e.g. the Mytileneans at 3.13–14: Kuhrt (1995) 2.662; Wallinga (1984) 407–9; (1993) 103–4, cf 118–129. But Wallinga (1993) 118–22, 142–4 explored the topic in depth and concluded that as a general rule the Persians must have kept their triremes in their bases; to entrust their subjects with access to their navy was an unacceptable risk. When Aristagoras is said to have said that Artaphrenes controlled a large navy, 5.30.5, this is as consistent with ships in the local ports, or just in bases, whether in Ionia, e.g. Cyme, or further afield, e.g. Cilicia.[7] One could argue from Darius' confiscation of the Thasian ships, §46, that his experience at Myus caused him to change his policy and concentrate his ships in bases; but it may mean no more than that he wanted the ships for Datis' expedition. The fact that Ionians and Aeolians are said to have "led" the fleet to Scythia, 4.89.1, is neutral as to where the ships were based. If we did place them in local ports, we might

[4] Wallinga (1984) 408 nn. 9–10 favoured bases at all four. Cyme might date from the early years of the revolt, after she had been retaken (pp. 54, 62); the Persians may have restored her tyrant, Aristagoras son of Heracleides, deposed at Myus (pp. 53, 57). In 480 there was a Persian governor, Sandoces (7.194.1); it is unclear if he ruled the polis (Mardonius' democratic reforms of 492, §43, may not have extended to Aeolis), or was just governor of the port. The suggestion that Mardonius could have put his fleet into ports for the winter (note to §§42–45) is not intended to imply bases, merely convenient harbours. Wallinga 430 suggested a base at Myus; if so, it was not sufficiently guarded in 499 to stop the Ionians taking it over. But it was probably just a convenient anchorage near Miletus for the large fleet returning from Naxos; on this point Kienast (1994) 393 is preferable.

[5] Hipponax fr 28.2 W.

[6] So Kienast (2002) 6–7. Wallinga (1993) 119–20 even suggested that they may have maintained regular coastal patrols, with locally based ships crewed by Ionian subjects; but that seems uncharacteristic: cf Appx 11 n. 6; it should be rejected for 489 at Mykonos, Appx 18 para 9.

[7] It may be misleading to concentrate too much on the ships. He told the Naxians that he could not raise a force (δύναμιν), i.e. both troops and ships. But he could probably have raised troops locally, and accessed the galleys of Milesian merchants to transport them (cf Appx 2 para 3). See p. 54 n. 184 for the diplomatic aspect.

envisage the oars and sails being kept under secure conditions, to be released only on a Persian say-so. That would accord with common sense, and the general picture of Darius as an efficient administrator (p. 48).

3 Wallinga proposed that the Persian navy "wholly consisted" of triremes, (1993) 104, and operated on the basis of full strength units of 300: (1984) 431 n. 47; (1987) 68–9; (1993) 122–3).[8] The first ignores the realities of sea transport; triremes are less well suited to moving men and supplies (Appx 2 paras 6–8); the second depends on two assumptions: a literal interpretation of traditions which tended to round up large figures, and that when a ship was lost it was automatically replaced. Local commanders may have had the duty, and funds, to replace the odd ship sunk or damaged, but where large numbers had to be built, Darius probably made the decision and authorised the expenditure. For instance, as pointed out in Appx 1 para 8, he would not replace each ship lost at Myus or off Cyprus until he knew whether his three sons-in-law had been able to recover Ionia by land; only then would he prepare the Miletus expedition. Whatever his losses at Lade, he may not have needed to replace all of them to have sufficient ships for spring 493, §§31–33 (cf on §31.1), though he probably had his fleet up to strength for Mardonius' expedition in 492. When preparing to move Datis' expedition entirely by sea, he would not replace his losses on a like for like basis: he would need galleys as well as triremes: cf on νέας, §48.2 and on §95.2.

4 In any case, actual fleets, whatever the accuracy of the "600" references, probably varied in their make-up. The 600 figure for Scythia may be as suspect as the rounded up figure of 700,000 for the army. Whatever its true size, the army mostly marched overland, though those from Ionia and Aeolis probably travelled in their own ships. Much of the rest of the fleet would carry supplies, and would include galleys. It is odd that they are not reported as accompanying Darius north of the Danube, but that is bound up with the

[8] His argument is based on the 600 figures noted in para 2, the 300 and 1207 of 7.89.1 and the 300 of 8.130.2, as well as the 300 of DS 11.75.2, 77.1, 12.3.2, 13.46.6; but his citations of DS 11.3.7 at (1984) 431 n. 47 and Ctes *FGrH* 688 F14.33 at (1987) 69 do not support him.

wider problem of understanding his strategy (n. 26). Herodotus cannot offer a figure for the army in the book 6 cases, other than "large": §§6, 43.1, 4, 95.1. But in the first two cases the bulk of the army marched overland (as it would do under Xerxes), and a substantial number of the ships must again have been galleys carrying supplies. Herodotus seems to have been alive to this point: he consistently calls the fleets, other than Datis', νῆες. In the case of Miletus, 600, even if rounded up, may be in the right region. The Persians had sufficient warships, i.e. triremes, to confront the Ionians at Lade. As noted on ἑξακόσιαι and πυθόμενοι, §9.1, it is reasonable to think that they could field some 300–350 triremes, even if the rest of their fleet included galleys. They would have enough sea-borne troops to have dealt with Lindos, if this was the occasion of that siege (note to §§94–101).

5 Mardonius may not have taken many troops with him; he would not need a large force for the "democratisation" of Ionia, §43.3, though he would need men if Lindos was on this occasion. At the Hellespont, he could embark men who had marched overland, to ensure that his naval commanders had an adequate force to deal with Thasos and the other places with which they were probably concerned (see on Θασίους, §44.1). The figures given for the losses off Athos need not be taken literally, but we can infer that a good proportion of the ships were galleys carrying men or supplies rather than triremes: see on τριηκοσίας, §44.3, also noting that "300" may imply that some thought of the fleet as 600. Datis' expedition, like that to Naxos,[9] was completely sea-borne, and if we can trust the **a** MSS at §95.2 and retain ἐς τὰς νέας, Herodotus actually said that it was a mixed fleet of triremes and galleys. If we reject the words, we should understand "triremes" as including galleys; it is hard to see how the total Persian force of soldiers and ancillaries, whatever their true numbers, and their supplies could have been carried in triremes. Indeed, the reference to Darius building νέας μακράς, §48.2, is best understood as galleys for moving troops and supplies. However, a total of 600 may be in right region: see Appx 17 E1.

[9] For Naxos, see on Μιλήσιοι, §8.1 and p. 55 n. 188.

6 The army seems to have existed on three levels: a standing army of regular soldiers, men not dissimilar to our territorials, and men conscripted for large expeditions. The forces who chased the Greeks from Sardis were probably from the first two categories; conscripts were presumably involved in the large expeditions: Scythia, Miletus, and under Mardonius and Datis. One question is how far the theoretical system in Xen *Cyr* 8.2.23 and especially 8.6, and *Oec* 4.5–11 reflects the reality in our period. These passages, which only cover regulars and territorials, present the picture that from generals down, they were the king's soldiers, owing allegiance to him; commanders were appointed either by the king or by his general.[10] The army is subdivided into city garrisons and country garrisons, apparently regular troops who were drilled and exercised in some fashion.[11] Xenophon attributes considerable military skill to Cyrus and paints a picture of well trained troops;[12] some of it might possibly reflect, not just the fourth century, but a continuation of practices going back at least to Darius' time. In addition, in the country there were militia, liable to an annual muster but supported by the estates where they lived, and probably worked.[13] The substantial landowner Pythius (7.27–9) probably owned such an estate.[14] There are also estates called πύργοι

[10] There was a hierarchy of commanders: φρουράρχοι (not in Herodotus) for the city garrisons, and χιλιάρχοι (at a modest level in terms of command at 7.81) for the country ones. The king tended to make his top generals his sons-in-law: the three whom we meet in 5.116 (infra), and Mardonius, §43; cf the many Achaemenids who were commanders in 480, Appx 5 n. 1.

[11] ἀσκεῖν . . . τὰ πολεμικά, Xen *Cyr* 8.6.10; τῶν . . . πολεμικῶν ἔργων . . . ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, id *Oec* 4.5. *CAH*[2] IV (Cuyler Young) 91–2 treats the 10,000 Immortals of 7.83.1 as part of the regular forces.

[12] Xen *Cyr* 2.1.16–17 (equipment, i.e. armour and weapons); 21–2 (drill); 25–9 (organisation of companies); 4.2.34–6, 6.2.25–39 (organisation of commissariat); 5.3.34–45, 56; 6.3.2–4 (organisation of order of march); 6.1.15 (proposes to seize forts); 6.1.27–30, 50–5, 2.7–8 (organises specially designed chariots); 6.1.39, 2.2 (spies).

[13] The passages are fully analysed in Tuplin (1987); they are not quite consistent, but the text summarises the principal features. For the annual muster see also Xen *Anab* 1.1.2.

[14] Sancisi-Weerdenburg (1988), based on 9.109, discusses how such estates, including the soldiery they supported, were in the gift of the king, though she sees them as in the less densely populated parts of the empire. From the fifth century we know of large estates granted to Greeks (see on §24.2), which could have supported militia under the previous owners. See also Ste Croix *OPW* 39. Xen *Anab* 7.8.8–15 refers to a large Persian estate manned by slaves; its status 100 years earlier is unknown.

or τύρσεις; perhaps these were quasi-feudal estates, and could explain the cavalry of Colophon and perhaps elsewhere.[15] The satrap was a civil governor, but had the army at his disposal for policing his area, and was responsible for its pay. Assuming that this picture is broadly accurate, it is hard to analyse what it meant in practice for the relations between satrap and army commander, because we have no accurate description of either the Persians' civil or military organisation.[16] But one reason for rejecting the suggestion of a group of renegade Persians in Sardis in 498 (p. 69) is that a successful attempt to depose Artaphrenes would need military support; that would require persuading officers to break their loyalty to the king. We should also note that after the Scythian expedition, we know of no case where Darius led the army in person. The supreme command was entrusted to one or more generals who were often related to him (and who could take the blame if things did not turn out well). The king also took care not leave such men in post for too long.[17] One might add that a local commander such as Harpagos, §§28, 30, although called στρατηγός by Herodotus, may have had a status more comparable to colonel or major; although in an appropriate context, Herodotus uses ἡγεμών for subordinate officer, e.g. §43.2.

7 For the Persian empire as a whole we have a little evidence for specific garrisons;[18] within Artaphrenes' satrapy, so far as we know, there were no garrisons in Ionian cities or their territories, unless any naval bases had them as guards.[19] There was a cavalry troop somewhere in Mysia or Phrygia, which unsuccessfully tried to capture the Paeonians, 5.98. There was a garrison at or near Atarneus, §28; further south, Xenophon notes three fortified places by the river

[15] Hunt (1947); Starr (1975) 72–5.

[16] Briant (1996) 350–9 for the relations between king, satrap, and generals; it is clear that the king retained overall control of both groups.

[17] He left Megabazos in Thrace in 513–12, but soon replaced him with Otanes (introductory note to §§42–5; p. 33); Megabates, the general at Naxos, was an Achaemenid (for all three see Appx 5, Notes 1, 2). The three generals sent to suppress the Ionian revolt were sons-in-law (p. 32). Those at Miletus are not named, but were replaced in 492 by Mardonius (§43.1); he was in turn replaced by Datis, who stands out as not a member of the family, and Artaphrenes junior, who was.

[18] Tuplin (1987) 208, stressing our limited knowledge of between 89 and 181 sites (depending on how the evidence is interpreted) throughout the whole Persian empire.

[19] There was a fortress at Sardis: Tuplin (1987) 218.

Caicos.[20] There were troops, either regular soldiers or militia, in the Sardis region, who duly chased the Greeks from there back to Ephesus. They may well have included the city garrison, but Herodotus calls them troops commanded by those νομοὺς ἔχοντες "within" (i.e. to the west of) the Halys (5.102.1), which at its nearest point was 500 km away. In relation to Persia, νομός in Herodotus is usually synonymous with "satrapy" (e.g. in the list at 3.90–3), but at 9.116.1 it means the part of a satrapy ("province") under an ὕπαρχος (itself a word that can also mean satrap: see on §1.1). The narrative reads as though they were mustered fairly quickly, and so perhaps from provinces no more than two or three days' march away. As to the troops which a little later were involved in the considerable recovery of territory under Daurises, Hymaees and Otanes (5.116–23; pp. 54, 62), it is likely that they were assembled from more remote parts of Artaphrenes' satrapy, or Dascylion.[21]

8 For all three large expeditions in book 6: Miletus, §6, Mardonius, §43, and Datis, §95, we can probably say the same thing. Taking into account the logistics and distances, and noting the express references to Cilicia for the second and third, and the preparations starting the previous year, §48, for Datis, we may infer that in each case, forces mostly assembled in Cilicia at Aleion Pedion, pursuant to orders for mobilisation (and, perhaps, conscription, if the numbers exceeded the regular army), sent the year before. A large force would need to be assembled from all over the empire; if the leaders started from Susa, leading even part of the army to the coast, they would need some two months to reach it; and it would not be practicable for the whole to depart even in late spring unless the preparations had begun the year before. This partly ties up with the need to prepare the ships (para 3). From Cilicia, the bulk of the army then marched overland, to Miletus in the first case and the Hellespont in the second case, while the fleet and some part of the army sailed

---

[20] Atarneus also at Xen *Hell* 3.2.11; Teuthrania, Halisarna and Parthenion, *Hell* 3.1.6, *Anab* 7.8.15, 18, 22 (the first two were part of Demaratos' lands: see on γῆν, §70.2). Generally, Tuplin (1987) 213, 235; cf map, Cook (1983) 179. By Xenophon's time Atarneus was in the hands of Chian exiles. It may have been a fort or barracks in the time of the Lydians: see p. 45 n. 159.

[21] One or more of the three generals may have had to come from Susa: see Appx 1 paras 3–5.

west and then north; in Datis' case, the whole force was sea-borne. The implications of the foregoing, including the time required, are further noted on κατέβαινε, §43.1, and on §95.1.

9 As a separate question, how professional were the officers? Our evidence yields a mixed picture. They collected intelligence about areas they had in their sights: Darius did this for both the Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf,[22] and when Datis arrived at Eretria, §101, he knew that there were suitable bays and beaches just south of the city where he could land his substantial force. The large expeditions in book 6 suggest good arrangements for carrying supplies and equipment to accompany the troops.[23] It is likely that they pioneered the design of ships to transport horses (see on νέας, §48.2); they had military engineering skills, for which they could harness their considerable resources, e.g. the canal across Athos noted on §44.3, and organising sieges (cf on ὑπορύσσοντες, §18); generally Hart (1982) 74–5. For training troops see para 6. On the other hand, there is nothing to show that their officers were trained in strategy or tactics; or taught the lessons of earlier campaigns except by experience or word of mouth from older colleagues; much less that such training was a requisite for appointment.[24] A general often owed his position to his social standing (cf n. 10), though it does not follow that he had had no previous military experience. Some of the officers in the expeditions in book 6 will have already served in Scythia or Thrace, about 17 years before Miletus, or more recently in Asia

[22] 3.134–8, the Democedes story; 4.44, commissioning Scylax of Caryanda to explore the area from the Indus to Suez (see also *OCD*[3] sv). During the 490s he might also have had Hecataeus' works translated. Cyrus is also said to have gathered intelligence: Xen *Cyr* 6.1.39–40; 2.2–3, 9; cf, perhaps, Xerxes before Thermopylae, 7.208.

[23] Whatever the type of ship, paras 3–4. For organising supplies, cf Appx 17 n. 35. It is feasible that Darius learnt the lesson of Scythia, where he left his ships on the Danube and had no arrangements for sea-borne supplies to follow him.

[24] Cyrus is represented as discussing specific cases with others: Xen *Cyr* 2.1.9 (advises Cyaxares on equipment); 2.3.17–21 (captain organises mock battle); 2.4.16–18, 23–9 (advises other officers on proposed tactics); 5.4.43–9 (discusses tactics with Gadatas). *Ibid* 8.3 represents him as strong on ceremonial; 8.5 has him organising a peace-time march; neither involve training. Darius was a capable civil administrator (p. 48), but if his reforms included training, or ensuring training, for senior commanders, or officers generally, no evidence for it survives. Cf Lazenby (1993) 39–40.

Minor and Cyprus.[25] But there is an air of leisure about these expeditions, perhaps reflecting a temperamental weakness in the Persian aristocracy.[26] The army marching against Miletus only arrived in the summer, if we are right in placing Lade in September (Appx 1 paras 8–14). Mardonius' progress from Cilicia via Ionia and into Thrace and then Macedonia seems slow, especially if it was true that his brief was to bring Greece itself into the empire. It is not clear that, even if there had been no storm, he could have got even into Thessaly and Boeotia, much less Attica, by autumn (cf note to §§42–5 paras 2–5). Even Xerxes did not get to Thermopylae before August.[27] Datis too moved in a leisurely manner across the Aegean, only arriving at Eretria in July or August (cf Appx 17 F4). He was, perhaps, lucky that Eretria quickly surrendered by treachery. Even as things were, it is not clear what plans he had to capture Athens if Hippias could not secure its surrender: his options are discussed in Appx 17 E2. It is, perhaps, fair comment that previous Persian military experience would not have afforded a close precedent for planning an attack on Athens from Eretria. Even if he had won at Marathon, he would have had little time to go elsewhere in Greece.[28] There is an impression that the Persians relied on a sort of diplomacy (see on συλλέξαντες, §9.2), and failing that force of numbers, to win battles, rather than a careful study of strategy and tactics.

---

[25] Datis is said to have served in Scythia, per Ctes *FGrH* 688 F13.21–22, cited on Δᾶτιν, §94.2.

[26] Cf the 55 days rest taken by Cyrus on the march from Sardis to Cilicia: Appx 4 para 2. We do not know if Darius in Scythia was on the go each and every day: the problems of understanding his movements are a topic in themselves; see, for instance, Georges (1987, 1995) 97–100, 123–8. The three generals who recovered parts of Asia Minor at the beginning of the revolt do seem to have moved with fair despatch; they seem to have been commanding fairly modest forces: Appx 1 paras 3–5.

[27] Dateable because the Spartans could not march out because of the Carneia: Appx 17 F6.

[28] Cf after the fall of Miletus: only Caria is retaken before operations stopped for the winter: §§25, 31.

APPENDIX 4

TRAVEL TIMES

1 *By sea*: we are here concerned with oared ships, triremes and galleys, which did not depend purely on the wind. The timing of any sea voyage depended on several factors. One or two ships would always make better time than a fleet; in any case, the remarkable timings recorded for journeys under pressure, with early starts and long days, are not typical.[1] If the wind was favourable, the sail could be hoisted to supplement the rowers and increase speed. The condition of the ship would affect achievable speeds. Typical speeds, under sail when possible, were 4½ to 6¼ knots for voyages of 2 to 9 days: Casson (1995) 282–8; with an unfavourable wind the range dropped to 1½ to 3¼ knots (*id* 289–91). A fleet which kept together had to travel at the speed of the slowest ship, and speeds of only 1 to 4½ knots for voyages of 1 to 15 days are recorded: *id* 292–4; Morrison *et al* (2000) 102–6. The peak rates of 7–9 knots (under oar only) achieved in the Trireme Project could not be kept up for long periods: Morrison *et al* 259–64. Also, Greek crews, at all events, expected to put to land for lunch and to eat and bivouac at night (Gomme (1933); Morrison *et al* 95–6). Thus when the Ionians sent to the Hellespont to spread the revolt, we need to add 65–85 naut miles (120–160 km) from Miletus to Chios to the 190-odd naut miles to the Hellespont (n. 1); that would take 5 days on the optimistic assumption that they averaged 5 knots, and spent 10–12 hours per day at sea; to which we must add time to visit each polis and persuade her to join in. When they went to help Cyprus, those starting from Miletus had a voyage of some 600 naut miles (1120 km); a fleet would do very well to achieve that in 10 days. Datis' progress

[1] Examples of special voyages are Chios to Rhoeteum in the Hellespont, Thuc 8.101: 189 naut miles (349 km) in two days by a fleet, with usual stops, but a very long second day: average 7–8 knots; Byzantium to Heraclea in a penteconter, Xen *Anab* 6.4.2, 129 naut miles (236 km), one long day, prob 8.6 knots average allowing for a lunch stop: Morrison *et al* (2000) 97, 103; but note the doubts as to the accuracy of this report, Hodge (1975a) 168 n. 33.

across the Aegean in 490 must have been slow because of the size of his fleet and need to bring each island under Persian control. For his movement from Marathon to Phaleron, see Appx 17 H5.

2 *Land journeys*: Philippides' journey to Sparta, and the Spartans' march in 3 days to (presumably) the frontier of Attica, are both exceptional (see on §§106.1, 120). In 399, Cyrus' army took 34 days to march c1300 km from Sardis to Tarsus, an average of c38 km per day. But it also rested for 55 days, including 30 days at one place; 89 days in all. No continuous marching was longer than 4 days.[2] An individual might move faster than an army; even so, Herodotus' times for a private traveller on the Persian royal road equates to 30 km per day (5.52–4: 450 parasangs, c2700 km, in 3 months);[3] but that is a long journey with mountainous stretches. At 4.101 Herodotus proposes 200 stades, c40 km per day, for travelling in Scythia, and at 5.54 3 days from Sardis to Ephesus, some 100 km. We have little direct evidence from antiquity for travel speeds by horse[4] or wagon. Herodotus speaks of the speed of the Persian royal post, but not how long the letters took.[5] In later antiquity we find official journeys where 75 km and, exceptionally, 100 km per day could be achieved.[6] Thus if any of the generals of 5.116

[2] Xen *Anab* 1.2. His distances, which are in parasangs, cannot be precisely confirmed, because the sites of several of the cities mentioned are not known. But the route as a whole is reasonably clear, and his 222 parasangs is in the right region (c1330 km putting the parasang at c6 km, for which see on παρασάγγας, §42.2). It was not the most direct route, but that does not affect speeds attainable.

[3] The actual route of the road is not agreed, but the overall distance, and hence the average speed achievable, is much the same by any of those proposed: see Müller (1997) 48–65 with maps and discussion; his table III, p. 56, offers 2830 km by modern roads using his preferred route; cf Briant (1996) 378 fig 35. Herodotus' 450 parasangs is about right, corresponding to c2700 km (cf previous note).

[4] When horses were the regular form of transport, they could average 20 km per hour and more, though not for long stretches without a break; but the Greeks did not use either horseshoes or saddles, so we should not assume that such a speed was consistently achievable.

[5] Casson (1994) 53, who treats the royal road as c1600 miles (c2560 km), suggests that the messengers could average about 90 miles per day, 144 km. But as the relays were organised to ride day and night (8.98; doubted Xen *Cyr* 8.6.18), we could envisage the letter taking only 9 to 10 days.

[6] Casson (1994) 191–3 describes a Roman official in c320 AD going from Pelusium to Antioch, typically 16–40 miles per day, one day at 64 miles, and 140 miles in 3 days returning; and 194–6 analyses Horace's official journey from Rome to Brindisi: up to 42 km/day, with two final spurts of c59–62 km. Journey times also at Roebuck (1959a) 17–18.

had to come from Susa, they would be travelling under royal warrant, using the royal road, and either riding a horse or in a wagon. Even allowing for their attendants and baggage, they could be at the Halys at Kırıkale or Köprüköy, about 2130 km from Susa (Müller (1997) table II p. 50, map 2 p. 54), within 6 weeks at only 51 km per day. An alternative route to Ionia was via Cilicia. Susa to Cilicia is some 1700 km: some 33–4 days at 50 km per day, but 57 days at 30 km. From there, it was some 515 nautical miles, 950 km, to (say) Miletus; a fast voyage would take 10 long days, and in practice probably 15–20. If Histiaeus left Sardis under pressure (§2.1), but with horses, he could hope to reach a coastal harbour, perhaps 130 km away, with a determined overnight journey of 12 to 15 hours.

APPENDIX 5

DARIUS' FAMILY

Darius' extended family is known only from Herodotus. Several members figure in book 6 or the background to it. Persian kings married within the family, and also took steps to give their relations important positions of command.[1] There is a complete stemma in *RE* 1 sv Achaimenidae 196 and a useful one in Stein on 7.11, reproduced Abbott 131. I here detail only Darius' generation and the next. Those who appear in book 6 or the background to it are italicised. For ease of reference, note the following abbreviations: B = brother; BL = brother-in-law; W = wife; D = daughter; Cdr 480 = commander in 480. For some collateral Achaemenids, their precise blood relationship to either the Cyrus-Cambyses or Hystaspes-Darius side of the family is unknown. I give only the principal references.

Darius had three known brothers:
B1: Artabanos had 4 or 5 sons, all Cdr 480 (7.66, 67, 75, 82, and perhaps 7.62 with 8.26)
B2: Artanes had a daughter Phratagune married to Darius, W6, (7.224)
B3: *Artaphrenes* the satrap (5.25–35 passim, 5.100, 123; 6 passim) had a son *Artaphrenes*, general with Datis (§§94, 119)

Darius had three known brothers-in-law:
BL1: *Gobryas the conspirator* (his marriage: 7.5) had a son *Mardonius*, who married a daughter of Darius, D1 (§§43, 45, 94) and a daughter married to Darius, W5
BL2: *Otanes*, noted §43, as to whom see Note 1 (his marriage: 7.82)
BL3: Theaspes, an Achaemenid (his marriage: 4.43) had two sons, one executed (4.43) and one Cdr 480 (7.79)

[1] See Briant (1996) 105, 144–5, 606–7 for the importance of royal marriages in helping to ensure that royal power remained within the Achaemenid family; 365 for a resumé of the positions and offices of male Achaemenids, and 148, 320–1 for his sons-in-law.

Darius had six known wives, W1 to W4: 3.88; W5: 7.2; W6: 7.224, by whom he had 13 known sons:
W1: Atossa daughter of Cyrus (previously married to Cambyses); 4 sons, Xerxes and 3 others Cdr 480 (7.64, 82, 97)
W2: Artystone daughter of Cyrus; 2 sons Cdr 480 (7.69, 72)
W3: Parmys daughter of Smerdis; 1 son Cdr 480 (7.78)
W4: Phaidyme daughter of Otanes the conspirator (note 1), previously married to Cambyses and the Magus; possibly Arsamenes Cdr 480 (7.68) was her son
W5: his niece, daughter of Gobryas, BL1; 3 sons, two Cdr 480 (7.2, 68, 97)
W6: his niece Phratagune daughter of Artanes, B2; 2 sons killed at Thermopylae (7.224)
Darius had at least one other son, Achaemenes (3.12, 7.7, etc)

Darius had at least 6 daughters (mothers unknown): D1, *Artozostra* married to his nephew *Mardonius*, son of *Gobryas*, BL1 (§43); D2 to D4 (names unknown) married to *Daurises Hymaees* and *Otanes* (Note 1), the generals who started to suppress the Ionian revolt (p. 54); D5 (name unknown) married to Artochmes Cdr 480 (7.73); and D6, Sandoce, mentioned in Plut *Them* 13.2 and *Arist* 9.2, married to Artayktes, possibly the governor of Sestos (Hdt 9.116–122).

Note 1, Otanes: it is not possible to be certain about how many Otanes there were.

(a) BL2, *Otanes the conspirator* (§43) son of Pharnaspes, was an Achaemenid (2.1, 3.2, 68). In 522 he was old enough for his daughter Phaidyme, W4, to have been married to Cambyses and then the Magus. He can thus have been born no later than c555 (e.g. daughter born 535, first married 523). He was involved in restoring Syloson to Samos (3.141).

(b) Otanes was one of three sons-in-law of Darius who were generals in Ionia in 498–7 (p. 54), married to one of D2–D4.

(c) One or more Otanes appear in book 7 as (1) BL2, father of Smerdomenes, Cdr 480 by Darius' sister (7.82); (2) Cdr 480, and father of Amestris, Xerxes' wife (7.61); (3) father of Anaphes, Cdr 480 (7.62); and (4) father of Xerxes' charioteer, the latter perhaps too young to be a general (7.40).

These could all be the same man, BL2, the *conspirator*, rewarded with a niece as well as a sister as a wife; though by 480 he would

be at least 65. In favour of this, it can be argued that in 498–7 it was the other two generals who went to the Hellespont and Caria, and he was joined by *Artaphrenes* in action locally in Ionia; as if he was already older and less active, or at least given the most convenient command. But we cannot rule out that some of the Otanes in (b) and (c) were a son or nephew of the *conspirator*.

(d) Otanes son of Sisamnes was a judge and general in Thrace in the 510s (5.25–7; see on §33.1). His patronymic excludes him as the *conspirator*, though it shows that the name Otanes was not limited to Pharnaspes' family. He seems an unlikely candidate for any of the other Otanes, but not impossible, in view of his generalship.

Note 2: *Megabates*, the Persian commander on the Naxos expedition, was an Achaemenid ("cousin of Darius", 5.32); his son *Megabazos* was Cdr 480 (7.97). The Megabazos who reduced Thrace and had Histiaeus removed from Myrcinos (p. 48 n. 170; p. 63; note to §§42–5 paras 4, 6) would be related; perhaps father; brother, per Badian (1994) 111. Herodotus says that the latter was honoured by Darius;[2] it has therefore been suggested that he was married to a female Achaemenid (Stein and Abbott suggest a sister to Hystaspes).

A *Megabazos* is named as the father of *Oibares*, satrap or governor of Dascylion in 493 (§33.3), and of Bubares and Pherendates, both Cdr 480 (7.22, 67). Their father could thus be the *Megabazos* of Thrace, by non-Achaemenid wive(s). Oibares was succeeded by a *Megabates* (Thuc 1.129.1); if not his half-brother *Megabates* from Naxos, another collateral. We can postulate dates which accommodate all three generations: e.g. Megabazos senior born c555 (early 40s in Thrace); *Megabates* born c530 (early 30s at Naxos); his son *Megabazos* born c505 (mid 20s in 480). The non-Achaemenid sons could be born c525–515, with Oibares in his 30s in 493, Bubares and Pheredates in their 30s or 40s in 480. The only question is whether the Bubares of 480 was the man who married Alexander of Macedon's daughter in 512 (note to §§42–45 para 6). Badian 110–11 argued that he was a son of Megabazos senior, in which case he would have to be born c530 and be about 50 in 480; Herodotus gives no hint of such relationship, and just calls the bridegroom a

[2] 4.143.1: τῷ . . . Δαρεῖος ἔδωκε γέρας.

"Persian man". But there could be several men of the same name in an extended family; and, as we see from Otanes, Note 1(d), we cannot assume that a name was restricted to one family.

The above depends on reading Μεγάβαζος wherever the name occurs. In Persian it was *Bagavazda, or perhaps *Bagabazuš (Schmitt (1967) 134 with nn 69, 97). We must eliminate "Μεγάβυζος" from our enquiries, in a double sense. First, the various Megabazos above are so spelled in the **a** MSS, but not always in the others; he often appears as Μεγάβυζος in an inferior MS, and the father of Pherendates is so spelled even in B, 7.67. Second, he should not be confused with one of Darius' co-conspirators. The conspirator and his grandson (Cdr 480: 7.82, 121) were Μεγάβυξος (so editors, and Schmitt 121 with n. 17: Bagabuxša). But both, especially the conspirator, are often Μεγάβυζος in the MSS. The grandson's own son Zopyros fled to Athens and is assumed to have been one of Herodotus' sources (H&W I 300, 302); the latter would thus know that he was dealing with a different name to Megabazos when transliterating Zopyros' family into Greek; here we are at the mercy of later copyists.

APPENDIX 6

THE ORACLE(S) OF §§19 AND 77

1 The simple question is whether the oracle(s) is/are authentic, though it is bound up with Herodotus' source. If not authentic, it/they will here be called false, using that term to include the possibilities of (a) someone inventing them, and (b) someone joining two separate oracles, either genuine or invented, into one item.

2 It is clear that Herodotus treated it as a genuine oracle given to Argos at some time previous to Cleomenes' invasion, with an appendix referring to Miletus; any discussion of what he wrote must accept that (cf on §19.1; Piérart (2003) 283, 285). He makes no comment on the fact of an appendix, although an oracle to a non-consulting party is unique so far as we know.[1] It follows that if it was false, it did not trouble the falsifier. Further, it is an accident of style that Herodotus split up the citation; he could just as well have set the whole text out at §19 and referred back to the Argive part at §77. Using ἐπίκοινος in both places makes clear that it was all one oracle. Later authors only needed to cite one part, not the whole, and it is a false friend to argue that they show that it was two oracles.[2] There

[1] The oracles collected in Parke and Wormell (1956) vol II, or Fontenrose (1978), even allowing for a fair number being legendary or false, can only be a fraction of the total number of actual oracles given out. Parke and Wormell treat 248 oracles down to 190 as not mythical or fictitious. While one oracle with an appendix out of 248, over some 4 centuries, suggests that they were rare, we cannot rule out that there were a few more. Does one lurk behind §118.3? That could be interpreted as (a) Delos consulted and the answer told her to return the statue; (b) Delos arranged with Delphi that when the Thebans next consulted, the answer would include a reference to the statue; or (c) Delos consulted and Delphi added an appendix telling the Thebans about the statue. Adding an appendix is not the same as the point noted in Piérart (2003) 285, that Delphi sometimes advised on a point other than that asked by the consultant. The reference by Bultrigini (2003) 114–15 to the oracle at Plut *Lys* 29.6–7 is unhelpful. That was a single response to the Thebans; they chose to interpret it as referring to two separate battles.

[2] The first three lines of the Argive part, Paus 2.20.10, expressly citing Herodotus; the same three lines, no source given, Suda sv Τελέσιλλα. The Milesian part, Tzetz *Chil* 8.3. Those, e.g. Fontenrose (1978) 169, who say that nowhere is the whole oracle cited together take a false point.

is no basis for thinking that they had access to information lost to us that indicated that it was two oracles. It appears as two epigrams, in Herodotus' order, at Anth Pal 14.89, 90; that is only a literary copying.

3 It contains epic words and phrases; but that is not uncommon in oracles,[3] and the vocabulary here can be paralleled elsewhere.[4] Thus the language is as consistent with a genuine oracle as a false one.

4 Argive authors in the fourth century treated the oracle as authentic, and explained it with the Telesilla story (but see n. 10). As we have it, that is a literary artefact, but it probably had a substratum of fact: with the men absent, the women took some role in helping to protect the city, which in retrospect could be seen as repelling the Spartans and so, in a sense, winning. However, that substratum does not help on the authenticity of the oracle or its origin; nor how the Argives understood it at the time. See, further, Appx 15 paras 7–10.

5 For the Argos campaign in general, Herodotus' sources must be Sparta and/or Argos. He had substantial Spartan input for the *Histories*, and we could ascribe the whole of §§76–84, except §83, to Sparta. But some other parts could be Argive: e.g. why they copied the Spartan signals, fearing a trick, §77.1. Sparta and/or Argos are also the most likely sources for the oracle itself. Delphi has been suggested, though we do not know if Delphi kept written archives at this date; if she did, Herodotus does not seem to have used them: p. 15. If he did get it there even from an oral source, it would have to include the appendix, and would strongly support authenticity. Piérart (2003) 283–4 offers cogent reasons for opting for Argos.

[3] See the Index Verborum in Parke and Wormell (1956) II 239–256. Thus κῦδος is in no 133, and νικάω in nos 35 and 357, which they treat as genuine. Other occurrences are in oracles which they treat as unhistorical: θῆλυς and ἄρσην in nos 210 and 371; ἐξελάσας in no 301; κῦδος in nos 364, 365, 380. See also Fontenrose (1978) 186.

[4] In the Argive part, κῦδος . . . ἄρηται, Hom *Il* 14.385; "Ὡς ποτέ τις ἐρέει, 4.182, etc; δουρὶ δαμασθείς, 16.816. For ἀμφιδρυφέας cf 2.700 and 11.393. In the Milesian part, καὶ τότε δή, 1.92, etc and ἀγλαὰ δῶρα, 1.213, etc. There is an epic ring to κακῶν ἐπιμήχανε ἔργων. Generally see Piérart (2003) 286–8. When Herodotus used the Homeric ἀρχὴ κακῶν for Aristagoras' efforts to involve mainland Greece (p. 29 n. 91), was he perhaps unconsciously echoing κακῶν ἐπιμήχανε ἔργων, having already learnt of this oracle from his enquiries?

6 Fontenrose (1978) 169 proposed that they came from a collection of oracles.[5] If so, Herodotus worked both parts seamlessly into his narrative. As to the Milesian part, an oracle could not begin καὶ τότε δή; there would have to be preceding verses beginning ἀλλ' ὅταν or similar.[6] Thus either (a) it followed the oracle to Argos; (b) it followed an oracle to another city, in which case it is still an appendix, which Herodotus detached from there and attached them to the Argos oracle (why?); (c) he extracted it from a longer oracle to Miletus (in which case why not give the whole oracle and why make these lines an appendix?). That would raise the further problem that Miletus did not consult Delphi but Didyma;[7] we would have to assume that the compiler included either a real (from Didyma) or forged oracle to Miletus. We must also assume that each item in the collection had a heading, "to the Argives", for instance: otherwise how would Herodotus know that the first part was to Argos? Was "about her safety", §19.1, part of that heading or his own assumption; did the compiler use genuine or forged oracles? Piérart (2003) 283 correctly rejects the idea of a collection; though it is an attractive theory for those who argue that it is false.[8]

[5] Such collections circulated in the mid fifth century, under names such as Bacis and Musaios: see *OCD*[3] svv Bacis and Musaeus, and the references to them and to Onomacritus in Herodotus, 8.20, 77, 96, 9.43; 7.6, 8.96, 9.43; 7.6. Herodotus was alive to the possibility of their collections containing a forgery: see the anecdote about Onomacritus at 7.6.

[6] The formula ἀλλ' ὅταν . . . τότε was not uncommon: Fontenrose cites other oracles with it.

[7] Fontenrose (1988a) 93, 104–5; R34, 36, 208–10; Parke (1985a) 10–11; cf on §19.2, 3, esp on ἱρόν, §19.3. Parke and Wormell (1956) II would make Miletus the consultant in three Delphi cases; but each is problematic. PW 130, Heracl Pont fr 50 W (Athen 12.524a), reports an alleged consultation following internal stasis. They suggest the stasis of c 450, to which Xen *Ath Rep* 3.11 possibly refers, and attribute it to Delphi on the basis that Didyma was silent. But Fontenrose 210, R36, shows that, although not historical, it should be treated as an alleged utterance of Didyma; any historical basis would be sixth century strife, to which he thinks Ps-Xenophon refers. PW 247–8 (= Fontenrose (1978) Q76), DS 9.3, are legendary; in 248 it is the Ionians rather than Miletus who are the consultants, and Fontenrose notes DL 1.29 for the possibility that it was originally said to be an oracle from Didyma. PW 522, a reference in Aristides 16.237 Behr to an oracle for the foundation of Cyzicos, is again given to Didyma by Fontenrose (1988a) 208–9, R34.

[8] If the Milesian appendix, expressed in clear terms, was forged after the event, something more accurate than Didyma falling under Persian control (ἄλλοισι . . . μελήσει) might be expected. The Persians plundered and burnt Didyma, but did not assume control of it; the oracle ceased until the C4, but worship continued (see on §19.3). Also, from the perspective of mainland Greece, if burning was thought of as equivalent to control, that control ceased after 479.

7 If he got it in Argos (just possibly Sparta), it could still have been forged after the event. But then we have to explain (a) why someone should make it up; (b) why he should add the appendix; and (c) why he made one part so obscure and the other part so clear. The solution proposed by Piérart (2003) 290–6 is that it was addressed to the Ionian Greeks, not Argos, to confirm the validity of Delphi's policy of non-intervention in Ionia.[9] This has the advantage of meeting the points that it seems odd that the falsifier both made the Argive part so obscure, and added the Milesian appendix.[10] Crahay (1956) 173–5 proposed that it was an artefact by Cleomenes when prosecuted, §82. He suggested that the first three lines of the Argive part were from an old ritual fertility hymn, possibly connected with the *Hybristika*, and the last two added after the battle, and the whole proffered as part of Cleomenes' defence: Hera, the female, had repelled him, although he had won the battle. As to the Milesian oracle, although Crahay does not suggest its origin, i.e. who was the consultant or the circumstances of the consultation, he argued (179) that it was from a separate oracle, which Cleomenes used to justify his foresight in refusing to involve Sparta by helping Aristagoras, because he knew the revolt would fail. This view is certainly consistent with the wider picture of Cleomenes as a man of ingenuity and disregard of conventions (cf Appx 14 para 3). Crahay proposed that it was accidentally next to the Argive part in Herodotus' Spartan source, apparently thinking of a document; that was unlikely to be from the royal archive of oracles (§57.4), as we may question whether even Cleomenes would add two non-Spartan consultations.

8 But if it is false, it does not explain why the Argives were able to say to Herodotus: we had consulted Delphi earlier, and this was her answer. At the end of the day, the explanation that the whole oracle is genuine is at least as good as any of the alternatives, and arguably better.[11] However obscure the Argive part, the female does

---

[9] For which see on καὶ τότε, §19.2. He argues that the "Argives" are Greeks (of Ionia), and the "female" is the Persians: 290–2.

[10] Wells (1923) chap IV proposed that it is a post eventum construct to explain the Telesilla story, which he argues is true. Parke and Wormell (1956) I 158, who favoured it being genuine because a falsifier would not naturally add an appendix, added the further doubtful argument that the obscurity of the one part is balanced by the clarity of the other.

[11] Theoretically, if it was from Sparta, Argos, or a collection, it could be gen-

not beat the male in normal circumstances: hence, as they explained to him, they feared δόλος, a trick; they sought to avoid one by copying the Spartan signals. When might she have consulted Delphi in circumstances where Delphi gave the male-female reply and added the Milesian appendix? There is no a priori reason why she would not consult Delphi,[12] and two such occasions have been proposed. Bury (1902) suggested that after Aristagoras was rebuffed in Sparta in autumn 499 (pp. 53, 59), he called at Argos en route to Athens, and Argos consulted Delphi as to whether to help: would the city be safe if she sent some of her troops to Ionia. Herodotus does not say that Aristagoras did this, but since (as one may presume) he did go to Eretria, that is not of itself conclusive. Nauplia would be a natural overnight stop for his ship en route to Athens, and the rebuff in Sparta might encourage him to try Argos.[13] Many accept this: H&W and Nenci on §19; Burn (1984) 227; Andrewes (1990) 178, though we should note the problem whether in 499 Delphi had started to give her responses monthly as opposed to annually (probably yes: see Appx 8 para 3 and Appx 12 para 3; if it was still annually, she would not get her answer until after Aristagoras was back in Ionia). The second is proposed by Parke and Wormell I 160 (who reject Bury, 158 n. 37): when Argos heard of Cleomenes' intended attack. They explain the appendix by dating the consultation after Lade, when Delphi could see that the capture of Miletus would only be a matter of time.[14]

uine or forged; if from Delphi, almost certainly genuine. Statistically, that means there are 4 chances of it being genuine as against 3 of being forged, though of itself scarcely "proving" that it is genuine.

[12] Though there is only one other clearly historical instance: in 480, 7.148 (PW 84; Fontenrose (1978) Q144). There has to be a question mark over the authenticity of the others: asking for a king: Plut *Alex Magn* 340c, *E ap Delph* 396c; remedy for a plague, Conon *FGrH* 26 F1.19; apparently for a colony, Hesych Illus *FGrH* 390 F1.3; and Telesilla asking about a cure for ill-health, *Mul Virt* 245c: PW 483, 386, 498, 85; Fontenrose Q23, L92, Q44, Q135.

[13] Might one even think that someone in Sparta suggested to Aristagoras that he try Argos?

[14] Crahay (1956) 175 notes Macan's suggestion that the consultation relates to an old war between Argos and Epidauros. There is a slight argument that it was before Thyrea: the Argives interpreted the oracle as presaging their victory; it had not been fulfilled then, so it was still outstanding, and they could hope that it would be fulfilled now. In either case, why should Delphi add an appendix?

9 On Bury's suggestion, Delphi would be aware that Argos would worry lest Sparta attacked while part of her army was away in Ionia. So Delphi gave an obscure answer which could arguably be fulfilled whether or not any Spartan attack was successful, adding a clear appendix warning Argos not to get involved in Ionia. If Sparta won, it could be interpreted that the female, Sparta (ἡ Σπάρτη), had beaten the men of Argos, and Argos the snake (see on Σήπεια, §77.1) had been vanquished. If Argos won, the female could be Hera protecting her city, and the male the Spartan army (or king); but that was likely to be achieved with heavy casualties (so the Argive women will mourn); the beaten snake could be the cunning Spartan king. In the event, it became complicated in ways that Delphi could not have foreseen. If the female beats the male only in perverse circumstances, Cleomenes outwitted the Argive precautions about meals with a trick of his own. His various antics afterwards at the grove and then the Heraion, and his defence when prosecuted, further muddied the waters, though he was only concerned to show that his own oracle had been fulfilled, not with this one. For how Herodotus and his contemporary audience might have understood it, cf on ἡ θήλεια, §77.2. As to the appendix, Delphi disapproved of the Ionian revolt and advised generally against resisting Persia (cf on καὶ τότε, §19.2); she was advising Argos not to get involved in a lost cause, which would also antagonise Darius against mainland Greece.

10 On Parke and Wormell's view, Delphi would know that a Spartan attack was planned, probably from Cleomenes' own recent consultation; if that is rejected (see on §76.1), from her contacts with Sparta. She still needed to offer an oracle that could be interpreted either way. But it is then less obvious why she would add the appendix. The mere fact that she saw the capture of Miletus as inevitable is not a reason why she would say so on such a consultation. It is tempting, therefore, to suggest a sort of compromise scenario. On historical grounds there is much to be said for dating Cleomenes' expedition to c496 (Appx 15 para 1). If Argos consulted Delphi in autumn 499 when Aristagoras asked her for help, Delphi might know that a Spartan attack was already being thought of. That offers an even firmer basis for the first part of the oracle than Bury; the appendix would warn Argos from sending to Ionia not only because the mission was futile, but because it would leave the city insufficiently protected. That view has another aspect; it offers a further reason

why Cleomenes refused Aristagoras' request: he wanted Spartan troops available for Argos, not away in Ionia. On this approach, Lade was not the background to the oracle, but merely an event which later confirmed Delphi's assessment of the realities.

11 At the end of the day there is no solution to the problems of the double oracle that is completely satisfactory, but the balance of probabilities favours it being genuine, and given out in autumn 499 when Aristagoras tried to get Argive help after his rebuff at Sparta.

APPENDIX 7

THE LOCATIONS OF Κοῖλα AND Πολίχνη (§26)

Neither Koila nor Polichne are recorded elsewhere, in literature or inscriptions; but by considering the purpose and location of the guard, Histiaeus' use of Polichne, and the geography of Chios (here based on a visit to the island), it can be suggested that the most probable locations for both are in the north-east of the island. For Κοῖλα I propose either Vlychada or Marmaro; for Πολίχνη my preferred location is Pantoukios (see map 5).

As noted on φρουρῇ, §26.1, the guard would be a response to the disturbed conditions of the time; it was probably a civic duty required of the local inhabitants.[1] That Histiaeus defeated it shows that it was at a place where men could land from ships. It probably had two duties. One would be (hopefully) to ward off any seaborne raider trying to take advantage of the unsettled conditions of the time (cf Appx 11 sec 1, and the reaction of the Thasians, to strengthen their wall and build ships, §46.2); not just Histiaeus, even if they had intelligence that he was planning to come to Chios. The other would be to look out for the approaching Persians. They would be expected sooner or later, and neither a guard nor the Chians as a whole could hope to resist them. But a guard could signal to Chios city, giving the inhabitants time to move their families into the mountains which rise immediately behind it, away from the threats of retribution made before Lade (§9.3–4; cf §31). Histiaeus was almost certainly coming from Lesbos and therefore the north.

Many wish to locate Κοῖλα, and therefore the guard, on the long sinuous west coast, with τὰ Κοῖλα of Euboea in mind (8.13–14; Strabo 10.1.2; cf Eur *Tro* 84), e.g. Müller (1987) 963. We might overlook that the Chian place is without τά (erroneously added back in *RE* III sv Chios (1) 2289), and we should certainly ignore a probable red herring as to the location of the Euboean Hollows, because all agree that it refers to shape of the coast-line, with rocky headlands

[1] Cf Appx 18 para 6 for such duty.

alternating with rocky inlets.[2] Factually, the west coast is unlikely. For the Persians, it would not be a sensible place to land; a substantial mountain range separates it from Chios town, and would present a formidable obstacle.[3] Nor would the Chians expect the Persians to arrive that way. Incidentally, it would need an elaborate system of fire-signals to send a message from there to Chios city. A marauder would find only a few small settlements: Yalouris (1986) 160. We cannot rule out a couple of these villages for the two places, though it would represent a considerable exaggeration even for the biography ("conquering Chios"), and the area would offer few opportunities for his raiding.

But there are three places where the Chians might think of stationing a guard in the circumstances prevailing. One would be on the mountain ridge above and to the west of Chios town. Only some 12 km by the modern road, it offers extensive views not only to the nearby Turkish mainland, but over the seas for a considerable distance north and south. It is an excellent vantage point for a lookout; but does not fit the narrative. However, from the north-east corner of the island there are extensive views to the north, towards Cyme; from the south-east corner, to the south, towards Miletus.

Κοῖλα ought to be the name for low ground between two hills. We know of one near Naupactus (Polyb 5.103.4), one near Sestos or Alopeconnesos (Ptol *Geog* 3.11.9; Plin *NH* 4.12.74 (Coelus or -um)), and the land near Lamia on the Malian gulf (Liv 32.4.3: Coele). At 7.129.1 it refers to Thessaly, as a flat area between mountains.[4] Most of the north coast of Chios is sheer cliff,[5] but towards the north-east there are three landfalls. Nagos could not be described as "Hollows";

---

[2] Mason and Wallace (1972) 138–9 discuss whether some passages refer to the coast facing Attica, and later ones to the coast on the other side. The reality is that a long stretch of the southern coast of Euboea, on both sides of Carystos, is sinuous: Morton (2001) 19, 73, 140–1.

[3] The backbone of the island, especially the northern two-thirds, is a range of hills with peaks of 1297, 1125 and 890 m. Homer's Χίος παιπαλοέσση, *Od* 3.170, cf *Hymni* 3 (Apollo) 172, is very accurate. Even the modern motor roads need care.

[4] For other examples of "Hollow" as a place name, not a coastal description, we might note Κοίλη, a flat area of Athens south-west of the Acropolis (§103.3), and Κοίλη Ἦλις and Κοίλη Συρία (Thuc 2.25.3, Strabo 8.3.2; 16.2.21); τὰ κοῖλα τῆς γῆς is a common expression (e.g. Ephoros *FGrH* 70 F65f; Plat *Phd* 109c).

[5] Cf Thuc 8.24.3 with *HCT ad loc*: in 412, the next place at which the Athenians could land to the west of Kardamyle, in the north-east (infra) was Boliskos, on the west coast.

but the next two places to the east fit the bill exactly: Vlychada, essentially a beach, a few km on, and the harbour of Marmaro, a few km further east still. Both have low ground rising up from the coast, with hills at each side. Further, those hills all offer excellent views to the north, while ideal for sending fire signals back to Chios town, about 20 km away. Interestingly, the map with Powell (1949) marks Koila here. Either would be an ideal spot for a guard in the present circumstances. Marmaro, incidentally, is probably the Kardamyle of Thuc 8.24.3; the modern Kardamyla (now neuter plural) lies 2 km inland in the hills above the low ground behind Marmaro. That a village on the coast was called Kardamyle does not mean that the locals did not call the area behind it Hollows: indeed, that is probably the force of Herodotus' καλεομένοισι: his sources were speaking of the area, not a village.[6] No remains have been found at either Vlychada or Marmaro, but that does not mean there were no houses; in any case Chios is not fully explored (Yalouris (1986) 161), and a small village in either place could have disappeared without so far, perhaps ever, being recovered in archaeology. The fact that Histaeus' 300–500 men (for his numbers, see on ἐς Χίον, §26.1) could overcome the guard suggests that not very many men could be assembled from the local inhabitants. East of Marmaro, the cliffs become steep again. The next landfall is Langada on the east coast, which has an excellent harbour; but autopsy shows that the place could not sensibly be called "Hollows"; the hills come virtually down to the coast.[7] At the south-east of the island, the Chians could sensibly have posted a guard at Emporio; there would probably have been enough local inhabitants, although the settlement seems to have dwindled at this time (Reger (1997) 470). But even if the flat ground behind the harbour attracted the name

[6] Cf, e.g., the use of καλεομένας at 5.118.1 for the place called "White Pillars" (for which see on αὐτίκα, §25.2).

[7] It was proposed for Koila in the nineteenth century map referred to in *RE loc cit.* The modern village squeezes into a fairly narrow strip of land at the end of a large narrow bay. One could argue that the bay itself, as a coastal feature, could have attracted the "Hollows" name. But in fact it was the location for the village of Δελφίνιον, Thuc 8.38, 40: Boardman (1956); his plate 4(b) shows the harbour; Yalouris (1986) 157 site VI 3. The remains are uphill of the modern village. Also, the hills above Langada offer very limited views for a look-out. Some 3 km inland, but separated by hills, was a classical village (Yalouris (1986) 157, site VI 4); the settlement was called Κοῖλα in mediaeval times, and was in a hollow. Given Delphinion, it is a false friend to use it to locate the look-out.

"Hollows", it is unlikely to have been Histiaeus' landing place: he came from the north.

That he was able to establish himself at Πολίχνη suggests that the Chians could or did not guard their whole coast, but only had look-outs at one or two places. It must have been a small settlement[8] where he and his force could anchor or beach their ships, stay for some time, including the winter, and go raiding (ὁρμώμενος: see on §26.2). It is unlikely that it was west of Vlychada or Marmaro. Apart from the next landing places being down the west coast (supra), the raiding possibilities from there, whether on Chios itself or on ships passing along the west coast, would be limited. The east coast is a different matter, and there is a serious candidate for Πολίχνη at one of the two bays at Pantoukios, some 22 km sailing from Marmaro, and a little south of Langada. The inlet at Langada, the first landfall after Marmaro, would be an attractive alternative, but it is was Thucydides' Δελφίνιον (n. 7). Early or classical remains have been found at Pantoukios,[9] suggesting a small settlement whose few inhabitants could not resist Histiaeus forcing himself on them. Either bay would be an excellent anchorage. Chios city is only some 12–14 km away, by land or sea, but he would be reasonably safe from expulsion, given the loss of able bodied men at Lade. The straits separating Chios from the mainland are only a few km wide, and Pantoukios would be an excellent base for raiding, on such ships as there were in the winter, on other settlements on Chios further south, even including the city, or on places on the mainland opposite, where Chios had a *peraia*.[10]

While I favour Pantoukios for Πολίχνη, in the absence of more definite evidence we cannot completely rule out somewhere else, though none of the alternatives seem likely. I would exclude Oenussae. Firstly, Herodotus knows to distinguish it (1.165), and clearly places

[8] It was not at uncommon place name. Two other Polichne are known in the same area: near Erythrae, *ATL* I 487, and near Clazomenae, Thuc 8.14.3, 23.6 (Barrington 56 for their probable locations). Elsewhere, there was one near Syracuse (Thuc 7.13.6 with DS 13.7.5, 14.72.3); in Messenia (Paus 4.33.6); the Argolid (Polyb 4.36.5); the Megarid (Strabo 9.1.10); Crete (Hdt 7.170.1, Thuc 2.85.5–6); and the Troad (Strabo 13.1.45, 52).

[9] The more northern of the two bays at Pantoukios has Yalouris (1986) sites VI 5–6.

[10] That at Atarneus (see on §4.1) was some distance away, but she also had a *peraia* opposite the island, adjacent to Erythrae (called Leuconia, according to Plut *Mul Virt* 244d–f), referred to at Thuc 8.24.2, Paus 7.5.3; Huxley (1966) 48–9.

Histiaeus and Κοῖλα on Chios itself (which also rules out the *peraia*). Secondly, the landing places on Oenussae are all on the south side of the island; a guard there would have no forewarning of ships coming from the north. We may exclude Marmaro (if not Κοῖλα); the village was then called Kardamyle. Autopsy makes Vlychada (if not Κοῖλα) unlikely in terms of location: the beach offers no shelter, and it seems a poor location as a base for raiding; any settlement there would be very small, offering few houses for Histiaeus' force to live in. But about 6–9 km south of Chios city Histiaeus would come to the modern Karfas (Thymania) and Megas Limonias (Yalouris (1986) 145 sites II 1, 2); another 30 km or so would bring him to Emporio or the nearby modern resort of Mavros Gialos.[11]

[11] I would also exclude Yalouris (1986) sites VI 7 and 10, between Pantoukios and Chios city; they are at Milangos and Vrontada. But their harbours are not protected, and are close to the city. South of the city, no ancient occupation has been established between Megas Limonas and Emporio.

APPENDIX 8

THE ORACLES TO THE DOLONCI AND MILTIADES, §§34–5

1 To unravel this story, we must remove the folklore and write Pisistratos back into it: cf note to §§34–41. The case of existing inhabitants asking for a Greek colony (οἰκιστήν, §34.2) is unique to our knowledge. But the Delphic response as given is not credible; it was contrary to Delphic practice to leave the foundation of a colony to chance: here, both founding polis and oikist are so left, and it would be the only case where that was so. Genuine foundation oracles are not riddling: they typically give straightforward authority to the oikist and geographical directions. Thus Delphi sometimes refused to sanction the colonists' first choice, and there were few failures.[1] Where the enquiry was by a polis (or group of inhabitants), the oikist was already known.[2] Indeed, where a colony was proposed, it was de rigeur for either the polis or the οἰκιστής to get Delphic sanction: Malkin (1987) 17–29.[3] The closest to the present case would be the oracle to the Phocaeans founding Massalia, to take a hegemon "from the Ephesian Artemis": but there, the founding polis and possibly the destination were known.[4] The alleged oracle is also false looked

[1] Miskellos of Rhypai (Achaea) to go to Croton, not Sybaris; Phalanthos of Laconia to go to Taras, not Sicyonia; cf Arcadia is not for Sparta, 1.66.1 (Malkin (1987) 44–5; 47–8; 48–9). Failure: first colonisation at Abdera (1.168; Malkin 54–6), from local resistance (which would not arise here: the Dolonci wanted the settlers). Dorieus failed at Cinyps, Libya precisely because he had not first got Delphic approval; he then consulted Delphi, but failed for complex reasons attributed to his getting involved in fighting between Sybaris and Croton and not going straight to his destination (5.42–6).

[2] E.g. the enquiry by the Epeunaktai for the settlement of Taras by Phalanthos (n. 1). We know too little about the oracle to the Phocaeans concerning Cyrnus, 1.165.1, 167.4, to judge if this also was an exception.

[3] Or, in the case of Miletus, the same god's approval from Didyma (Appx 6 para 6).

[4] Strabo 4.1.4. Hegemon can be equivalent to oikist (Malkin 247–8). When the Phocaeans put in at Ephesus, they found a woman, Aristarcha, who reported that the goddess had appeared to her in a dream, ordering her to go, taking a sacred image with her. She became the priestess: Malkin 69–72. A version of the oracle to the Messenians, to join the Chalcidians in their colony to Rhegion (Strabo 6.1.6)

at from a different angle. Oracles that contain conditions, or with a folk tale element, are almost certainly not genuine (Malkin 18; Parke and Wormell (1956) I 49–81, esp 52–65; Fontenrose (1978) 58–87). "The first man to offer hospitality" is comparable to such legendary oracles as that Manto (daughter of Tiresias) should marry whatever man she meets in Colophon, or Pelias should beware the man wearing one sandal,[5] or (perhaps) the late legendary stories attributed to Idomeneus of Crete and Maeander (like Jephtha) to sacrifice the first person they meet.[6]

2 There are several possibilities for the actual sequence of events. If the Dolonci were being pressed by the Apsinthii, and saw Greece as a source of extra manpower, they could have consulted Delphi to ask which city to approach.[7] They could have decided on Athens, and went to Delphi for approval, and/or to ask for an Athenian οἰκιστής. They could have gone first to Athens, to get agreement in principle. Any of these scenarios would in practice involve Pisistratos; he, in turn, would have actively encouraged it. Despite the bad press he receives in our sources, modern assessments praise his role in the growth of Athens (e.g. *BM* 128–31; *HG* 179–81). Apart from public buildings and the Panathenaia festival, he sought to establish outposts beneficial to Athenian trade, and ensure Athenian influence around the Aegean, as opportunity presented itself: his foothold at Rhaikelos and one or more silver mines on Mt Pangaion, Sigeion, Delos, and Naxos (*BM* and *HG locc cit*; Figueira (1991) 132–60; Garnsey (1988) 117–19).[8] An Athenian outpost on the European

---

is not an exception, as the Chalcidians had their oikist: Malkin 31–35, discussing also other versions of the foundation oracle for Rhegion; Paus 4.23.6 names a Messenian oikist, Alcidamidas.

[5] Manto: Schol Ap Rh 1.308; cf Paus 7.3.1–2; Pelias: Pherec *FGrH* 3 F105; Pind *Pyth* 4.71–8. These are PW 20/523 and 143; for others see, e.g., 190, 197, 234.

[6] The Idomeneus story is first in Serv on *Aen* 3.121 and 11.264 (earlier accounts of Idomeneus, Gantz (1996) II 698); Maeander in Ps-Plut *Fluv* 9.1. Jephtha is at Judges 11.30–9.

[7] Non-Greeks did consult Delphi: see on ἐς Δελφούς, §34.1.

[8] Solon had absorbed Salamis: Figueira (1991) 137 cites Solon fr 4a West (p. 40 n. 135) as encapsulating the idea for expansion: it continued after the Pisistratids (Chalcis, Lemnos, Nicodromos). Pisistratos' outpost at Rhaikelos may not have lasted for long, but the Pangaion mine(s) apparently continued to c525: Rhodes on *Ath Pol* 15.2; *APF* 11793 XI(b); see also Isaac (1986) 15. Figueira's discussion subdivides into more the distant places, 132–142: Sigeion, Rhaikelos, the Chersonese (§§34–6), Delos (1.64.2; cf on πέρην, §97.1) Naxos (1.64.1–2) and Lemnos (§140); and local

shore of the Chersonese would be even better than Sigeion. A fourth possibility is that Pisistratos knew of the Dolonci's problems from his Thracian contacts, and, seeing the opportunity to place Athenian settlements there, approached them, offering help against the Apsinthii in return for such settlements.

3 The first scenario corresponds to the order of events in Herodotus; in that case, Delphi's answer would have directed them to a specific city, here Athens. The second case is perhaps the least likely; however her approval was phrased, the οἰκιστής would be identified clearly enough. The third case is arguably more consistent with the way political leaders behave. After an agreement in principle, either the Dolonci or Athens herself might then have consulted Delphi. The fourth case is also plausible, and Ephoros may have presented a version of it, since Nepos has the Athenians wanting to send out a colony and consulting Delphi, who told them to make Miltiades their leader.[9] But it is then less easy to see why the Dolonci should also consult Delphi. Malkin (1987) 78 suggests both Miltiades and Athens consulted. Whatever the circumstances, it is plausible that Miltiades would want to consult, to have his status as οἰκιστής confirmed, irrespective of the colony being sought by the local population.[10] Even if he did not, and it was Athens who consulted, the Philaids came to have an interest in representing it as Miltiades: when Miltiades junior was prosecuted for tyranny, part of his defence may have been that his uncle had Delphic authority for his rule (see on §104.2(g)). The story implies that he (or Athens) consulted shortly after the Dolonci, and is good evidence that Delphi was now operating on a monthly basis (Appx 12 para 3).

expansion, 142–160: Salamis, and, under Hippias, Plataea (§108), Eleutherai, Hysiai, Erythrae, Oropos; Chalcis (5.77.2, §100.1), and the support for Nicodromos in Aegina (§§88–90). He also sees Miltiades' proposal at §132 as a reflection of this (159), for this see Appx 18 n. 12.

9 See Nepos *Milt* 1.1–3. However, he also says that the Athenians had to conquer the local Thracians. Fontenrose (1978) Q111 = PW 62 interprets this as (Q) by Athenians, who is the best man to make our οἰκιστής to the Chersonese, and (A) if you choose Miltiades, your plan will succeed. Herodotus' oracles are PW 60–1, Fontenrose Q109–10. How far we may rely on Ephoros, and, in turn, our epitomised Nepos accurately reproduces Ephoros are both problematic: cf Appx 18 para 2. Schol Ael Arist iii 551 Dind on Ὑπὲρ τῶν τεττάρων 177 Behr seems to follow Herodotus, though erroneously making the Apsinthians the consultants.

10 But Crahay (1956) 263–6 at 264 proposes that the colony was a purely private affair, though Pisistratos would be pleased to see Miltiades away from Athens.

4 The ἱρὴν ὁδόν (Legrand prints it with capitals, Ἱρὴν Ὁδόν) also raises difficulties, and neither the Greek nor the context sensibly allow us to translate "going on their sacred journey". The Dolonci turn off it to go to Athens, so it should mean the road running east from Delphi through Phocis to Daulis, and thence across Boeotia via Lebedeia and Haliartus to Thebes, and perhaps thence to a port, Chalcis or Aulis.[11] The junctions for Athens were at Haliartus or Thebes. This is our only reference to this east-west road being sacred, but most of our other sacred road references are also unique. The Greeks may have thought of *all* ways to Delphi as sacred, so that when the Dolonci turned off the main road they were on another sacred road running south or south-east. Clearly, their route cannot be that of Plut *QG* 293c, which describes the Septerion, a Delphic festival which involved a boy or group of boys going from Delphi to Tempe and back. That reflected the legend of Apollo and the Python in a version which put the events at Tempe, and Apollo pursues the wounded Python from Tempe to Delphi along the road "which we now call sacred". The route is set out in Theopomp *FGrH* 115 F80 (Ael *VH* 3.1); he calls it the Pythian way. It went from Tempe to Malis and then through Ainis, past Mt Oete and Doris into Phocis, i.e. west of Parnassus. It would come into Delphi from the west.[12] We know of several *local* sacred ways: Elis to Olympia (Paus 5.25.7); Miletus to Didyma (see on §19.3); Mylasa to a shrine of Zeus (Strabo 14.2.23); at Abdera (Hipp *Morb Pop* III 3.17(7)). The "sacred way" at Delphi itself appears to be an archaeologists' name, with no supporting ancient testimony.[13] Alternatively, the text may reflect confusion in Herodotus or his sources. When the Dolonci came into Athens at Lakiadai (see on §35.2), they had used the Athenian Sacred Way from Eleusis (Paus 1.36.3). It was sacred

---

[11] Part at least could be called the Split Road (σχιστὴ ὁδός); near Daulis it was joined by a road running south from Thessaly and Trachis, and the junction became the accepted location for Oedipus killing his father, as in Sophocles' *OT* (Aeschylus had placed it at Potniae, near Thebes): Schol Soph *OT* 733 = Aesch fr 387a Radt; Paus 9.2.3; 10.5.2, 35.5.

[12] For the Python legend and Septerion see Fontenrose (1959) 453–4; cf Gantz (1996) I 88–9. For sacred ways generally: Dillon (1997) 24, 37 (but at 200–1 he wrongly equates the Septerion route with the present Herodotus text).

[13] Nor is there any hint in the Delphic inscriptions relating to the maintenance of roads within the polis that they were called sacred (*IG* II^2 1126; *Syll*^{3} 636; Sokolowski (1969) 157–162).

because of its association with Demeter, but Eleusis was the first stage of the natural route from Athens to Delphi. On that, we should note two pieces of evidence. (1) a fourth century stone inscribed "marker (ὅρος) of the sacred road by which the Pythais goes to Delphi" (*SEG* XXII 147; Parsons (1943) 237–8, fig 23). It stood in the centre of Athens on the route of the Panathenaia, i.e. the first section of the road to Eleusis; and (2) Ephoros *FGrH* 70 F31b = Strabo 9.3.11–12; cf *id* 9.2.11 speaks of Apollo going from Delos to Delphi, travelling from Athens to Delphi by the road which the Pythais now take (but not calling it sacred). Taken together, it may mean no more than that the first stage of the Pythais' route was along the Sacred Way. But it is just possible that, at least from the time when the Pythais started, the Athenians thought of the whole of their route as sacred, for all going to Delphi; though this was probably later than the mid fifth century;[14] and from Eleusis Athenians might have continued west, to reach Delphi via Cirrha, rather than turn north to go into Boeotia. The requirement of free access to Delphi in the armistice of 423, Thuc 4.118.1 (despite *HCT ad loc*, and cf also Ar *Av* 188–9 (414)), is not helpful: it refers to the accepted customary right of a citizen of one polis to pass through the territory of another—see on §57.4. H&W *ad loc* say that wayfarers were under the god's protection; this would make all roads sacred.

5 While the "sacred road" could perhaps be explained, the geography is a further ground for rejecting the "first man to offer hospitality" oracle. The Dolonci are told to depart and see who makes the offer. We would expect them to return to their ship, or at least to the port of arrival. The natural route from Thrace to Delphi would be by ship to the Malian gulf, and thence overland, either west of Mt Parnassus using the sacred way of Plutarch, or east via Daulis, some 80 km; the latter would then use Herodotus' Sacred Way to Delphi. Alternatively, they might have come to Chalcis or Aulis; from there the overland journey was c125 km, and so requiring at least one extra day, but it would avoid the hilly country south of Malis. The whole, at least from Thebes, would be along Herodotus'

[14] The Pythais, a sacred delegation from Athens to Delphi, is not attested before the fourth century, but tradition had a θεωρίς going to Delphi in Theseus' time: Schol Aesch *Eum* 12–13.

"sacred road". It does not make sense for them to turn south and make for Athens, a diversion of some 70–80 km away from either Malis or Chalcis. We cannot rationalise the story by suggesting that for the first one or two nights out of Delphi, they had found somewhere to sleep, but had had to cook their own food, and they still needed to find someone to give them ξείνια as well as καταγωγή (see sv on §35.2). At Haliartus they were c20 km from Thebes, and still some 60-odd km from Chalcis; by keeping straight on they had as much chance of finding ξείνια as by diverting. The reality, of course, is rather different, as discussed above.

APPENDIX 9

THE IMPLICATIONS OF KEEPING RACEHORSES[1]

1 In a subsistence economy, as Greece as a whole seems to have been, some speak of the horse as a useless animal (e.g. Sallares (1991) 311). But there was a small but not insignificant minority who could afford to keep them, and in the fifth century many poleis could field a few hundred cavalry;[2] 150 years earlier Solon called his second taxation category *hippeis*, even if he could only have had a few hundred men in mind. Also, some areas of Greece were spoken of as horse rearing: Elis, Sparta, Sicyon, Argos, Boeotia and Thessaly.[3] It is unclear how extensive this was in any given place, and whether horses were bred essentially for internal use or also for export.

2 The four-horse chariot race at Olympia goes back to 680, according to Paus 5.8.7; for the 71 games down to 400, the names of 39 victors survive (55%). In addition to men from Athens, Sparta, and

[1] This appendix is complementary to the excellent discussion of the economics of Spartan horse keeping in Hodkinson (2000) 312–17, and indeed follows him on several points. It is not intended as a direct discussion of the costs of keeping one horse, whether for purely private use or as part of an obligation to participate in the cavalry of one's polis. See Anderson (1961) 128–39 for the economics of maintaining one horse; and cf next note and para 5. 1 *medimnos* = 48 *choinices*; following Foxhall and Forbes (1982) 44, 46, 1 Attic *choinix* = 1.087 litre; of wheat = 0.839 kg; of barley = c1.1 kg. For human consumption, the Greeks used barley flour, alphita, for which we may take an average extraction rate of 65%; 1 *choinix* alphita = 0.699 kg.; 1 kg wheat = 3340 calories; 1 kg alphita = 3320 calories.

[2] For mainland Greece, see Spence (1993) 2–9, 17–30; van Wees (2004) 65–8. Various numbers are spoken of for Athens: 300 (Andoc 3.5; Aeschin *Fals Leg* 173; 600 per Schol Ar *Eq* 627), subsequently increased to 1200 (Thuc 2.13.8; *Ath Pol* 24.7; Andoc 3.7; Aeschin *Fals Leg* 174, Schol Ar *Eq* 627 (1000, Ar *Eq* 225); generally Spence 9–17. For whether there was ever a naucraric cavalry see Appx 2 para 4.

[3] Spence (1993) 7 (Elis) 19 (Boeotia) and 23 (Thessaly); for Boeotia and especially Thessaly he can cite evidence other than Homer. He dismisses Sparta and Argos, 3–4, on the basis that they are not known to have had cavalry until the later fifth or fourth centuries. But if Homer is good enough evidence for Elis, why not Argos also (called ἱππότροφος at Pind *Nem* 10.41)? For Sparta see Plato *Alc I* 122d; Sicyon, Griffin (1982) 30.

Sicyon, noted by Herodotus, some 10 other poleis figure.[4] We might imagine that a typical contest might have 5 or 6 teams. As noted on οἰκίης, §35.1, to rear a team of horses for the event would enhance your status in the eyes of your fellow-citizens; to win the race would certainly do so. It is instructive to look at the costs of this "liturgy", both in terms of food supply and size of land-holdings; it not being relevant here whether the holding was that of the individual or his family, so that a man such as Miltiades was, in effect, a life tenant (cf para 9).

3 Any such discussion is circumscribed by two points. We cannot assume that costs were either perceived or discharged in coinage terms; indeed, they could not be until a polis acquired coinage, and it is clear that the racing predated that. Secondly, it is very hard to translate drachmae into modern terms: cf on πεντήκοντα, §136.3. Evidence from Athens indicates daily wages of half or one drachma per day during the fifth century. It would mean that a man with no other resources, e.g. land, might have an "income" of some 180–360 drachmae per annum; how far that corresponded to reality, and for how many citizens, is another question. In a family which could depend on land for its livelihood much less actual cash might well pass through its hands.

4 No doubt there were those with large land holdings who could maintain an establishment large enough to breed horses; the costs associated with that would be even higher than those discussed here; although after a time, animals would not have to be purchased, and something might be recouped by the sale of animals.[5] In practice

[4] I confine the statistics to the end of the fifth century, and use the numbers in Moretti (1957): Athens, 10 times (81, 106, 120, 124, 127, 164, 169, 176, 320, 345); Sparta, 12 times (110, 113, 117, 157, 195, 305, 311, 315, 324, 327, 332, 339); Elis, 39, 364; Sicyon, 52, 96; Argos, 233; Thebes, 33, 136, 206; uncertain, perhaps Sparta or Thessaly, 278. From outside Greece proper: Gela, 151, 185; Agrigentum, 220; Syracuse, 246; Camarina, 292; Cyrene, 268; Macedonia, 349. While most of these winners were individuals, three are "group" entries: the citizens of Dyspontion (probably then in Elis: Roy (2002) 234–5), 39, Argos, 233, and two men of Thebes jointly, 206. For no 339 see on παραδιδοῖ, §103.2. Several were rulers: tyrants of Sicyon (both victories); Demaratos, king of Sparta, 157; Gelon tyrant of Gela, 185; Hieron tyrant of Syracuse, 246; the kings of Cyrene and Macedonia, 268, 349. Note that a starting date of 648 is also given: Drees (1968) 41, following *RE* 17 2529–30 (Zielen).

[5] So Arist *Pol* 1289b33–40 and 1321a10–13 associated ἱπποτροφία with owning

most men probably bought in their racing mares (cf Hodkinson (2000) 312–13). The clearest evidence that survives on this, curiously, is for horses from the Enetoi, at the head of the Adriatic; but, as noted above, several areas of Greece were also possible sources.[6] A prudent and rich enough man might aim to keep 5 or 6 horses as insurance against injury or illness, but I here look at a minimum establishment of four horses.

5 Given the likely annual income, in cash or cash equivalent, of the average family, it is clear that only richer men could afford to buy, much less maintain, horses. Such figures as we have indicate that a good horse could be worth 1000 to 1200 dr; even a poor one 300 dr, so the equivalent of a landless man's annual income.[7]

6 The total costs of keeping horses, apart from their feed, are discussed in Hodkinson (2000) 313–14, 315–16: the stable itself, servants, riding tackle, the chariot, and entering the race. These have to be taken into account, but I here look at the implications of feeding them.[8] Modern practice can only be a general guide, on three counts. Greek horses were smaller than modern ones (Spence (1993) 282). More importantly, they were fed on barley, not, as now, oats. Thirdly, we think in terms of both oats and pasture; it is not clear how far Greeks could find pasture, at least in many areas.[9] Xen *Eq* 4, dealing with a riding or cavalry horse, speaks of feeding it twice a day, and exercising in a yard; there is no hint of pasture.[10] The only ancient

---

extensive estates, though he was thinking of horses for riding and a city's cavalry, and we are concerned with racing.

[6] Enetoi: Alcman frr 1.50–1, 172 Page, and the dedication of the Spartiate victor Leon, probably 440: Hodkinson (2000) 313 and note 12, p. 329. Cf the anecdote of Teisias who got Alcibiades to buy an Argive team: see *APF* 13479.

[7] Ar *Nub* 21–3 (12 mnas, 720 dr); cf Lys 8.10 (same). Xenophon's horse cost the equivalent of 1000 dr (Xen *Anab* 7.8.6 with 1.17.8). The nag at 300 dr: Is *Dic* 43, Anderson (1961) 136; cf *id* 123, where he suggests that the excellent horse at Is *Hag* 41 must have been worth less than 1000 dr. A full review of costings is at Spence (1993) 274–6.

[8] Pindar makes several references to the victory as a reward for the victor's δαπάνα, expense, all for the chariot race except the first: *Ol* 5.15 (mule car race); *Pyth* 1.90, 5.106; *Isth* 1.42, 3/4.48 (4.29). I am obliged to Dr Stephen Instone for drawing my attention to them.

[9] Thus simple autopsy shows that Sicyon had a substantial rich plain, and horse breeders could no doubt afford to devote part of their holdings to pasture. Attica, by contrast, was heavily cultivated, and even those who kept just one horse might find it hard to set aside an area for grazing.

[10] He does not discuss what to feed the horse on, no doubt recognising that in

evidence we have is Polyb 6.39.13–14, dealing with Roman cavalry rations: wheat, which it is assumed was for the rider and his attendant(s), plus barley (not alphita), 7 medimnoi per month for a Roman cavalryman and 5 for an allied cavalryman. The distinction is unclear, because it is assumed that each would have a mounted groom; the Roman might have a second attendant on foot, for whom some of the barley was intended.[11] Thus 5 medimnoi barley per month seems to have been thought appropriate for two horses. It corresponds to 4 choinices, about 4.4 kg, per day. This is consistent with British army 1914 rations for horses.[12] On the other hand, in feeding terms the war-horse can only be broadly compared to the race-horse. The one needs stamina for long days accompanying marching troops; the other short but high bursts of energy to accelerate. Also, the war-horse would be unlikely to get regular access to pasture.

7 Hodkinson (2000) 314, following Spence, uses 3 kg barley per day per horse, 1095 kg per year, realistic where little pasture is available (at 315 noting that some might be able to access other crops such as lucerne). As an alternative, I offer 2 kg per day, plus 1¼ to 1½ ha pasture per horse.[13] Thus four horses would need 4380 kg barley per year; alternatively 2920 kg barley plus 5–6 ha pasture.

8 Only approximate figures can be offered for ancient cereal yields; we have virtually no direct evidence. Modern studies use twentieth century official Greek statistics as a starting point, which show considerable regional and annual variation. That probably corresponded to the reality, in that there would be years of good and poor harvest

his world, that would vary according to availability. At 4.2 he uses τὸν σῖτον, "corn", in the general sense of fodder; at 4.4. he uses the human terms ἄριστον and δεῖπνον for the morning and evening feeds.

[11] But Gelzer (1962) 22–3 argues that the Roman ration was for 3 horses and 2 attendants. Xen *Eq* 4.4 can be read on the basis that the horse could not be fed as much as was ideal. See also Hodkinson (2000) 314.

[12] 2½ *med* per horse × 48 ÷ 30 = 4 *choin.* Spence (1993) 281 and esp 283 for the 1914 rations; at 283 he compares those for horse and pony rations in India, 8 lb and 6 lb respectively, = 3.63 and 2.72 kg, = 4.89 and 3.67 *choin.* See also Anderson 94, 137.

[13] I am obliged to Mr Kevin Kendall, of the School of Agriculture, Askham Bryan, for suggesting these figures. In a more recent communication, he queried if the range for pasture was too generous, but recognised the variable and uncertain yields that were likely.

yields.[14] The range in Sallares (1991) 79, 389, of 400 to 600 kg/ha, for either corn or barley, is realistic.[15] Thus the owner would need to set aside 7–11 ha to give 4380 kg barley, or 5–7 ha for 2920 kg (10–13 ha including the pasture). In practice, slightly less might be needed, because the horses could also eat the chaff from when the barley grown for human consumption was turned into alphita (cf n. 1 and para 10). As we shall see, even 5 ha was more than many typical landholdings (para 11). Fodder could be bought, though it is difficult to assess the costs. Our direct evidence is that alphita increased in price from 1dr to 2 dr the medimnos between Solon and Socrates' time.[16] Presumably unground barley was obtainable at a similar price; a horse needs roughage, and it would not be sensible to feed a horse on alphita. If we assume that a medimnos of barley, like alphita, cost 1–2 dr the medimnos, our deemed requirements of 4380 and 2920 kg translate as 83 and 55 medimnoi (n. 1); the first would cost 83–166 dr, while the man with pasture would need only 55–110 dr.[17] That does not seem excessive for a man of means, even allowing for the other costs noted in para 6.

9 There is another aspect for which we have little evidence, but which we may infer: the pressures on all landowners, including—perhaps especially—the better off, to grow food for human consumption. The pressures were as much political as social; it was expected of them, a sort of quid pro quo for the prominent position in the polis which they enjoyed, and their expectation of holding office. In any case they would typically have responsibilities for feeding, not just their immediate family, but an extended family, servants, tenants, and other retainers. In this connection, although our sources typically refer to the man who won the race, in practice it

[14] Garnsey (1988) 17–20 stresses that true famine was rare, but yields varied from year to year, and years of poor harvests were not infrequent.

[15] Gallant (1991) 77 tabulates the 1911–1950 figures; the averages were: wheat, 674 kg/ha; barley 732 kg/ha; for barley, Athens was higher, 794, Laconia lower, 627 (note that Hodkinson (2000) 315 uses the wheat figure for Laconia, not the barley figure, though the difference is not very much). Rhodes on *Ath Pol* 7.4 suggests 7.2 hl/ha, c720 kg/ha; Sallares 389 stresses that only rarely and on very good soils could a yield of 650 kg/ha have been exceeded.

[16] Plut *Sol* 23.3–4; *Tranq Anim* 470f (Anderson (1961) 135, 136).

[17] To buy this weight of alphita would be more by a factor of about 55% (cf n. 1).

might have to be done in collaboration with other members of his family. The Greek norm was partible inheritance: on a person's death his or her land was shared between all the sons, and in some poleis, e.g. Sparta (Hodkinson (2000) 81, 100–3) daughters also. Holdings were fragmented, and in practice, and at all levels of society, the realities of both cultivation and survival probably meant a degree of cooperation by the family as a whole. No doubt the individual owned the horses, but few men would hold significant estates in their own right.[18]

10 It is, however, probably fair to suggest that if just a few families in a given polis kept race-horses, the overall effect on the food supply would not normally be significant: one team would consume the food for up to 18–24 people. We can calculate that 4380 kg barley would supply the annual cereal needs of about 18 people; 2920 kg barley, plus 5–6 ha land used for barley or other crops instead of for pasture, about 24. The somewhat tortuous calculations can only offer "ball-park" figures. One is based on the assumptions which previous studies suggest are broadly correct: that (a) cereals accounted for about 65% of the diet; (b) Greeks typically grew about 25% wheat, 75% barley; reflected in (c) the total needs of a family of 6 were 15,495 calories per day, the cereal part of which was made up of 25% wheat and 75% barley;[19] and (d) that these dietary needs were more or less met.[20] An alternative calculation gives a similar result.[21] The calculations of nn 20–1 deal only with barley

[18] For the implications of the laws of inheritance, and that the land which a given family could use might consist of several separate areas, cf Gallant (1991) 41–5; Garnsey (1988) 43–4, 48–9.

[19] Cereals as 65% of the dietary needs, the rest coming from olives and vines and legumes: Gallant (1991) 68, 72. Proportion of wheat to barley, Sallares (1991) 79, 314–15. A family of a man, wife, 3 children, and widowed mother need 15,495 calories per day, Foxhall and Forbes 49. This = 5,655,675 calories per year, 65% of which is 3,676,189.

[20] The calculation is: (1) The 3,676,189 calories (n. 19) are met as to 919,050 by wheat, 2,757,140 by alphita; (2) this requires 275 kg wheat plus 1278 kg alphita, derived from 1966 kg barley (n. 1); (3) using 400–600 kg/ha yields, para 8, that requires 0.45 to 0.7 ha for wheat and 2 to 3 ha for barley. (4) The family of 6 thus need the cereals from 2½ to 3¾ ha land. That is roughly one-third the 7–11 ha, one-quarter the 10–13 ha, of para 8. Hence those areas would otherwise supply the cereal needs of 3 and 4 families, 18 and 24 people respectively.

[21] A day's ration of alphita for a man was often put at 1 *choinix* (Foxhall and Forbes 86; cf Hodkinson (2000) 192). Taking, for simplicity, median figures of 10 ha

that would otherwise be eaten by humans; they are not affected by the point that other crops, e.g. legumes, were grown, or a large landowner was better able to leave land fallow.[22] We could probably slightly reduce the figures of 18 and 24, since some of the horses' fodder would be the chaff discarded when the landowner's barley crop was turned into alphita.

11 Another approach which produces similar figures is to look at the size of estate needed, both in itself and as compared to the average landholding. We have some evidence for ancient Greek peasant family land-holdings: they come out at 3.6 to 5.4 ha, and they would offer them basic subsistence and no more: Gallant (1991), esp 11–33, 60–112; for the holdings, *id* 82–7, Burford Cooper (1977/8); accepted Hodkinson (2000) 123, 315, 384.[23] Subject to the note above about chaff, the landowner would need to set aside between 7 and 11 ha arable, in some cases plus pasture, for the horses alone (para 7); that was as much land of every kind as 2 to 4 peasant families owned, typically supporting some 10 to 24 persons at subsistence level.

12 Since any large landowner would expect to live above subsistence level, taking into account his obligations to feed many people outside his immediate family, as suggested above, it is clear that only those would very large holdings would contemplate keeping racehorses. It is suggested that a typical "rich" Athenian holding was in the 18–27 ha bracket.[24] Even an owner, or family, with 27 ha would

at 500 kg/ha, 5000 kg barley would produce 3250 kg, 4650 *choinices*, alphita (3250 ÷ 0.699 = 4649). 4650 ÷ 365 is 12.7 *choinices* per day, i.e. rations for 12 to 13 men or about 18 persons of mixed age and sex.

[22] Although Hodkinson 315 suggested lucerne (para 7), Sallares (1991) 303, 311 did not regard it as widely grown. But the prudent horse owner might alternate barley with legumes, which could be used for fodder and so reduce the need for barley (or pasture). In general, larger land-owners could leave land fallow, or rotate cereals and legumes; difficult if not impracticable for those with holdings at or close to subsistence levels. For the question of intercropping as a way of maintaining the quality of the soil as opposed to fallow, see Gallant (1991) 38–41, 46–59; Garnsey (1988) 49–52. Cf also next note.

[23] Burford Cooper 170 argues that some, e.g. thetes in Attica, had even less: her 20 plethra average is under 2 ha (11 plethra = 1 ha). Patterson (1981) 46 assumes that 4 ha will keep a family of 4 at subsistence level. For further bibliography see van Wees (2004) 268 n. 25; at 55–6 he considers the ability of men of this class to afford hoplite armour.

[24] Burford Cooper 170, using values from fourth century law cases, suggests that the larger holdings in Athens were 200–300 plethra, i.e. 18 to 27 ha.

be reluctant (or foolhardy) to devote up to half to racehorses, though he would no doubt be able to keep one horse. In practice, we may think that those keeping racehorses would need holdings of 30–50 ha, the majority of which was arable; in most poleis only a few families would own that much. Certainly some Spartiates did.[25] At Athens, we only know of four families who raced horses down to 400;[26] but even if we assumed 10 élite families, each owning 50 ha of arable (i.e. in addition to land only suitable for olives and vines), it would only amount to 0.5% of the total land available.[27] It would make little difference to the overall division of land amongst the bulk of citizens, irrespective of the modest impact on total food supply.

13 With the above figures and calculations in mind, it is convenient to add a brief note on the population of Attica, a topic which touches on several places in book 6, basically her "foreign policy" of expansion, Appx 8 n. 8 (cf also note to §§34–41 and on §100.1); and also the size of the Athenian force at Marathon (Appx 17 D2). There are two main approaches to estimating the population, with similar results. One accepts the broad accuracy of Herodotus' figures for 480–79: manning 180 ships at Salamis; 8,000 hoplites at Plataea, with others at Mycale, and results in a total suggested population in 480 of 120,000 to 150,000, of whom perhaps some 21,000 to 25,000 were adult male citizens.[28] The other is to work out how many persons could be fed without importing grain. The 35–40% of 2400 km^2, 84,000–96,000 ha (n. 27), seems to exclude marginal land that could be used for vines and olives, two of the "triad of staples" of

---

[25] Hodkinson (2000) 383–4 suggests average élite holdings in Sparta in the range 30.77 to 44.62 ha, taking into account the areas available and the population size.

[26] Using Moretti's numbers (n. 4): Philaids, *106, 120, 124, 127*; Alcmaeonids, *81*, 320; Callias, *164*; Alcibiades, 345. Those in italics are referred to in book 6: cf on οἰκίης, §35.1.

[27] Attica was 2400 km^2, of which 35–40% was cultivable (Garnsey (1988) 90–2; he notes evidence for terracing, but seems to equate it with arable): 840–960 km^2, or 84,000–96,000 ha. Our theoretical 500 ha for 10 élite families is just 0.5–6% of that.

[28] This seems to be the effect of Garnsey (1988) 89–92, 115–16, broadly accepting Herodotus' figures (8.17, 44, 9.28), but allowing for metics and slaves; cf van Wees (2004) 243. Garnsey 116 notes that they could only man 180 triremes at Salamis, 8.44.1, but assumes that the crews included metics and slaves. Patterson (1981) 45–59 concludes at 59 that the total citizen population was 100,000, plus a similar number of metics and slaves; so Sallares (1991) 93.

the Greek diet (Garnsey (1988) 49, the other being cereals). But if we take 4 ha as providing basic subsistence for a family of 6 (para 11), we can still feed 126,000–144,000 people in an average year. This is consistent with the analysis and discussion in Garnsey 107–19, that although there may have been odd years in the sixth century when grain was imported to meet a specific shortage, grain imports only began on a fairly regular basis in the last quarter of that or the early fifth century. He argues at 117–19 that the expansion of Athens prior to 480 evidences surplus manpower but not overpopulation. As a footnote, while the population in Solon's day was likely to have been less (cf Garnsey 115–17; it is impracticable to know by how much) his taxation classes were presumably to ensure that those with small or no holdings had a fair distribution of food. In this connection, those in the highest of his taxation classes, the *pentacosiomedimnoi*, probably needed at least 40 ha to qualify: cf the 50 ha postulated for keeping racehorses. Unfortunately, *Ath Pol* 7.4 does not indicate how it was computed; it speaks of both wet and dry measures, and there is no consensus on whether it was based on a deemed productivity or the actual produce.[29] But calculations suggest that a man would need at least 40 ha and a year of high yields to be in that class; holdings in the 18–27 ha range might qualify as *hippeis* and *zeugites*.[30] But any attempt to suggest how many citizens fell into any given class, and from that to estimate how much of the land the top three classes owned, how much land was left over for smallholdings for thetes, and how many landless thetes there were, and generally from that the population in his day or later, can at best be guesstimates, and I prefer not to attempt it here.

[29] Rhodes *ad loc* discusses the several different ways the point has been argued.

[30] The following is illustrative only. On a 40 ha holding, assume 10 ha wheat, 28 ha barley, 1 ha olives, and 1 ha vines. Using good year yields of 600 kg/ha for cereals and Rhodes' figures for olives and vines, and the conversions of n. 1, we have: wheat, 10 × 600 ÷ 0.839 = 7151 *choinices*, 149 *medimnoi*; barley turned to alphita, 28 × 600 × 0.65 ÷ 0.699 = 15662 *choinices*, 325 *medimnoi*; 1 ha oil = 3 *metretai*; 1 ha wine = 30–45 *metretai*: total 507 to 522 measures. That figure drops if we allocate more to olives and less to cereals. Ironically, a man who produced only wine would fall into the highest class with just over 11 ha at 45 *metretai* per ha. On the same yield basis, holdings of 24 and 16 ha would bring the man into the lower categories. Van Wees (2004) 56 correctly equates 200 measures with 8 tonnes of corn or 6.5 tonnes of barley (in fact alphita), but goes on to propose that as little as 9 ha could produce these quantities, which is very optimistic in terms of yield.

THE PROBLEMS OF §40

The difficulties of this chapter exist on three levels: textual corruption, Herodotus' sources, and their reliability. There is no consensus as to the solution, discussions of which typically involve a sort of circular argument; either to propose a particular chronology, and then to read the text so as to give it, possibly with amendment; or vice versa, to argue from an amended text to a particular chronology.

It is helpful to set out a text and "without prejudice" translation, bracketing the non-Herodotean paragraph numbers. I give Hude's OCT, underlining a word or phrase for the principle cases of variant readings or proposed emendations.

[39.2] . . . Μιλτιάδης τε δὴ ἴσχει τὴν Χερσονήσον πεντακοσίους βόσκων ἐπικούρους καὶ γαμέει Ὀλόρου τοῦ Θρηίκων βασιλέος θυγατέρα Ἡγησιπύλην. [40.1] οὗτος δὴ ὁ Κίμωνος Μιλτιάδης νεωστὶ μὲν ἐληλύθεε ἐς τὴν Χερσόνησον, κατελάμβανε δέ μιν ἐλθόντα ἄλλα τῶν κατεχόντων πρηγμάτων χαλεπώτερα. τρίτῳ μὲν γὰρ ἔτεϊ τούτων Σκύθας ἐκφεύγει· Σκύθαι γὰρ οἱ νομάδες ἐρεθισθέντες ὑπὸ βασιλέος Δαρείου συνεστράφησαν καὶ ἤλασαν μέχρι τῆς Χερσονήσου ταύτης· [40.2] τούτους ἐπιόντας οὐκ ὑπομείνας ὁ Μιλτιάδης ἔφευγε [Χερσονήσον] ἐς ὃ οἵ τε Σκύθαι ἀπαλλάχθησαν καί μιν οἱ Δόλογκοι κατήγαγον ὀπίσω· ταῦτα μὲν δὴ τρίτῳ ἔτεϊ πρότερον ἐγεγόνεε τῶν τότε μιν κατεχόντων. [41.1] τότε δὲ πυνθανόμενος εἶναι τοὺς Φοίνικας ἐν Τενέδῳ πληρώσας τριήρεας πέντε . . . ἀπέπλεε ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας.

3 δὲ L; δὴ Krueger, universally adopted
4 κατεχόντων **d**, Hude, Rosén; καταλαβόντω(ν) **a**, Legrand, Nenci <πρὸ> τούτων Stein, Legrand
5 ἐκφεύγει **a**, Hude; ἔφευγε **d**, Rosén; ἐπεφεύγεε, Stein, Legrand; ἔφυγε, Powell
8 ἀπὸ Χερσονήσου AB, Legrand, Nenci; Χερσονήσον, **d** Stein (bracketed Hude); omitted C, Rosén
9 Rosén begins 41.1 at ταῦτα μὲν δή
10 τρίτῳ καὶ δεκατῳ see n. 1
10 τρίτῳ ἔτεϊ and τῶν τότε μιν κατεχόντων secl Dobree, Powell

[39.2] . . . and so Miltiades holds the Chersonese by keeping 500 mercenaries and marries Hegesipyle the daughter of Oloros king of Thracians. [40.1] So [and] this Miltiades son of Cimon had recently come to the Chersonese, and there befell him having come other things more difficult than the matters occupying (him). For in the third year of these things he escapes from [was fleeing] [escaped from] the Scyths. For the Scyth nomads, enraged by king Darius, united and drove forward up to this Chersonese. [40.2] Miltiades did not wait for them as they advanced, but went into exile [fled] [the Chersonese] until the Scyths departed and the Dolonci brought him back. So these things happened in third year [before] [of] the things then befalling him. [41.1] Then learning that the Phoenicians were at Tenedos he filled five triremes . . . and sailed to Athens.

1 We are at once alerted to MSS problems. We must choose between κατεχόντων and καταλαβόντων in line 4. Powell svv offers "befall" for each, though they convey different shades of meaning: "pre-occupy" or "holding", and "overtake"; there is the stylistic question, whether Herodotus repeated καταλαμβάνω twice within 7 words. In general, the MSS variants suggest attempts to repair a text which had become damaged or illegible, or where an earlier copyist had omitted a sentence, or where a marginal gloss has crept into the text.[1] In my view, there is no error in the MSS so obvious that we can at once correct it and confidently restore what Herodotus actually wrote; nor, conversely, is there a meaning so obvious that it automatically shows us to how to correct the text. Another reason for thinking that the text has got corrupt is that as it stands, it does not translate "easily", that is to say with the natural fluency that is typical of Herodotus. The MSS variants are, of course, significant in terms of transmission of the text.[2]

[1] Most intriguing is the proposal of Herbst, followed Shimron (1987) 27, to print τρίτῳ καὶ δεκατῳ for τρίτῳ in line 10 (i.e. ΙΓ for Γ). The basic objections to this are (a) it presupposes an unusual chronological accuracy in the sources, and (b) it still puts the Scyth annoyance and invasion some 6 or 7 years after Darius. It also means that we have to put Miltiades' capture of Lemnos in the early rather than the later 510s (infra). Professor Malcolm Heath, with whom I discussed this chapter, attractively suggested deleting πρότερον after τρίτῳ ἔτεϊ as a marginal note.

[2] Rosén on line 10 notes Plato *Leg* 642d, δέκα ἔτεσιν πρότερον, i.e. Attic used the ordinal for "x years before". But τρίτῳ may have been good Ionic, and in any case normal usage for small numbers.

2 It seems clear that Herodotus wanted to refer to three events: problems which Miltiades faced when he first arrived, the invading Scyths, and the expected arrival of the Phoenician fleet. He presented one or more as more difficult for Miltiades than another or others; the Scyths caused Miltiades to flee the Chersonese temporarily, the Phoenicians permanently; by implication, that was harder than something earlier. The "third year" references suggest that there are three possible ways to understand it. Did he

(a) flee in the third year after his arrival, and was soon brought back;
(b) flee in the third year after his arrival, and was only brought back three years before finally leaving; or
(c) flee three years before finally leaving?[3]

Tied up with that is which event was more difficult than which. One can argue for several possible combinations:

(i) in §40.1 his initial problems are the less difficult, and the Scyths the harder. In §40.2 "these things" could be the same, the phrase ending a ring composition; or they could be *either* his initial problems *or* the Scyths; then the Phoenicians come.
(ii) in §40.1 his initial problems are the less difficult; the harder are *either* the Scyths *or* the Phoenicians. In §40.2 "these things" are the Scyths; then the Phoenicians come.
(iii) in §40.1 the Scyths are the less difficult, and the Phoenicians the harder; §40.2 closes a ring: "these things" are the Scyths, and then the Phoenicians come.[4]

3 We need to eliminate some red herrings. It is said that the digression which begins at §33 ends with §39, with Miltiades firmly in power (e.g. Nenci *ad loc*); Prontera (1972) argued that it ends at the end of §40.[5] The reality is that §§34–41 are a digression within the

[3] See (for instance) Prontera ((1972) and Viviers (1993): both offer full bibliographies; also Nenci *ad loc*. Discussions generally accept or assume that Herodotus' sources were accurate, e.g. Burn (1984) 218–19 (cf 208–9), arguing for (b).

[4] As one argument against the less difficult being his initial problems, Viviers (1993) 231–2 points out that on a literal reading of §39.2, his marriage to Hegesipyle would be one of them. Whether that is an argument of substance may be doubted: his initial difficulties are described in some detail, and the additional mention of the marriage cannot be a serious objection to making them the less difficult.

[5] Hence all editors follow Krueger's emendation of δέ, found all MSS, at the

main narrative, sandwiched between the military (§§31–3) and political (§§42, 43.3) settlement of the revolt. They cover several topics: Miltiades senior, Stesagoras, Miltiades junior. To subdivide it further does not help in dealing with §40. Secondly, if the problems which faced Miltiades on his arrival had not been resolved, he could not have afforded to leave the Chersonese either to join Darius the previous year, or now when the Scyths attacked. That may be true objectively, but whether it troubled Herodotus at §40 may be doubted. A third is that at 4.137–8, in the debate at the Danube bridge, Miltiades is represented as supporting the Scyths, and so not afraid of them: for this see paragraphs 8–9.

4 Can we recover what Herodotus believed had happened, and therefore suggest the substance of what he actually wrote, if not the precise words? The tenor of his narrative is that Miltiades had been continuously in post: when he introduces him at §34.1 he uses the imperfect: ἐτύραννευε . . . μέχρι τότε (i.e. until the Phoenicians arrive); the prosecution in §104 implies the same. This favours chronology (a), supra; and also gives the most natural meaning to both νεωστί ("recently arrived", not "recently returned by the Dolonci") and ἐληλύθεε ("had come", not "had returned").[6] Further, his use of ἐρεθισθέντες ("exasperated", Powell; "incensed", de Sélincourt) is very strong, perhaps conclusive, evidence on this point. It is not the obvious word for an invasion many years afterwards. If he had thought that the Scyths only invaded many years after Darius' invasion, he would more naturally have spoken of a "grudge" (cf p. 36). From that, it is tempting to think that what he originally wrote was that fleeing the Scyths was harder than the initial problems, and eventually fleeing

beginning of the chapter, to δή. Viviers (1993) 230 makes out a very good case for following the MSS: he points out that Herodotus uses both οὗτος δή and οὗτος δέ as resumptive, and I would argue that preserving the MSS reading does not affect which chronology one adopts.

[6] "Return" is not a natural meaning for ἔρχομαι, either generally or in Herodotus: he uses κατέρχομαι (see on φιλέει, §27.1). His use of νεωστί is a somewhat flexible. It usually refers to the quite recent past, as at 3.127.1, 140.3, §§6, 43.1; but at 7.143, when Themistocles proposes to build triremes in 483, he has "recently" come to power: we would say 10 years earlier, being archon in 493 (cf on §§21.2). At 7.148 the Argives in 481–0 speak of their losses at Sepeia as "recently", though that fighting, §§76–82, had taken place in 494 at the latest and very possibly earlier; but that is special pleading, as they want an excuse not to send troops against Xerxes (Appx 15 paras 1, 16). Elsewhere it connotes "in more recent years" as compared to the distant past: 1.196.5, 2.15.2, of new religious or other practices.

the Phoenicians was harder than fleeing the Scyths, because it was permanent. However mangled our text is, it is the easiest way to understand it, even without deleting πρότερον at the end of §40.2 (n. 1).[7]

5 As a supplement to para 4, we can easily say that Miltiades arrived in the Chersonese in c515–14, took part in Darius' Scythian expedition in 513, and finally left in 493, and so was there for 21 or 22 years. Neither Herodotus nor his sources had any such numbering system, or anything comparable; in any case, neither he nor they had the same pre-occupation with chronology that we do (pp. 17, 22). The sources' recollection of the "third year" may be accurate, but it is doubtful that he or they could have said that precisely x years elapsed between Miltiades first arriving and his eventual departure. No doubt he appreciated in a general sense that it was a considerable number of years, but he was not concerned to offer a chronological framework for his narrative, nor could he have done.[8]

6 The "Scyth invasion" has troubled commentators (e.g. H&W, Legrand); clearly, Herodotus' understanding was no stronger than his sources. If we could be confident that the substance of §40 was picked up, or confirmed, in the Chersonese, we might feel equally confident that there was a Scyth invasion; though the sources would be talking of an event some 50–60 years earlier. But it was probably Athenian input, and we should consider what mid fifth century traditions Herodotus was accessing. As noted on §104.2(g), there is a good deal in §§34–40 which suggests that allegations and defence at Miltiades' first trial fed those traditions; it would be sufficient for them to be plausible, not true. That would be all the easier, because the "invasion" (and "flight") had been some 20 years earlier than the trial, and even if accurate details of it reached Athens at the

---

[7] Also in favour of this is that the better reading of κατεχόντων in §40.1 arguably looks back to his εἶχε κατ' οἴκους in §39.2.

[8] A good illustration of the Greek attitude to chronology is 5.28.1. After describing the various events after Darius returned to Asia, 5.1–27, Herodotus writes that there was relief from trouble "οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον" until the Naxians approached Aristagoras. We would put it as 12 years (512, the year after the Scythian expedition to 500, the year before the expedition against Naxos). What sort of period did Herodotus conceive as elapsing? There are occasional exceptions, e.g. the recollections Thucydides accessed for 3.68.5 (see on παρατυχοῦσι, §108.2) and 4.102.2–3 (Appx 1 para 5).

time, few would recall them in 493. The flight before the Scyths, with its overtones of cowardice (the only instance in Herodotus), and having to be brought back by barbarians, may be canard (para 13).

7 For Greeks generally, including Herodotus, the Scythians lived from the Danube right round the northern shores of the Pontos, and inland, down to the Caucasus; as at §84.2, they could all be thought of as nomads, even though some were settled and grew corn and vines. Herodotus sought to describe as one nation several different groups. He had not visited the parts which Darius attacked, and his knowledge of that region was poor.[9] They could form alliances: those affected by Darius did so in order to resist him, even if complete unanimity was lacking (4.119–20).[10] Other Scythian forays may only have involved one powerful tribe; e.g. those who made the long-range and successful invasion of Asia via the Caucasus, lasting 28 years (1.103–5; 4.1), or those who offered Cleomenes to invade Persia down the east coast of the Black Sea (§84). One might argue that much of the terrain south of the Danube is mountainous, and unsuited to steppe dwelling nomads, but, as noted supra, "nomads" was a semi-conventional epithet and not all were nomads; in any case they could adapt to conditions. But an invasion down to the Chersonese is difficult to envisage. The Chersonese lies about 400 km from the Danube as the crow flies. The Scyths could only reach it with the consent or co-operation of the various Thracian tribes living en route. In c450 Thracians were prepared to oppose Octamasades (n. 10), and even when the Scythians were trying to avoid Darius the Agathyrsi would not let them into their territory (4.125). No doubt the Thracians who had had to submit to Darius in 513 were pleased to see him go, but that each tribe between the Danube and the Chersonese permitted a Scythian army, and one large enough (apparently) to frighten Miltiades, to pass through their own territory, seems questionable. Apart from the Getae, who straddled the Danube, and who

[9] See the full discussion in Georges (1987–1995) 100–123 for the part which Herodotus did visit (basically Olbia) and his lack of understanding of the area immediately across the Danube; cf S. West (2002), (2004); Hartog (1980) Part I. West (2004) 78 questions visiting Olbia, but she wrongly asserts that he places it on the Borysthenes; at 4.53.6 he correctly puts it on the Hypanis; cf 4.18.1.

[10] Georges (n. 9), esp 98–100, 119–23 discusses the problems of accuracy in Herodotus' report of Darius' campaign; but some sort of alliance seems reasonable: cf *ibid* 120. Some form of alliance between Scyths might be read into the story of Scylas and Octamasades, 4.80.

might arguably be sympathetic to their northern neighbours, there were the Odrysai, Scyrmiadae and Nipsaei (4.93), as well as the Apsinthii, who are presented as aggressive both at §§34–7 and 9.119. Apart from resisting as a matter of principle, any of these Thracians might think that the Scyths might seek to appropriate some of their own territory.[11]

8 There are further difficulties. Accepting a Scyth incursion, it is not obvious why they should be aiming for the Greek/Thracian settlements in the Chersonese, nor Miltiades should believe that that was their aim. In general, relations between Scyths and Greeks were good (Georges (1987–1995) 100–1). We could, perhaps, argue that in default of any Persian troops to massacre they would turn on Greeks, whom they might perceive as having supported, or having had to support, Darius: for instance angered because the Ionians had not destroyed the Danube bridge, as they were twice asked to do (4.133, 136). On that scenario we need not attribute to the Scyths knowledge of Miltiades' anti-Darius stance, assuming that the debate at the bridge is historical (see p. 49).[12] Further, Megabazos was in southern Thrace with substantial forces (para 11). Thus as the Scyths got near the Chersonese, they could face opposition from him as well as Apsinthii. Given his brief, Megabazos would certainly have repulsed them.[13] Finally, if there was an incursion, what did they achieve, and what made them withdraw, having got, per Herodotus, up to (μέχρι) the Chersonese? Granted that ἀπαλλάσσομαι just means "depart", not "be repulsed", why did they go?

9 Miltiades' flight is also puzzling. Herodotus clearly believed in it, though it is the only place where he records him as a coward. Elsewhere he is cunning, bold, and patriotic: retaining power at §39.2, seizing Lemnos, urging resistance to Persia at Marathon, hop-

[11] Recent events in Afghanistan, an essentially tribal society, also show how readily tribes may quarrel where outsiders perceive a unity of interests.

[12] It is often pointed out that Herodotus does not seek to reconcile Miltiades' stance at the bridge with his flight before the Scyths. There is an argument of sorts that there is no dichotomy, because at the bridge Miltiades is not presented as saying: support the Scythians. He says: trap Darius across the river and so free the Greeks from his rule. The pro-Scythian stance is only implicit.

[13] Indeed, 5.1–27 give no hint of a Scythian invasion. This point would not arise on interpretation (c) of para 3.

ing to enrich Athens from Paros. At §41.1, Herodotus uses ἀπέπλεε, not ἔφευγε; Miltiades does not flee, but is unwilling to live under Persian rule. One could argue that he was craven for joining Darius' Scythian expedition, but he is presented as the Greek patriot at the Danube bridge (cf n. 12). There is perhaps an implied criticism of him at Paros, if we read into Herodotus that he only withdrew because he had injured his leg (§§135–6).[14] We should be more sceptical. Even ignoring the apparent dichotomy between his stance at the Danube bridge and now, why should he flee the Scyths? As just noted, how did he know that they were making for the Chersonese? When he heard of the alleged incursion, how far south were they, and why should he not think that they were making for the Chersonese, as opposed, say, to the Aegean coast of Thrace, where there were Persian targets, e.g. Doriscos? Secondly, what did he fear? He had the wall to protect him, as well as his Dolonci and his 500 mercenaries. Also, perhaps, if there is a kernel of historicity in what he allegedly said at the bridge, he could have sent to the Scyths to remind them that he had been on their side last year. Where did he go? His destination is not stated, though Oloros' court is plausible (not Lemnos, which he probably had not yet captured: para 14). The substance of the above stands if we read **d**'s ἔφευγε in line 5, and translate "went into exile" rather than "flee".[15]

10 As a final puzzle, how could he know that the Dolonci would bring him back, and why did they? §39 shows that his arrival had not been entirely popular; and if he had left them in the lurch in the face of this Scyth onslaught, would they not think that he was not half the man his uncle had been, and decide to leave him where he was? Of course, we do not know the strengths of the various factions, Greek or Doloncian, who supported or opposed him; but there is an arguable dichotomy between the opposition to him when he first arrived, and his now apparent popularity.

[14] For the story in Ephoros that he fled before the Persians at Paros, see Appx 18 paras 9–10, 19.

[15] The context is pejorative and requires "flight", though the difference is arguably one of emphasis: if he fled, he was an exile; "went into exile" (voluntarily) puts it more kindly. Either way, the Dolonci κατήγαγον him, a word common for bringing back from exile.

11 However, there are good grounds for thinking that there was fighting and unrest when Darius withdrew. As he marched north en route to Scythia, he had subjugated the Thracian tribes en route by conquest or surrender. He marked his new frontier with a series of 8 forts on the river Oaros, beyond the Danube; he planned an administrative building somewhere, probably settled a city on the Bulgarian coast, and planned a fort further south where Herodotus reports the soldiers collecting stones.[16] But he could not maintain control there. Megabazos was left to subdue Thrace, including parts not traversed by Darius (4.143–4, 5.1–27); and the Persians treated Thrace as a province within their empire, Skudra. But there is a clear impression from both what Megabazos did, and Mardonius' later campaign, §§43–5, that in practice the Persians were only able to control areas nearer the coast. In the north, it is likely if not certain that whatever garrisons, or officials such as tax collectors, Darius left, they did not long survive his withdrawal; indeed, at Histria (Istros), on the coast just south of the Danube, there is archaeological evidence for a substantial Scythian attack in the aftermath of Darius' withdrawal.[17] Whether by Scyths (Getae?) or Thracians, Persian control of these areas was soon thrown off. Herodotus does not describe the retreat of the Persian army, but it takes little imagination that Scyths north of the Danube, and Thracians to the south, harried it as it marched south.

12 Moreover, it is probable that Miltiades was absent from the Chersonese at the same time. As discussed on γαμέει, §39.2, there are good grounds for dating Miltiades' marriage to Hegesipyle to the year after Darius' expedition. The betrothal if not the actual

[16] See the full discussion of these outward signs of occupation in Georges (1987–1995) 128–31; Darius' route is briefly set out in the note to §§42–45 para 4. The Oaros (the 8 forts are at 4.124) is probably the Buzau. The building is evidenced by a cuneiform inscription found in the Carpathian mountains at Gherla. Georges thinks it was found in situ, a reference text for an intended building; others think that it originated further south. Hecat *FGrH* 1 F166 refers to the "Persian city" of Boryza (identified with Tirizis, Strabo 7.6.1, modern Kaliakra, Bulgaria). Georges 131 identifies the place where the stones were collected, 4.92, as the confluence of the rivers Agrianes (Ergene) and Artescos (Teke), near Pehlivanköy (just south of the road from Istanbul to Edirne); he notes its strategic location, comparing it to actual Persian forts in southern Thrace such as Doriscos.

[17] Georges (n. 16) 102–3; he points out that Histria would have been a Persian base for the expedition.

wedding would be at Oloros' court. Moreover, his entourage would no doubt include Doloncian notables, especially as he was to wed a Thracian princess.

13 I therefore propose that the tradition which reached Herodotus was not one which directly recalled a Scyth invasion some 50–60 years earlier, but was fed by what was said at his 493 trial (cf on §104.2(g)). No doubt some stories of the events of paras 11–12 would reach Athens via merchants or other travellers, with such lack of accuracy and exaggeration as such reports no doubt commonly attracted.[18] Whatever Athenians then thought had happened, they had no atlases to look these distant places up; 20 years later, just sufficient would be recalled to enable the prosecution to exaggerate and distort it for their own purposes. Forensic oratory merely had to sound right, and facts could be mixed with character assassination. The prosecution could thus say that he had fled a Scyth incursion; this would seem plausible to those who recalled nothing, and correct to those who recalled trouble in Thrace when Darius withdrew. Some might also recall that Miltiades had been away at that time. That the Scyths were annoyed, if not assumption, would sound (and be) true. They could turn his Doloncian entourage into a group bringing him home from dishonourable flight (or exile), despite (the prosecution might have added) leaving his people defenceless and leaderless. They could add that just as he fled then, so he had fled before the Persians now. The perpetuation of this calumny in the tradition would be facilitated because the defence would have to accept that he had left the Chersonese at this time; while one leg of the defence to the charge of tyranny was that the Dolonci who brought him home had previously chosen him and his family as their ruler. With his limited knowledge of the area (para 7), Herodotus would have no reason to disbelieve such a prosecution story.

14 This view of the facts would settle how we should assess the chronology (whatever Herodotus thought): Miltiades was in the Chersonese essentially from first arrival to final departure. It does

[18] Cf Georges (n. 16) 100 for traders as a source of news from the region. At 133–4 he discusses evidence for other disturbances at this time further east, but still "Scythia" (and recall that Greek concepts of geography were nowhere near as accurate as ours).

not make sense to think of him as away for some 16 years from c512 to c496 in an unknown location (para 2(b)); nor think of a Scyth invasion of Thrace in 496–5 (para 2(c)); even if there was unrest in Aegean Thrace in the early years of the Ionian revolt. It also supports the proposed dating of his capture of Lemnos (and probably Imbros), most probably in the mid 510s, possibly the early years of the Ionian revolt.[19]

[19] General unrest: note to §§42–45 para 4. Some place Miltiades' capture of Lemnos during the early years of the revolt, but is more likely to have been earlier: see on προηγόρευε, §140.1, and on §140.2. If one wanted to postulate a short absence in c496, one could speculate that he visited Oloros to take Cimon, then about 14 or 15, to visit his grandfather. That absence could also have been used as a basis for the "flight" calumny.

APPENDIX 11

THE POLITICAL CHANGES IN IONIA AFTER THE REVOLT

§§42 and 43.3 throw important light on the Persian attitude to their subject peoples in the west, and certainly on Artaphrenes as a shrewd administrator. The revolt had taken six years and considerable military effort to suppress. Three political changes are now made, two by the satrap, the third by Mardonius. Another account of it survives, DS 10.25.4, where the third is also ascribed to Artaphrenes:

> Ἑκαταῖος ὁ Μιλήσιος πρεσβευτὴς ἀπεσταλμένος ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰώνων, ἠρώτησε δι᾽ ἣν αἰτίαν ἀπιστεῖ αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἀρταφέρνης. τοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος, μήποτε ὑπὲρ ὧν καταπολεμηθέντες κακῶς ἔπαθον μνησικακήσωσιν, Οὐκοῦν, ἔφησεν, εἰ τὸ πεπονθέναι κακῶς τὴν ἀπιστίαν περιποιεῖ, τὸ παθεῖν ἄρα εὖ ποιήσει τὰς πόλεις Πέρσαις εὐνοούσας. ἀποδεξάμενος δὲ τὸ ῥηθὲν ὁ Ἀρταφέρνης ἀπέδωκε τοὺς νόμους ταῖς πόλεσι καὶ τακτοὺς φόρους κατὰ δύναμιν ἐπέταξεν.[1]

Artaphrenes had to reimpose his authority, but also had the practical interest of ensuring stability, particularly economic stability, which in turn meant that tribute could flow in: cf Starr (1975) 82, Briant (1996) 511, and other references cited on ἄνδρες, §19.3. We may accept §42.1, that he summoned representatives from each polis, in view of the arbitration requirement; but we can accept Diodorus to the extent that Hecataeus was the, or one of the, representative(s) from Miletus: he had influence there, and could be presented to the Persians as someone who had not fully supported the revolt (5.36, 125; pp. 53, 54, 56 with n. 191, 62). Herodotus' ἀγγέλους means ambassadors or representatives (Powell sv); if making Hecataeus a

[1] "Hecataeus of Miletus was sent as ambassador by the Ionians, and asked why Artaphrenes mistrusted them. He replied, lest they should remember what they suffered after their defeat. Well, said Hecataeus, if suffering ill treatment creates mistrust, being well treated will make the poleis well disposed to the Persians. Artaphrenes took the point; he gave the cities their laws back, and assessed fixed tribute according to their ability to pay". For most of book 10, Diodorus probably used Ephoros; Ephoros may have got the anecdote from a Ὧροι of Miletus or elsewhere in Ionia; outside Ionia the events would not be well known: even so, at least here, Mardonius has dropped out.

sole πρεσβευτής, ambassador, is more honorific, it reflects the transmission of the anecdote, not its substance.[2] But Artaphrenes was also a realist, and behind the story (however much improved in the telling) we may detect a willingness at least to listen to the grievances of the Greeks; if he could meet them consistently with his own policy, it was conducive to stability. Herodotus seems alive to this. To his audience, it might be paradoxical that the Persians were behaving well towards the defeated Ionians; but what Artaphrenes did was χρήσιμα κάρτα, and εἰρηναῖα.[3] But he also exercised his authority: he compelled (ἠνάγκασε) the Greeks to arbitrate, and determined (ἔταξε) their taxes.

1 *The arbitration requirement of §42.1*

Artaphrenes perceived φέρειν καὶ ἄγειν, plundering,[4] as a problem. That conditions were unsettled in the aftermath of the revolt can be seen from several passages: the belief in Zancle that Ionia was a source of manpower (note to §§22–24); the guard on Chios (cf on φρουρῇ, §26.1); Histiaeus' ability to recruit young men (see on Ἰώνων, §28.1), and generally operate as he did at Thasos and Atarneus, §28; and the Thasians strengthening their walls, and building ships, §46.2. Formally, plundering could occur in four situations: ληστεία, piracy or freebooting; fighting between poleis; cross-border trespassing; and σύλη, the legally recognised right of seizure of goods by way of reprisal.[5] No system of arbitration could stop piracy; though news

---

[2] Although it is presented as an ex post facto piece of biography, an aphorism attaching to a wise man, the basic accuracy of the anecdote is accepted by Tozzi (1963) 320–1. Of course the Ionians were in no position to make demands.

[3] For another possible occasion when Artaphrenes could learn about the Greeks' views, see Appx 1 para 13. The practical approach of the Persians towards defeated peoples (as opposed to their rebellious leaders) is noted on ἄνδρες, §19.3, and κακὸν οὐδέν, §20.

[4] For its meaning, carrying off moveable property and driving off animals, see on συνθήκας, §42.1.

[5] The noun σύλη is rare in the singular (cf LSJ sv); συλάω came to connote exercising this right, though in Herodotus it always means robbing or desecrating temples (§§19.3, 101.3, 118.1). It originally meant that a man of polis A who had suffered loss in a raid from polis B could raid the territory of polis B for recompense; as trade developed it was adapted to a wider concept of self-help: if a man of polis A was owed (or claimed to be owed) money by a man of polis B, he could seize goods of any citizen of B either as recompense or as security for his debt: see

of Histiaeus' fate might discourage others, at least in Persian controlled areas.[6] Nor can Artaphrenes have been seriously concerned about inter-polis fighting. Apart from Polycrates' aggression, 3.39, Ionia had been largely peaceful since c700. The stories of early aggression, p. 40 n. 136, were associated with the distant past. Between c700 and now we know of only three: the two from c700 noted at p. 41 n. 138, and that settled in c550 by Bias, between Samos and Priene over land on Mycale.[7] The next was to be between Miletus and Samos in c441; after that we jump to a dispute between Miletus and Myus in c390.[8]

Disputes between cities might be resolved by arbitration, though only if each side agreed: the Bias case above is an instance.[9] But in 493 no Greek polis offered a legal remedy for resolving private disputes where the two parties were from different poleis; whether or not it did so where the two sides were its own citizens. The only "remedy" was to resort to violence in some form. Cross-border trespassing leaves little trace in the literary record, but was probably not uncommon. Even without the unsettled conditions of the revolt, there would always be those minded to make a cross-border raid to steal cattle or flocks, or grain; or for a landowner on a frontier to extend his ploughing or grazing into adjacent land. The aggrieved

---

the discussion of συλάω and ῥύσιον in Pritchett *GSW* V, 73–7, 86–116, 116–132; de Souza (1995) 182–4.

[6] We should not be misled by §28 into thinking that the Persians maintained naval patrols, whether against piracy or to control the islands. Histiaeus could raid from his base on Chios, §26.2; the Phoenicians who caused him to leave Thasos were part of the fleet making for the Hellespont: see on οἱ Φοίνικες, §28.1. Harpagos seems to have known where he would land on Atarneus from look-outs: see on Ἅρπαγος, §28.2. Cf Appx 3 n. 6; Appx 18 para 9.

[7] It is referred to in Arist fr 576 R = Plut *QG* 295f–296b, and Bias' arbitration recoverable from *IPr* 500.22–4 and *IPr* 37.106–7; Piccirilli (1973) 16–22. It concerned the Batinetis, an upland area, as we see from the detailed description of the terrain in the later second century arbitration by Rhodians, *IPr* 37.158–70; it reads as though the war originated in a private squabble, in which shepherds from one polis sought to extend their grazing over the border.

[8] The fighting in c441 between Miletus and Samos over Priene, Thuc 1.115–17, had a background in political upheavals in those cities which are not fully understood: see *HCT* and Hornblower *ad loc*, and Meiggs *AE* 428. For the 390 dispute see n. 17.

[9] The arbitrators were usually from a third polis. Piccirilli (1973) nos 1 to 10 covers those known from 740 and prior to 493. Several fix a frontier. Most were on the mainland; Mycale is no 4, and no 7 was by Periander of Corinth in a dispute over Sigeion between Athens and Mytilene, 5.95.2; for no 9 see on §108.5.

party might then get his friends to help carry out a counter-raid by way of reprisal. Artaphrenes would be concerned at the disruptive potential of such disputes. Where the men involved and their friends were also those who provided the government, the borderline between private quarrel and fighting with at least the tacit approval of the polis might be narrow.[10] A possible case might have been brewing, if men on Chios were urging the newly restored Strattis (sec 3) to raid Ephesus to avenge her conduct after Lade, §16.

But Artaphrenes could be equally concerned with trade disputes, where the self-help remedy of σύλη (n. 5) could so easily be abused. During the years of the revolt, it is easy to envisage allegations of short delivery on cargoes from the Black Sea, perhaps with Histiaeus taking his tithe becoming the excuse rather than the reason; or where buyers simply used the revolt as an excuse for not paying. The dissatisfied party could resort to σύλη, but in the real world the excuse for that might be slender, and its extent disproportionate to the wrong allegedly suffered. That σύλη could so escalate is seen in the mid fifth century treaty between Chaleion and Oeanthea, on the Corinthian Gulf (Tod 34): they agreed not to συλᾶν against each other, and set up a detailed system of arbitration to decide their disputes. The discussion of the treaty in *CAH* III[2] 3 301 (Forrest) indicates how narrow could be the borderline between σύλη and piracy.

Of course, Artaphrenes would not necessarily analyse the problem on the above lines; he needed to prevent breaches of the king's peace from whatever cause.[11] But I suggest that he would perceive that the major cause of violence was from disputes between individuals rather than between cities; and the Ionians had no existing

[10] The Mycale incident looks as though it started as a local dispute over grazing rights between men of adjacent poleis, which then escalated into a war; as with the Phocis-Locris incident of Hell Oxy, POxy 842 D XVIII.3 = *FGrH* 66 F1 13(3). That aggressive grazing across a frontier by Polychares of Messenia led to the first Messenian war is virtually express in DS 8.7 and Paus 4.4.5–8. The borderline between express and merely tacit approval of the polis becomes blurred; cf the πόλεμος ἀκήρυκτος between Aegina and Athens of 5.81.2 (Appx 12 para 2); and Thuc 5.115.3: in c416, Sparta encouraged its citizens to make private raids (λῄζεσθαι) on Athens. A few years later, democratic Athens permitted Nicodromos to raid Aegina from his settlement at Sounion, whence his group ἔφερόν τε καὶ ἦγον: §90. Generally, Scott (2000) 95–6; van Wees (2004) 28–30, 123.

[11] It is unreal to import a modern notion of "disarmament" into Artaphrenes' requirement. He could not stop the Ionians owning armour and weapons, but they were not likely to start an armed insurrection against the Persians.

legal procedures for resolving them. Scholars have expressed differing views whether he was aiming at inter-polis or private disputes, or both (both, per Tod (1913) 66; see Gauthier (1972) 379–80 for summaries of the views),[12] largely influenced by two points: Herodotus' use of συνθῆκαι, and the resolution of the Miletus-Myus dispute in 390. From c450, if not the late 470s, Athens at all events made treaties with other poleis enabling its citizens to sue in Athenian courts; the word used was συμβολαί (fifth century) or σύμβολα (fourth century),[13] not συνθῆκαι, which connoted a diplomatic treaty governing the relations between states.[14] But Herodotus was not writing a legal text book; his sources might naturally use συνθῆκαι, and we may doubt that the word ever had a technical meaning which meant it could only refer to inter-polis diplomacy.[15] The Ionians may have had to confirm their agreement by an exchange of oaths; it was the natural way of formalising a solemn bargain (cf on ὅρκους, §23.4). It would tell us nothing about the ambit or contents of the agreement.[16] The 390 dispute is a false friend.[17]

[12] Gauthier 380 argues that ἀλλήλους shows that it was the poleis which were plundering each other; he canvasses whether the remeasurement of land was (partly) to settle their boundaries. Briant (1996) 511 opts for border disputes between cities over cultivable land; cf n. 17.

[13] We find συμβολαί in a series of fifth century inscriptions: ML 31, Tod 63, ML 94; σύμβολα in (for instance) *Ath Pol* 59.6, Arist *Pol* 1275a10, frr 417, 419 R, Dem 7.9–13. For other references to these treaties see Hill (1951) 337, under 6.2 and 3. See also Thuc 1.77.1 with *HCT* and Hornblower *ad loc*; generally for σύμβολα and δικαὶ ἀπὸ σύμβολα Todd (1993) 325, 329, 333–4, 336; Harrison (1971) 2.10; Bonner and Smith (1930) I 310–12; Cohen (1973) 30, 60, 100, 105, 130–2; Ste Croix (1961) 95 n. 2 for the nomenclature, and *ib* 96 for the procedures and distinctions between δίκαι ἀπὸ συμβόλων and δίκαι ἐμπορικαί. ML 31 could be as early as 469, and itself refers to an existing similar treaty between Athens and Chios.

[14] Only σπονδαί occurs in Thucydides, but συνθῆκαι for inter-state diplomacy is common from Xen *Hell* onwards.

[15] Cf previous note. When the agreement of Tod 34 was made, did the parties call it σύμβολα or συνθῆκαι? Herodotus might have found it confusing for his reader to use συμβολαί here; συμβολή means an attack or battle (the plural at 9.101.1; clasp of a belt, 4.10.1). The use of συμβολαί/σύμβολα in the fifth century jurisdiction treaties was an extension of σύμβολον in its meaning of a token to evidence an agreement (see on §86α5); it was probably thought of as a special particular kind of συνθῆκαι, to judge from Harpocration, who so defines σύμβολα or συνθῆκαι.

[16] The fifth century inscriptions are decrees of the assembly, but they arguably ratify a sworn agreement just made, or about to be made, by the two parties. Diplomatic treaties would normally be sworn to. But it is illogical to argue that if the Ionians now had to swear to what is here called συνθῆκαι, therefore the bargain related to inter-polis disputes.

[17] The dispute went to the Persian king (Artaxerxes II), who referred it to the

By compelling the Ionians to submit their differences, of whatever sort, to legalistic proceedings Artaphrenes probably[18] introduced a novel concept into Greek legal thinking (as well as ensuring that he and his officials were not involved in such disputes, which common sense suggests he would want). As to the actual procedure, δωσίδικοι is neutral. The comparables we have suggest two possibilities. One is arbitration. Tod 34, supra, provided for a hearing before two or three judges (ξενοδίκαι); if they disagreed, there was to be a jury, 9 men for disputes up to 1 mina and 15 for larger sums. An arbitration system here could have meant, for instance, one court for all Ionia, perhaps meeting at the Panionion. The other is the Athenian συμβολαί, which let the "foreign" citizen sue in Athenian courts. So here, there would be a provision for the plaintiff to sue in the courts of the defendant's city.[19] As a footnote, Diodorus' compressed narrative says that in reply to Hecataeus' bon mot, Artaphrenes ἀπέδωκε τοὺς νόμους. That does not connote "restored law and order" in our sense: see sec 3 *ad fin.*

2 *Reassessment of Tax, §42.2*

(1) According to 3.90.1, the Ionians were one of six "nations" included in a satrapy assessed at 400 Babylonian talents per annum;[20] unlike some other satrapies, there was no additional levy such as

satrap, who in turn asked the then Ionian League to report to him (RO 16 = Tod 113; Piccirilli (1973) no 36). Briant (1982) 499, (1996) 511 treats it as evidence for the system now set up by Artaphrenes. We may accept that his system could cover inter-polis disputes. But it did not involve the king or satrap, as is clear from σφίσι αὐτοῖσι and the middle ποιέεσθαι, for which see on συνθήκας, §42.1; in any case, the common sense of the situation, as noted infra, was to free the satrap (even more so the king) from involvement in the Ionians' disputes. That this dispute went to the king shows that Artaphrenes' system had long since lapsed; it had probably done so by 441: cf n. 8.

[18] The caveat as to novelty is necessary because the comparative sophistication in the treaty of Tod 34 makes one wonder if there were precedents now lost.

[19] The treaty between Athens and Chios referred to in ML 31 (n. 13) may reflect Chios being a member of the Delian league, but if its terms were developed from the provisions now set up under Artaphrenes some 20 years earlier, it would point to this possibility.

[20] It covered south-west Asia Minor: "Ionians, Magnesians, Aeolians, Carians, Milyans (near Lycia) and Pamphylians". 3.89 correctly makes the Babylonian talent worth $1^1/_6$ Euboean talents: actual Babylonian weights show the talent at 30.15 kg (Skinner (1967) 37, 52, 55), compared to the Euboean talent of 26.25 kg (*id*

horses or corn. We have no idea how this was apportioned within the satrapy, nor whether the Ionians' liability was x talents as a group, or the levy was on individual poleis, as seems more likely. Either way, it would presumably be for the tyrant or other ruler of each polis to collect the tax from individual citizens: in practice this would largely be from landowners and better off citizens (who, incidentally, again carried most political weight after the deposition of the tyrants). In addition to their share of tribute, the Ionians had to pay other taxes. These were of various types, as appears both from Arist *Oec* 1345b14–46a5 and Aramaic sources, some described as for the king and some for the satrap; they were broadly on the produce of land and on sales (Murray (1966) 149–155). In Ionia there might well also have been harbour dues. Taxation is never popular, but, as noted at pp. 47–8, its burden had been getting more onerous in the 20-odd years prior to the revolt.

(2) Shortly before 493, the Persians had reviewed taxation in Babylon.[21] The present review may thus have stemmed from a royal instruction. Even if Artaphrenes did it on his own initiative as a desirable step, it may not have been confined to Ionia.[22] Also, it would clarify what land each polis could currently claim as its own;[23] to the extent that the arbitration of §42.1 was aimed at reducing frontier disputes, this was one way of defining frontiers (cf sec 1); if there were estates now in the hands of Persian landowners, as we are told was the case at Miletus, and if they were excluded from contributing towards the tribute (no doubt such Persians had to pay tax, or rent, direct to the satrap), it would clarify which land was so exempt. It is unlikely that Artaphrenes took on the immense burden

59–60; 25.86 kg in *OCD*[3] sv Weights). So 400 Babylonian equals 466 Euboean talents. Note that *CAH* III[2] 3 91 (Cuyler Young) suggests that these 400 talents were what the satrap had to pay the king, and the satrap's actual demands on the satrapy were higher.

[21] Though unlike Ionia, where he measured the estates in parasangs, in Bablyonia he apparently used the productivity of the land as the basis: Briant (1982) 499; Evans (1976a) 36, (1976b) 346 with n. 15.

[22] Hornblower (1982) 22 argues that it extended to Caria, and H&W *ad loc* to all the places which had revolted.

[23] Briant (1982) 191 treats it as an early example of a survey of royal lands. But the remeasuring is to tax the poleis for their territories. Of course even that was royal land in the sense that the king treated his whole empire as his own to dispose of (p. 46 n. 163).

of remeasuring individual landholdings (Murray 143); if Diodorus, p. 533, is correct in saying that Artaphrenes τακτοὺς φόρους κατὰ δύναμιν ἐπέταξεν, this would refer to the ability of each polis, not each landowner. This is not disproved by the masculine ἑκάστοισι, which means "for the inhabitants of each polis", in accordance with ordinary Greek usage which uses ethnics for states (Pope (1988) 277–83). The end result was said to be no, or little, change. A cynic might say that the remeasurement was a propaganda exercise, since, as noted on §42.2, it is unlikely that the total sum which the satrap now required of the Ionians was much different to that before the revolt.

(3) Herodotus added that Artaphrenes' assessments were valid into his own time. This does not refer to the contributions to the Delian league (see on κατὰ χώρην, §42.2); it accurately reflects the point that, so far as the king was concerned, all peoples whom he or his ancestors had once controlled, by conquest or giving earth and water, were still his subjects, and their annual tribute was due, whether or not it was paid or he could, in practice, enforce payment: Murray, especially 143–9; Hornblower (1982) 22 with n. 126; Meiggs *AE* 62; Thomas (2000) 14–15. So long as the Ionians, or other cities nominally under Persia, enjoyed Athenian protection, they would no longer pay the king; although there is evidence that a few Greek cities which were in the league, and perhaps some individual landowners also, did do so, for pragmatic reasons: Murray 146–7. Cook (1961b) 10–16 overstates the case, as he does not rigorously distinguish between paying rent and paying tribute, or between tribute and other taxes; and he treats §42.2 as referring to individual payments rather than assessments on cities; see also Ste Croix *OPW* 310, 313. One reason why Herodotus perhaps noted the point is that he foresaw that arrears of tribute were likely to be a problem if Athens proved unable to maintain her influence in the Aegean, particularly in Asia Minor. The problem in fact crystallised in 412–11. It is clear from the then treaties between Tissaphernes and the Spartans that Darius II continued to regard the Ionians as his tributaries, and instructed Tissaphernes to recover their unpaid arrears.[24]

[24] Xerxes had also treated Ionia and the islands as tributaries: XPh 23–5, set out *CAH* IV^2 89 (Cuyler Young). For the attitude of Darius II and the negotiations with Tissaphernes, see Thuc 8.5.4–5 (arrears), 18, 37, 43.3–4 (where they sought

The treaties did not deal with the arrears, and there is no evidence as to what the Ionians had to pay and how far arrears were in fact recovered. Practicalities apart, because there would be a limit to what the most ruthless satrap could extract, there would be room for the Ionians to negotiate. There would presumably have been at least some remission of arrears on the deaths of Xerxes and then Artaxerxes (§59 and 3.67.3; Murray 17–19), and there were other possible arguments.[25]

But the most probable reason that Herodotus added the words is that he was influenced by Athenian sources justifying both their hegemony in the Aegean and the Peace of Callias. So long as Athens maintained her influence (or control, depending on one's viewpoint) in the area, the cities need not pay the king. But the League was a contentious matter in other parts of Greece, and Herodotus' travels would make him aware of hostility to, and jealousy of, Athens; for operating the League at all, and especially after 454, when the treasury was moved to Athens, or after c447, when the Parthenon was being built; even though Athens had actually been fighting Persia in the 460s. The Peace of Callias was probably contentious within Athens. It may not have been a formal treaty, and the king probably did not actually concede the arrears of tribute. It would be characteristic of the Athenian demos to complain that it was a bad deal; Herodotus would want to indicate that it was a good and realistic settlement, and without it the Ionians would be much worse off.[26]

---

to include mainlanders down to Boeotia, who had submitted to or been conquered by Xerxes), 58.2, with *HCT ad locc*; Murray (1966) 148–9.

[25] If Darius had made any concessions in the treaty of Epilycos (n. 26), in 412 he and Tissaphernes could say that he was no longer bound by them, because Athens had broken the treaty by supporting Amorges, son of the renegade satrap Pissuthnes; cf *CAH* V^2 465 (Andrewes). Other possible factors would have been (a) whether Persian law had a statute of limitations and if so whether it was applied, if only pragmatically, to arrears of tribute; and (b) if Darius' instruction to Tissaphernes was limited to arrears since he took office, whenever that was (for which see Meiggs 445 and *HCT* on Thuc 8.5.4).

[26] The Peace of Callias is now generally accepted: Meiggs *AE* chap 8 and Appx 8; *CAH* IV^2 121–7 (Lewis); Badian (1987); the Herodotean evidence is 7.151. It may have been expressed as an agreement rather than a formal treaty; and, as discussed in Murray (1966) 155–6, it is unlikely that it contained a clause, or even an understanding, that Artaxerxes waived his right to tribute from the cities now in the Delian league. When, shortly after his accession, Darius II made a treaty with Athens (the treaty of Epilycos, 424–3: Meiggs *AE* 134–5), the question of waiving arrears of Ionian tribute may possibly have been dealt with; cf n. 25.

3 *Deposition of Tyrants, §43.3*

For Herodotus, what Mardonius does proves the accuracy of the constitution debate. Clearly, Mardonius did not do it because some 30 years later Herodotus was to attribute the idea to Otanes, even if a version of that debate already circulated (see on μέγιστον, §43.3). Nor is it likely that he did it because he personally thought it a good idea; he will have acted on the king's instructions. Most tyrants had got themselves appointed by the king; in any case their presence suited the Persians (cf p. 51). From the king's perspective, their deposition had been one of the overt acts of revolt. They had been given Persian protection, and included in the expedition against Miletus. While this was partly for their being used as diplomatic go-betweens (see on συλλέξαντες, §9.2), it is reasonable to think that the Persians were minded to reinstate them when they regained control of Ionia: they probably contemplated a quick victory and the resumption of the status quo. Aeaces was restored on Samos after Lade (§25); it seems that Strattis was (or got himself) reinstated at Chios; and we also find tyrants in adjacent areas.[27] Elsewhere, it is unclear whether they were restored (and if so, what was done about the vacancies for Mytilene and Miletus: cf on τοὺς τυράννους, §9.2?), though that would be the literal meaning of τοὺς τυράννους καταπαύσας. It may simply be that the Persians continued to treat them as nominally in post. But at some stage they clearly had a change of heart. The generals at Lade may have reported to Darius the initial resistance to the tyrants' overtures, §9.2–4; but we may suspect that the initiative for what Mardonius did came from Artaphrenes. We have noted his shrewdness and wish to restore stability to the Ionian part of his satrapy, supra, and by the time he called the conference of §42.1 he had probably come to realise that the tyrants' lack of popularity meant that it was not in Persian interests to continue to sup-

[27] The tyranny persisted on Samos until 479, Theomestor being appointed after Salamis, though presumably he was displaced the following year: 8.85.3, 9.90. On Chios, Strattis was in post both at the Danube bridge and in 480: 4.137, 8.132. Most of the other known cases are not Greek cities (e.g. those mentioned in 7.98 and 105), but there are Artemisia and then Lygdamis in Halicarnassus, 7.99; ML 32.3; and tyrants at Lampsacus (4.138; Thuc 6.59). It is not known if there was a successor to Cadmus of Cos (7.164: see on §24.2).

port them; and he persuaded the king to authorise the change. He would probably know of Coes' fate (p. 39 n. 129), and Histiaeus' repulse at Miletus, §5.1. As canvassed in Appx 1 para 13, during the revolt he may have tried to find a new man for Miletus from local landowners, the obvious class from whom a new tyrant might be recruited; if on their estates, they would not be directly affected by the siege of the city. He would learn not only that none of them wanted the job, but that any appointment would be universally unpopular.[28] He could also have learnt this at the conference itself. But the deposed tyrants had royal backing; and whatever the precise relationship between satrap and king (in this case, also brother and brother), satrap and army, and the limits of a satrap's authority in theory or in practice, once he decided that it was desirable for the tyrants to go, it would be prudent to get the king's imprimatur.[29] Thus we may infer that he advised Darius, and Darius accepted that advice and authorised Mardonius, who was the king's man (Appx 3 para 6), to do it. Of course, Mardonius also had military force, should any tyrants and their supporters resist. As a footnote, although tradition can easily run two men together (p. 19 n. 62), when Diodorus makes Artaphrenes "give back the laws" (infra), his ultimate source might possibly have preserved a recollection that it was Artaphrenes who set the matter in motion.

But it is unclear what Mardonius' actions meant in practice. Although Herodotus calls this δημοκρατία, in contrast to the ἰσονομίη set up by Aristagoras, it may have meant only the confirmation of the position since 499, especially if most tyrants had not been restored the previous year. As noted for 499 on p. 58, once the tyrants were deposed we may presume that traditional systems, magistrates, council, and assembly, were restored; it is speculation whether Mardonius changed anything, e.g. widened the franchise or the powers of the assembly. He probably left the actual arrangements to each polis rather than imposed them, and it is unwise to assume that the same

---

[28] At the outset of the revolt, he probably did expect the eventual restoration of tyrants. His exchange with Histiaeus, §1, only shows distrust of the man: cf pp. 69–70.

[29] Even more prudent if Artaphrenes so decided only after the conference, and he had received a reprimand for the recent execution of Histiaeus. Briant (1996) 351 cites §43.3 for saying that the ultimate control of both satraps and generals was with the king.

system was uniformly set up or confirmed in each place.[30] The language, in Herodotus or elsewhere, does not help. In the constitution debate, Otanes is made to propose ἰσονομίη, which he equates to πλῆθος ἄρχειν (3.80.6, 83.1). Herodotus here uses δημοκρατίη/-έεσθαι, the word also used in the Danube bridge debate for what Ionians would choose if the tyrants were deposed, 4.137.2, and for what Cleisthenes set up, §131.1. But for him they were flexible terms, as were the other words that he uses: ἰσηγορίη and ἰσοκρατίη for Cleisthenes' democracy, 5.78.1, 92α1,[31] and it is hard for us to recover the different connotations which these words had at any given period. Rhodes (2000) 122 suggested that *isonomia* originally connoted the kind of equality which prevailed when there was no tyrant; Vlastos (1953) argued in detail that ἰσονομία, though capable of being used for an oligarchy,[32] was the original word for a democracy: hence its use in two of the tyrannicide scolia, *PMG* 893, 896; it had connotations of sharing power (νέμειν), equality in law, and the law guaranteeing that equality; and δημοκρατία only became the usual word during the fifth century; with the corollary that it incidentally throws light on the order in which Herodotus wrote his work.[33] That may be so, but it does not help on the particular sense in which Herodotus here used it, much less the substance of the government in any given polis after Mardonius. For instance, there could be equality in law, and freedom of speech in a popular assembly which had only limited powers, with the effective power with a council and magistrates both of whom were elected on a restricted franchise. See generally

---

[30] That we really know nothing about these Ionian governments is more or less explicit in discussions such as Roisman (1985) and Nakategawa (1988); Austin (1990) 306 questions how far the Persians really changed their attitude to these cities.

[31] At 4.26.2, he uses ἰσοκρατέες for the women of the Issedones having equal rights to men.

[32] Thuc 3.62.3; so Alcmaeon 24 B4 DK, as discussed by Vlastos at 344–7. There, it could not, presumably, connote equality of political rights.

[33] ἰσονομίη was conditionally offered by Maeandrios of Samos, 3.142.3, and instituted at the beginning of the revolt in Miletus by Aristagoras, 5.37.2. Thucydides also used ἰσονομία for democracy or a component of democracy (3.82.8, 4.78.3, 6.38.5), but usually has a δημοκρατ- word (32 times). Elsewhere in classical literature, ἰσονομία is not common (Plat *Rep* 561e, *Menex* 239a). Nakategawa (1988) discusses the various shades of meaning of ἰσονομία and ἰσηγορίη, at 264 suggesting that ἄρχειν connotes traditional power, κρατεῖν rule by force or coercion. Even so, it may be a false friend to suggest that ἰσοκρατία was used before δημοκρατία became the usual word.

Rhodes 122–4; Forrest (2000) 280. Diodorus' ἀπέδωκε τοὺς νόμους (p. 533) adds nothing to Herodotus: it had become almost a formula for restoring constitutional government, though often in the context of (re-)establishing democracy.[34]

[34] From the later fifth century, we find ἀποδίδοναι plus words such as πόλιν, νόμους, πολιτείαν with various shades of meaning: giving a constitution or laws to a community (Xen *Lac Pol* 8.5, of Lycurgos; Plat *Pol* 294e–295a; Hyp *Eux* 6); restoring political freedom to a community (Thuc 1.144.2, 2.71.2; Dem 18.92); restoring democracy in Athens after the oligarchs (Isoc *Big* 20; cf Thuc 8.76.5, 6); πάτριοι νόμοι and πάτριος πολιτεία were "shorthand" for the pre-411 democracy (e.g. Andoc 1.83; *Ath Pol* 29.3, 34.3, 35.2). DS' expression, and variants, are common in later Greek for these concepts: DS 16.70.4–5; 16.72.5, etc; Plut *Cleo* 14.1, 30.1, *Demet* 8.7, etc.

APPENDIX 12

CHRONOLOGY FOR ATHENS AND AEGINA AND RELATED EVENTS

1 It is difficult to work out an entirely satisfactory chronology for the disputes and fighting between Athens and Aegina, either looked at in isolation or taking into account other events. There are five modern studies: Andrewes (1936–7), Hammond (1955), Jeffery (1962), Podlecki (1976), and Figueira (1988).[1] The sources recalled the events, but not their chronology, and Herodotus' text can be no stronger than his sources. In any case, as pointed out in Appx 10 para 5, neither he nor they had a numbering system to date events, and chronology was not important in what tradition recalled.

2 Athens and Aegina were neighbours: the Piraeus and Phaleron are only 30 km from Aegina city; other parts of Attica, e.g. Vouliameni, are only 20 km from the coast of Aegina, and each coast is

[1] Earlier discussions include Macan II Appx VIII and Munro in *CAH* IV 254–65. This Appendix largely follows Figueira, though on one point, he should not be followed. At 62, he relies on Plut *Agis* 11.4–5, that every 8 years the ephors watched the sky for a shooting star as a sign that both kings' rule was terminated pending an oracle from Delphi or Olympia. Apart from (i) our inability to date that case (Leonidas II) more accurately than winter 243 or spring or autumn 242, and (ii) the alleged law almost certainly being an invention of Lysander as part of his attack on Agis (Flower (2002) 196–8), it would be an astonishing coincidence if (a) Cleomenes needed to remove Demaratos in the very year that the procedure operated (the odds are 88% against), and (b) the ephors chanced to see a shooting star. Moreover, there is no hint in §§65–6 that Cleomenes' kingship was also suspended. On the contrary, the narrative is clear that the procedure was by some form of legal proceedings on the ground of paternity, and Delphi was consulted because the Spartan assembly was divided, not because the ephors had seen a shooting star. The same is true if one follows Richer (1998) 155–7, 171–98, that the ephors had taken over the duty of watching the skies from the kings for the general purposes of Sparta's calendar, e.g. the new moons, and this included a special watch every 8 years when the lunar and solar months coincide; and that Lysander could use this to bolster his accusation. Further, Richer places it in summer 242, whether they were watching for a shooting star or, as he suggests, the heliacal rising of Sirius (184–5, 186–92), which excludes an 8-year cycle for 491 or 490; he accepts that it was not the procedure for Cleomenes and Demaratos (177–8). See n. 12 for the other four.

visible to the other.[2] Their mutual antipathy was a by-word;[3] perhaps emotional in origin, since Aegina was Dorian, and its natural ties were with the Peloponnese, particularly Argos (Jeffery (1976) 135, 150–2). Herodotus 5.82–89 relates an old history of violence concerning Epidauros.[4] More recently, each city came to perceive the other as a trade rival (Lateiner (1982a) 138–9; Figueira (1981a) 4–7). Further, the political changes in Athens since 510 would be uncongenial to the ruling oligarchy in Aegina, as the story of Nicodromos (§§88–91) shows; cf on Νικόδρομος, §88. In c506, Cleomenes got the Boeotians and Chalcidians to attack Attica at the same time as his invasion in support of Isagoras; but he had to withdraw, and the Athenians defeated the latter (5.74–7; see on ἀπαγαγών, §64 and on §100.1). Thebes then sought Aeginetan support. The Aeginetans were shrewd enough to avoid a full-scale war; they initially offered notional help.[5] But when the Thebans were again defeated, and asked for more tangible help, the Aeginetans responded with a πόλεμος ἀκήρυκτος ("without formal declaration"),[6] probably in c505: 5.81, 89–90. They raided the coast of Attica; Herodotus stresses that they were causing damage (ἔσυραν, ἐσίνοντο, 5.81.3; ἐδηίουν, 5.89.2; see Jackson (1969) for the latter word). It is a mistake to think of πόλεμος only in terms of modern wars; the word could include violence closer to what we would think of as fighting between football hooligans; here with theft and criminal damage. On the other hand, the raids would have had at least the tacit approval of the polis, especially as

[2] E.g. the photograph of Aegina from Athens, Müller (1987) 738.

[3] Called ἔχθρη παλαιά, 5.81.2; cf 5.89.1; Thuc 4.57.5; Dunbabin (1936–7). It continued into the fifth century: see on ἐκθύσασθαι, §91.1; Pericles is said to have called for the elimination of Aegina as the λήμη, eyesore, of the Piraeus (Arist *Rhet* 1411a16 = Plut *Per* 8.7).

[4] Probably from oligarchic Aeginetan sources: Figueira (1985) 55, 71. For the events see on πρότερον, §92.1.

[5] Specifically, sending statues or other representations of the sons of Aiacos to Thebes (5.79–80); with his other son Telemon they reappear in 480, 8.64, 83–4. For Aiacos, son of the nymph Aegina, see on Αἰακοῦ, §35.1.

[6] The formalities of declaring war are not usually stated, though Adcock and Mosley (1975) 202 say that the Greeks usually did it. However Thuc 1.26.5 and 1.29.1 describe the use of heralds to invite the other side to surrender as a preliminary to fighting, and the absence of that formality is the natural meaning of ἀκήρυκτος. The expression came to have other meanings: a guerrilla war at Xen *Hell* 6.4.21 (the Phocaeans against Jason, 371), and from the fourth century, usually with ἄσπονδος, a relentess war, i.e. not ended by heralds: Aesch *Fals Leg* 37, Dem 18.262. See also Myres (1943).

the commanders and ship-owners would be the same aristocrats who provided the government, or their friends: Appx 2 para 3; Scott (2000) 94–6, 99–100; cf Appx 11 n. 10. Athens was to allow Nicodromos to do something similar: §90. An immediate Athenian response was discouraged by Delphi, and prevented by news of Sparta's intended c504 invasion (5.90).[7]

3 We can, within limits, suggest a chronology for events prior to §87. Darius' demand for earth and water, and therefore Aegina giving them, was in spring, perhaps early summer, 491. Athens immediately (ἰθέως, §49.2) complained to Sparta, and Cleomenes went to Aegina to try to get hostages. He then began his machinations against Demaratos; the reference to Delphi would be by summer 491. If, as is probable, Delphi was already giving responses monthly, the oracle would be then; if it was still yearly, spring 490 (we are not sure when the change took place: Parke and Wormell (1956) I 17–45; Figueira (1988) 62; but see Appx 8 para 3). Cleomenes' second trip to Aegina, and depositing the hostages in Athens, §73, immediately followed: summer 491, spring 490 at the latest.[8] The following events now happened. Demaratos fled, in summer.[9] Then Cleomenes' fraud was discovered (it must have been after Demaratos had gone; otherwise, as Figueira (1988) 55 points out, he could have demanded his kingship back; also, the Leotychidas insult is related on the implied basis that Cleomenes' deceit had not yet been detected). He spent some time perhaps in Thessaly, certainly in Arcadia, came home, and died. After that, the Aeginetans complained to Sparta, and

[7] The oracle of 5.89.2, advising the Athenians to wait 30 years before taking revenge, even if historical, is a red herring in the present context; it may not be used to date the fighting of §§88–93 to 487 on the basis that in 457 the Athenians did conquer Aegina (Podlecki 397–8; Figueira (1988) 84; and see on ἐκθύσασθαι, §91.1).

[8] When the oracle was given annually, it was February-March, per Callisthenes *FGrH* 124 F49 = Plut *QG* 292e–f. The three month delay in §86β2 is no evidence for the change (cf on §86γ1). Figueira (1988) 62 wrongly puts the attempt to depose Demaratos in September 491, relying on the shooting star story (n. 1). The second trip only makes sense if it was before Datis' invasion and defeat (cf para 4), and would not depend on when Demaratos was made an archon.

[9] After the summer festival of Gymnopaidia (see on γυμνοπαιδίαι, §67.2). He could have been elected to his magistracy at any time between summer 491 and summer 490; cf Figueira (1988) 54–5.

Leotychidas went to Athens to ask for the hostages' release (§§74–75, 85–86). The narrative continues: the Aeginetans had not yet been punished for their earlier actions, when they captured the ship going to Sounion and took Athenian hostages (§87). The assumption is that the latter were exchanged for the Aeginetans.

4 The date of the Sounion festival has been considered by Figueira (1988) 56–9, by identifying it with the trireme race of Lys 21.5, and analysing the dates of all the liturgies which the speaker did, 21.1–5, some of which can be dated with fair precision. The race itself might have been an addition to the festival later in the fifth century (a race at this time would be done with galleys: cf Appx 2 paras 2–3). He concluded that the race was in 410/9 or 409/8, spring 409 or 408 in our terms. Assuming four-year intervals, this means a festival in 489 or 488. Once could argue for 489 on the basis that the Aeginetan hostages had already been in Athens for up to two years; but it is not conclusive: if the Aeginetans saw the festival as the best chance of taking high status Athenian hostages, they would have to wait for it next coming round. 485 or 484 are attractive, because if the fighting between Athens and Aegina only broke out after that, it helps make sense of Themistocles' statement, para 5. But it is unlikely that the Aeginetans would wait 6 years to get their hostages back, and the balance of probabilities favours spring 489 or 488. If we choose spring 489, the events must all take place within 6 or 7 months: Demaratos' flight in summer 490, Cleomenes in Arcadia and his death between late summer and winter 490, and Leotychidas going to Athens in winter 490 or early spring 489, shortly before the festival.[10] This is consistent with the argument the latter was after Marathon, because, the Persian threat having receded, Sparta would not longer see Aegina's giving earth and water as a threat to her (Sparta) or Greece in general.[11] If Sounion was spring 488, Demaratos'

---

[10] This is substantially the timetable argued for at length by Figueira (1988), esp 50, 68, 76, 88. At 68–9 he discusses Justin 19.1.9, from Timaeus: the Sicilians appeal to "Leonidas, brother of the king" for help against Carthage. While that war was arguably in the early 480s, if the text means what it says it can be accommodated into summer 490 on the footing that Leonidas was regent or king de facto from the time that Cleomenes went to Thessaly and Arcadia.

[11] See Andrewes (1936–7) 4; Figueira (1988) 63–4.

flight could still be summer 490, with the Cleomenes and Leotychidas events spread over the next 20-odd months; or summer 489, again with a 6 or 7 month spread for Cleomenes and Leotychidas.

5 We may now return to the fighting between Athens and Aegina of §§88–93. Some have argued for placing it or some of it before 490;[12] support can be found in the use of συνῆπτο at §94.1 (but see *ad loc*), the anecdote about Sophanes of Decelea, who killed the Argive commander, Eurybates, on Aegina, §92.3, Plut *Cim* 8.1–2; and also by the argument that the πρόφασις, excuse, of §49.2, was fuelled by earlier but recent fighting. Certainly the Sophanes anecdote can be interpreted so as to put Aegina before Marathon. But the problems about the chronological reliability of Plutarch's source make that a slender branch to set against the arguments for the later date.[13] The "excuse" is equally consistent with the Athenians seeing the opportunity to be revenged for 505; so the "prior wrongs" of §87 would be 505). The fighting is best dated to c487 to c484. Firstly, Herodotus presents it as after Leotychidas' visit, winter/early spring 490/89 or 489/88, para 4. Secondly, the expression πᾶν μηχανήσασθαι, §88, can be understood as meaning a longish period of talk but no action. Nicodromos' proposal gave the Athenians the opportunity they wanted, but *non constat* that he approached them immediately after the Sounion incident. Thirdly, the hostilities had not been concluded in 483, when Themistocles proposed that Athens should build triremes against Aegina (which at least indicates that it was thought

[12] Of the papers noted in para 1, Hammond compresses everything into an unrealistic time span between summer 491 and spring 490; Jeffery extends that to summer 490; at 47–52 she argues that §§87–93 were inserted into the narrative in 431, because, like 7.133–7 (noted on §49.1) and 7.73–5 (Sophanes, para 7) they contain a reference to the Peloponnesian War: see on ἐκθύσασθαι, §91.1. Andrewes 4–6 argues for Nicodromos and the fighting of §§88–92 (but not that of §93) being in 493 (though at 6 he adds "not a complete solution"). Podlecki suggests, with hesitation, that seizing the theoris was part of the 505 raiding, and Nicodromos shortly after as revenge; if that were so, it would still mean that there had been no recent fighting in 491.

[13] The story is that Miltiades asked for a crown of olive leaves, and Sophanes opposed it, saying: you did not single-handedly beat the barbarian. The interpretation proposed is that Miltiades was asking for a reward for Marathon, and Sophanes said: I did not get one for my single-handed fighting on Aegina (Jeffery 53–4). Figueira (1988) 59–60 points out that Plutarch's source is probably Stesimbrotos, who is unreliable on chronology: he has Miltiades alive in 483, opposing Themistocles' naval bill), and rejects Jeffery's argument.

that there was a real risk of further hostilities).[14] 7.144.2 speaks of war between Athens and Aegina as συστάς. Granted that the aorist should mean "had broken out" (or "arisen"), not "was continuing" (Jeffery 46–7, Podlecki 404, criticising Hammond 409), though as presented in Plutarch (n. 14) the proposal is simply for the war against Aegina, the reality is that the "war" was a series of sporadic attacks as and when opportunity presented, and we need read no more into 7.144.2 than that there had never been a truce or other formal end to the fighting; it may be inferred that that only happened under the threat of Xerxes' invasion.

6 Other points favour the dates proposed. 1,000 Argive volunteers went to Aegina, §92.2. No doubt "1,000" is an exaggeration, but we may imagine several hundred. Argos had suffered heavy casualties at Sepeia. On the basis that the most probable date for that is the 490s (Appx 15 para 1), the longer that elapses, the easier it is to account for these volunteers; conversely, it makes c493 for Aegina more improbable. Each year after Sepeia, more and more teenagers or even children would become mature young men; even by 487, boys of 12 or 13 at the time of Sepeia would be old enough to volunteer (cf Appx 15 para 15). Next, the fact that Athens did not have enough ἀξιόμαχοι ships for hostilities against Aegina is a quite separate point to Miltiades taking 70 ships to Paros: see on §89. He did not need ἀξιόμαχοι ships, merely troop transports. It is a false friend to argue that Aegina has to be before Paros to explain Miltiades' 70 ships. This point has become complicated by two further arguments, both noted on §89: one translates ἀξιόμαχοι as "seaworthy", and argues that Athens could not provide 70 ships for Paros until after she had acquired the 20 Corinthian ships; the other, not strictly relevant on dating, except that ships deteriorate over a period of time,[15] is that the 50 ships she did have were mostly naucraric, which

[14] There are three accounts of Themistocles' proposal: 7.144, *Ath Pol* 22.7, Plut *Them* 4.1, 3. Deciding what actually happened is a topic in its own right; see, e.g. Wallinga (1993) 148–156. In 480 Aegina sent 30 triremes to Salamis, and had others guarding her shores (8.46).

[15] See Morrison *et al* (2000) 179–80, 186 for the problems of rotting timber and ship-worm. Here, the point would be that if there were naucraric ships, the system had ended with Cleisthenes' reforms of 508, so that the most recent ones would now be 20 years old.

is at best doubtful: Appx 2 para 4. An additional point is to note ostrakon P5978, which accuses Aristides of killing suppliants. If we could be sure that they were those on Aegina, §91.2, and the ostrakon referred to recent events, it would be an additional reason for the dating proposed. But that is far from certain: see on Δᾶτιν, §94.2, where the ostrakon is discussed.[16]

[16] Although the argument is to some extent circular, the reference to an Athenian trainer for the Aeginetan victor Pytheas at Pind *Nem* 5 48–9 is evidence that the fighting broke out after the games of 489 (though some date the games to 485). Thuc 1.41.2 does not help on dating. In 433 the Corinthian delegate is made to speak of an Athenian victory after she got the 20 Corinthian ships. He wanted to get Athens on his side, and she did win the first battle (§92.1); he is not describing the whole war.

APPENDIX 13

FEEDING THE KING AND THE SPARTAN QUART[1]

1 The ordinary Spartiate had to contribute to his mess, each month, 1 *medimnos* alphita and 8 *choes* wine (in Aeginetan measures),[2] plus quantities of cheese, figs, and *opson*.[3] Meals could be supplemented by private contributions, wheat bread or from hunting (Xen *Lac Pol* 15.3). There was also an after-course or dessert, the *epaiklon*.[4] It is generally accepted that 1 (Aeginetan) *medimnos* alphita per month, over 1.5 *choinices* or 1.6 kg per day, is more than one man would need, and the total meal adequately supplied the daily calorific requirements of an active man.[5] He would only need about one *choinix* per day: Hodkinson (2000) 193–6.[6] 8 *choes* of wine = 3.2 *kotyle*

---

[1] For the common mess dues, I build on Hodkinson (2000) 190–9, which itself had some input from myself (206 n. 6). His discussion enables me to deal with them comparatively briefly here.

[2] Sources: Plut *Lyc* 12.2 and Dicaearchus F 72W = Athen 4.141c. As Hodkinson (2000) 191–2 shows, Dicaearchus converted Plutarch's Spartan (Aeginetan) measures into Attic. For Sparta's use of Aeginetan measures, and their ratio to Attic of 7:10 (1.429), but treated as 2:3 for small amounts, see Appx 16 Endnote (b) and (c). The modern equivalents for Aeginetan measures, adapting Foxhall and Forbes (1982) 44, 46, are: (a) dry: 1 *choinix* = 1.54 litre; 48 *choinices* = 1 *medimnos* = 74.06 litres; 1 *choinix* alphita 0.998 kg; 1 *medimnos* 47.93 kg. (b) wet: 1 *kotyle* = 386 cc; 12 *kotyle* = 1 *chous*; 12 *choes* = 1 *metretes*, 55.54 litres.

[3] Although Attic comic poets often refer to *opson* as fish, it could cover almost any food other than wheat or barley, including meat and olives (Hodkinson (2000) 207 n. 15).

[4] For the *epaiklon* see Athen 4.140c–141d.

[5] See Hodkinson (2000) 192, building on the nutritional analyses in Foxhall and Forbes (1982). Inter alia, the latter show or provide the figures for saying that (a) from modern studies, an active man needs 3337 calories per day; a very active one 3827; a moderately active one 2852. (b) A daily ration of alphita in various circumstances was often put at 1 Attic *choinix*, 0.699 kg, which by itself would provide 2320 calories. (c) an Aeginetan *choinix* (1.55 litre) alphita, 0.998 kg, would provide some 3314 calories. At 58 they offer 4230 calories per day from the total mess contributions, excluding *opson* and other supplements; they use Attic measures for alphita and wine. Even so, the wine, cheese and figs contribute some 700 calories. Given the total contents of the meals, we cannot assume that the average Spartiate regularly ate, or even could manage, 1 Aeginetan *choinix* alphita each day.

[6] This notes also the allowances, expressed in Attic measures, to the Spartans on Sphacteria, Thuc 4.16.

per day, or 1.23 litres. It would be diluted (see on ἀκρητοπότην, §84.1); even on a ratio of 1:2 would yield over 3½ litres, and the Spartans had a reputation for moderation in drinking (Fisher (1989); Hodkinson (2000) 195). It too would be more than adequate. The total Spartan diet was not frugal in the sense of small servings, or lack of variety. When Pausanias compared the Persian and Spartan dinners prepared after Plataea, his description of the Spartan meal as δίαιτα ὀϊζυρή, if not ironic, or referring to the realities of camp catering, must mean simple cooking.[7]

2 If a *medimnos* per month was more than the contributor himself needed, what happened to the surplus? Hodkinson (2000) 196–9 explores the possibilities. Much may have been consumed within the messes by teenage boys being introduced to them, and the helot servants. Some would be used to feed those for whom the polis was responsible: the meals after the special sacrifices of §57.1; probably the kings' messes (para 3), including the Pythii and others dining with the kings; perhaps the ephors and foreign visitors (Hodkinson 197). Outside the messes, some could have been retained by the polis for the army, or against a poor harvest the following year; possibly to feed boys in their barracks.[8] Thus fixing the delivery at a *medimnos* both gave a convenient measure for it, and made practical sense. There is a possible distinction between the staples, alphita and wine, and the other items. A surplus of alphita is easy to identify. Food such as cheese and *opson* was perhaps more quickly eaten and would not yield a long-term surplus. It is possible that the monthly contributions, at least for alphita and perhaps wine, were delivered to polis stores rather than individual messes, whence suitable quantities were sent out every few days to the messes. In any case, the food prepared and served each day would not be as much as one-

[7] 9.82.3; Athen 4.138d paraphrases as δίαιτα ταλαίπωρος.

[8] It appears that the ephors dined visitors and ambassadors; there is an anecdote that Hecataeus of Miletus ate in mess: Plut *Apophth Lac* 218b; Hodkinson *loc cit.* Plut *Lyc* 28.4 says that the Spartan made the helots drink until drunk. The quantities available argue against that, but we can envisage that in a mess in which the Spartiates drank moderately, the helots were able (required?) to drink up what was left. Boys, in barracks or not, were probably fed by their families: see on τρέφειν, §52.7.

thirtieth of the monthly contributions. Experience would show how much was actually needed.

3 That leaves two questions: how were the kings' messes supplied, and how much was a king's portion? Discussions have become bogged down by back calculations from what is provided on the 1st and 7th of the month, §57.2, and what is provided when the kings do not dine in mess, §57.3. The reality suggests that they are false friends. For present purposes we need not attach weight to Xen *Lac Pol* 15.4, that the double portion was to enable the king to have a guest. At a public feast such as *ibid* §57.1, for some foods the double portion is easy to envisage. With, say, the famous Spartan black broth (Plut *Lyc* 12.6), Spartiates got x ladlesful; the king got (or at least could be offered) 2x. With anything else, it is unlikely that he got an arithmetic double portion; we may imagine that his plate could be seen to contain more than others'. Following on from para 1, a meal which included a *choinix* of alphita would be a substantial meal. It is hard to envisage anyone other than a glutton regularly being able to eat a meal whose alphita content was 2 *choinices*. As a separate point, while the *medimnos* of alphita which each king got on the 1st and 7th of the month happens to be twice the Spartiate's mess contribution, that is coincidental, except to the extent that it was a convenient measure. It was to enable the king to host a meal after the sacrifice for some 48 diners (see on ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου, §57.2).

4 It is possible that the kings' mess was supplied by deliveries from the lands which the polis gave them, mentioned in Xen *Lac Pol* 15.3 (cf on §57.1). It is equally possible that it was supplied from polis stores, using a small part of the surplus from ordinary contributions (para 2). Either way, as with ordinary messes, experience would show how much of any food needed to be sent there and prepared each day. It is unreal to quantify it; honour would be satisfied if the kings' bowls contained visibly more than those of the Pythii—if the kings wanted as much. The kings had the formal honour of double portions; what happened in practice was another matter. We should, incidentally, note that no source expressly states how the royal messes were provided with cheese, wine, *opson*, or whatever went into the *epaikla*. The land given by the polis is a fair guess; and kings could presumably supplement this from their own private estates.

5 How big was the Spartan quart? It is the only reference to a quart in literature, though it appears in late inscriptions as the measure of wine in a sacrificial offering.[9] Why does Herodotus add "Laconian": there was no separate Laconian system of weights and measures?[10] Perhaps few poleis other than Sparta used quarts. It might have been a joke which Herodotus believed in, or the Spartans had a specially large storage jar; but a realistic candidate is the *metretes*, and the quart would be 3 *choes* (cf n. 2). It can quickly be seen that in no way does it relate to Spartan mess contributions, but it is entirely suitable for a public feast. Even given twice a month, it was only 75% of those contributions, 8 *choes* (para 1), and far less than double. 3 *choes*, nearly 14 litres, if watered at 1:3 would come to about 55 litres, enough to give 48 diners over a litre each. For the lack of correlation between the mess contributions and the *kotyle* given when the king dined at home, see on ἀλφίτων, §57.3.

6 There is a final point. We may suspect that in origin, the double portion was a genuine honour, and the guest was a later, though early, development. In a society in which good harvests could not be guaranteed (e.g. Garnsey (1988) passim, esp 6, 271: "food crisis was endemic in the Mediterranean in classical antiquity"), for the polis not merely to feed someone, but to give him double what others ate would be an especial mark of honour. That is consistent with having feasts at special festivals, §57.1, and perhaps more modest ones twice a month, §57.2. The fact that Herodotus does not mention the guest is because he is listing the honours, rather than how they worked in practice. Having a guest at the regular royal messes solved two problems: it enabled the polis to maintain the fiction of

---

[9] Athens, *IG* I³ 232; Jeffery (1948) 94; Sokolowski (1962) no 2; perhaps by restoration at Sparta, *IG* V.1 1511; Sokolowski (1962) no 29 (second century AD); and certainly at other Dorian states: Thera, *IG* XII 3, 450.18, and Cos, Sokolowski (1969) no 151. The "half-quart" (ἡμιτεσσέριον) is found at Priene: *IPr* 362.15, and perhaps to be restored at *ibid* 202 A15 and B11–12. Jeffery 94, followed by Sokolowski (1962), say (without authority, but presumably from the context of the inscriptions) that the quart was a quarter of a metretes or of an amphora.

[10] Cf n. 2. There is no literary evidence that even implies that Sparta had her own idiosyncratic system. A container found at Gythion of 958 cc equates to 2 Egyptian hon (477 cc, Skinner (1967) 45), but is probably referable to trade with Egypt through the port (cf Thuc 4.53, speaking of trade with Egypt and Libya through Cythera, probably including corn).

honouring the kings with double portions each day; while it enabled each king to extend hospitality to others on a daily basis, a useful thing in a wide range of situations. Plut *Ages* 5.1 implies that if there was no guest, the king could eat the lot, and praises Agesilaos for not doing that.

APPENDIX 14

CLEOMENES IN ARCADIA (AND AFTER): SANE OR MAD?

1 According to §§74–5, Cleomenes fled Sparta and united the Arcadians against Sparta; the Spartans feared this, brought him home, and confirmed his kingship. He then went mad and committed suicide. This Appendix looks at the narrative from several interrelated perspectives: what were his plans, how did the Arcadians judge those plans, and so what were they prepared to do; and whether we should accept the madness, and in turn whether his activities in Arcadia were the first signs of that madness.

2 We should first look at the two parties. Herodotus has some 16 passages about him (Carlier (1977) 68–9 summarises them; all are referred to in this book).[1] Their substantial accuracy is accepted (even allowing for some of the sources being hostile; and see n. 10), and he attracts judgments such as "undoubtedly the most powerful Spartan king since Polydoros, and his like was not to reappear until . . . Agesilaos" (Cartledge (1979) 143); cf Carlier (1984) 259 with n. 116, referring to Carlier (1977) and H&W Appx XVII; Bultrighini (2003) 90–7; cf Cawkwell (1993b). The other information we have about him is in character. Plut *Apophth Lac* 223a–224b attributes several aphorisms and witty sayings to him.[2] Thuc 1.126.12 has him digging up the bones of dead Alcmaeonids in c508. Steph Byz sv Ἀνθάνα says that he flayed a corpse at Anthene and wrote oracles on the

[1] They include his presence at Plataea, §108; the two invasions of Attica in c510 and c508, the third abortive invasion in c506, and the proposed further one of c504, in all of which he was probably the moving spirit (see note to §§49.2–55, para 4); his dealings with Aristagoras (pp. 42 n. 62, 47); the attack on Argos, §§76–82; his actions in Aegina, §§49–50, 61, 73; his deposition of Demaratos, §§65–6; and Arcadia, discussed here.

[2] In particular, an anecdote at 223a-b that after swearing a truce with the Argives for 7 days he attacked at night: day did not include night, he said. When accused of breaking his oath, he was said to have added: doing ill to one's enemies is regarded by gods and men as higher than justice. The stories have no or doubtful historicity, but they fit the picture of the man we glean from Herodotus. For the *Apophthegmata* generally, Hodkinson (2000) 39–43.

skin. That cannot be literally true, but it may reflect the actual desecration of a tomb: Griffiths (1989) 62–70.[3]

3 Behind these judgments, and accepting that he behaved substantially as reported, several features emerge. He was not afraid to undertake ambitious but controversial projects (disregarding for the moment his plans in Arcadia). Both adjectives apply to his further expedition in c506 to support Isagoras (whatever the merits of helping him in c508), as well as to his idea, as it almost certainly was, of restoring Hippias in c504; not only in our judgment, but that of many on his own side at the time. Both can be applied to Aegina, and removing Demaratos. At Argos, he risked having to start a siege, if the Argives had not come out to meet him, or had fled back to the city after a battle (Appx 15 para 3). Secondly, he embarked on his projects with enthusiasm and energy. Whatever the true reason for not crossing the Erasinos, he took some trouble to move his army by sea (*ibid* and on §76.2). His first trip to Aegina is presented almost as a knee-jerk response to the Athenian complaint, §50.1; the second was immediately, αὐτίκα, Demaratos was deposed, §73.1. Herodotus uses προθυμίη or πρόθυμος, eager(ness), for both his arrangement with Leotychidas and getting the Argive leaders to swear by the Styx, §§65.3, 74.1. The third feature is his disregard for conventions, particularly religious. When he died, everyone had their own story of sacrilege (§§75, 84). There were further incidents at Argos: misusing the quasi-sanctity of the herald, and beating the priest of Hera; he had forced his way into the temple of Athena at Athens in 508, 5.72. Another one probably lies behind the Anthene episode. Nor is it coincidence that he was accused of sleeping with Isagoras' wife in 508 (5.70.1). Finally, quick and witty responses fall from his lips: when refused entry to the temple of Athena, he replied: I am an Achaean, not a Dorian. Even if unhistorical, though accurately

---

[3] Even if the Thucydides episode was on the initiative of the Athenians, he participated. The most probable location for Anthene is Tsiorovos, about 14 km southwest of Lerna, 5 km south of the railway, as marked on Barrington 58, following Pritchett *SAGT* III 102–142, IV 75–9; VI 91–104; Shipley (1997) 226 no 1, (1996) 276 site AA1. It thus lies on a route Cleomenes may have taken when invading Argos, and on the easier route for his retreat to Thyrea: see on Ἐρασῖνον, §76.1. It is not modern Elliniko, 5 km south-west of Astros (e.g. Müller 1987: 871), which was Eua: see Shipley (1997) 241 no 30, (1996) site AA10; *SAGT* VI 87–9, and probably not Ag Andreas near the coast (Shipley (1996) 279 site AA 19).

reflecting the Spartan claim to Agamemnon's inheritance (note to §§49.2–55 para 5), it fits other incidents: his "Mr Ram" retort on Aegina, §50.3, and his complaint to Apollo of being misled, §80. It is not surprising that Plutarch found various sayings attributed to him.

4 Arcadians, somewhat like Ionians (pp. 38–9), had an emotional and cultural unity. They had common origin myths: their eponym Arkas was a son of Zeus, though not of the Deucalion-Hellen stemma. They had a rich legendary history of kings (e.g. Paus 8.1–5), with historical ones until a generation or so after the second Messenian war.[4] Their religious unity centred round the sanctuary of Zeus Lycaion on the north slopes of Mt Lycaion. Arcadia had no seaboard; it was mountainous, principally pastoral, and impoverished in comparison to many other areas. But they were as Greek, and in touch with Greek affairs, as anyone else. From the mountain heights a few kilometres north of Nonacris there are extensive views across the Gulf of Corinth towards central Greece; the eastern poleis, Tegea and Mantinea and Orchomenos, lay on or near the routes from Sparta to Argos and Corinth; roads led across Arcadia to Olympia: cf what Herodotus notes about Euphorion of Paion, §127.3. We find several Olympic winners from Arcadia from at least the sixth century. In 480, several Arcadian poleis sent to Thermopylae and Plataea.[5] See, generally, Nielsen (1999), (1996b). In relation to what Cleomenes was doing, there is a question whether there was already an Arcadian league and a degree of political unity, as proposed by Wallace (1954) and accepted, e.g. by Forrest (1960) 229 n. 2. Nielsen persuasively

[4] See Jeffery (1976) 169–72, esp the references at 175 n. 7. If behind the story of a queen of Tegea noted in Appx 15 n. 17 there lurks a historical character, she was perhaps the widow of Aristodemos (DL 1.94), first half sixth century; no later king of Arcadia is recorded.

[5] Olympic victors down to 480: possibly Eurybatos, 708, if of Lousoi (Moretti (1957) no 22); Arrichion of Phigalia, 572, 568, 564 (nos 95, 99, 102); Damaretos of Heraia, 520, 516 (nos 132, 138); Dromeus of Stymphalos, 484, 480 (nos 188, 199); Theopompos son of Damaretos, 484. 480 (nos 189, 200); Epicradios of Mantinea, 484 (no 193); Dromeus of Mantinea, 480 (no 202); . . . phanes of Heraia, 480 (no 205). Herodotus puts 2,120 Arcadians at Thermopylae, 7.202; and 2,100 from Tegea and Orchomenos at Plataea, 9.28. By contrast, there are few surviving inscriptions from Arcadia prior to the fourth century: a quick search yields some sixth century dedications to Pan (*IG* V.2 555–7, *SEG* XI 1043), a victory inscription from Psophis (*SEG* XXIV 299), and a few others: *IG* V.2 262, 387, 399, 554, and Buck (1955) no 16.

argues that neither coins marked ΑΡΚΑΔΙΚΩΝ, epigraphy, nor literary sources (including §74) justify that view, though the coinage suggests an Arcadian amphictiony administered from the sanctuary of Zeus: (1996a), esp 39–42, 42–4, 44–9; (1999) 44–5; cf Kraay (1976) 97–8; Jenkins (1990) 29; see also Roy (1974). On any view Arcadia consisted of a series of oligarchic poleis, with the local chieftains providing the magistrates and council.

5 Perhaps as early as the first half of the eight century, Sparta had conquered and enslaved Aigys (on the Alpheios) and Belemina (on the headwaters of the Eurotas), and made perioikoi of the adjacent territory of Skiritis: Huxley (1962) 21–2, 25. This did not prevent Arcadia helping Messenia against Sparta probably in the first and certainly in the second Messenian war: Huxley 57. When Sparta then tried to subdue more of Arcadia, she was defeated at Tegea (1.66) and perhaps Orchomenos (Theopomp *FGrH* 115 F69). This persuaded her not further to expand northwards by force, and to make alliances with other poleis, especially, initially, Arcadian ones: the Peloponnesian league (note to §§49.2–55 para 5). Tegea had one: see on Τεγέην, §72.2; probably Mantinea also, despite her traditional hostility to Tegea, and Orchomenos: cf Jeffery (1976) 171–2. For her frontier with Arcadia see also on Θεσσαλίην, §74.1. There is no reason to think that Arcadia became especially friendly to Sparta: she made these alliances pragmatically.

6 Turning to the events of §§74–5, Cleomenes leaving Sparta is straightforward. He would know if only from his recent prosecution after Argos, §82, that if he stayed, he would again be prosecuted. This time the chances of an acquittal would be considerably less. However we judge the tensions of Spartan politics (note to §§49.2–55 paras 4, 8), he did not command universal support. Apart from his abortive expeditions of c506 and c504, his acquittal after Argos was by a majority; and unseating Demaratos had been controversial (see on §66.1). On a prosecution now he had a poor chance of acquittal and was at serious risk of serious penalties (cf, for instance, on ἔφυγε, §72.2). But it is less obvious why he did not go into exile. With Demaratos in Persia, that would not be an option; but he could have settled almost anywhere in the Greek world, including Magna Graecia. We might say that he showed the same fighting spirit as Histiaeus (§§5, 26–8). But what were his aims?

7 I reserve the controversial question whether he first went to Thessaly for para 15; it is Arcadia that matters. The problem, as noted on νεώτερα, §74.1, is that Herodotus is not describing what Cleomenes sought to do; he is putting into his own words how his Spartan sources described it 40 years afterwards. If his text is ambiguous as to what Cleomenes was doing: recruiting an army, creating a political league, or both, that probably reflects ambiguity in his sources. The oath "to follow where he led" could be the first, as with Miltiades' expedition; or political, as the wording of the Peloponnesian league alliances shows: see on ὅρκους, §74.1. Wanting to take the leaders, τοὺς προεστεῶτας, to the Styx is more likely to refer to political chiefs than junior officers in an army, but may mean only political approval for his plans, not political unity. We are entitled to make our own judgment on what he was doing; unfortunately, there is no clear indication what that was. There is a second component, equally important: how the Arcadians reacted to his proposals.

8 Based purely on Herodotus, two plans are proposed. One stresses ἐπὶ τῇ Σπάρτῃ in military terms: he was recruiting an army and intended to attack Laconia, to get his position as king confirmed with the backing of his army (which raises the question, what he planned to do with his "friend" Leotychidas). The other, stressing the political form of the oath, and the political overtones of νεώτερα . . . πρήγματα and συνίστας, is that he intended to detach the Arcadian poleis from the Peloponnesian league, and set up his own para-league in Arcadia, a new power bloc in the Peloponnese (so Nielsen (1996a) 45–6). For those who believe in an existing Arcadian federation, he would take over an existing organisation. We could then argue whether he simply wanted to head this federation, king in Arcadia, as it were, which would be "against Sparta" in a political sense; or still wanted to lead an army against Sparta, but under the banner of a united Arcadia, so that "against Sparta" was both political and military.

9 A third scenario is also proposed, built on Plato *Leg* 692d, 698e, which indicates a helot revolt at the time of Marathon. The arguments that it occurred, though Spartans tried to suppress the news; and that it was also about the time that Cleomenes was in Arcadia, were assembled by Wallace (1954), and are not invalidated by his further arguments that an Arcadian league existed. The idea of a

revolt, or unrest, has attracted a good deal of support.[6] If there was, Cleomenes could have thought of leading his Arcadian army into Sparta while the Spartan army was in Messenia. Alternatively, given the support which Arcadia had given Messenia many years ago (para 5), he could hope to harness Arcadian sentiment and again lead them to Messenia to help the helots. He would hope to defeat the Spartan army there, and either return home to resume his kingship, or return to Arcadia and run his para-league, or even detach Messenia from Sparta and rule Messenia. Any such plans would certainly be seen in Sparta as "stirring up trouble".

10 Whichever of the above plans was actually in Cleomenes' mind, we can see that it was at least as ambitious and potentially controversial as anything he had planned before. But it takes two to tango, and we should ask how Arcadians saw things. Recruiting an army, if that is what he was doing, would not have been a problem. There would always be young men who were happy to exchange their modest lifestyle in the mountains for the excitement and hope of booty which army service offered, and perhaps regular pay.[7] We do not have to assume that he travelled throughout Arcadia; word would soon spread. But what about the men who mattered: the local chieftains, the magistrates and council in any particular polis? While τοὺς προεστεῶτας could refer to the junior officers in his proposed army, the more natural meaning is political chiefs. Whether he visited just a few poleis in the east, Tegea, Mantinea, Orchomenos (he might

[6] Shaw (2003) 112–14, 124, Hunt (1998) 28–32 and Huxley (1962) 87–93 follow Wallace. Ducat (1990) 141–3 may be closer to the truth, arguing for a period of continual unrest from c520 on; at 142 he points out that Plato does not quite say that there was a revolt. Thuc 1.128.1 may indicate an uprising in c470 (see Hornblower *ad loc*); the possible battle at Ἰσθμῷ, per the MSS at Hdt 9.35.2, a reading known to Pausanias 3.11.8, may also predate the main revolt of 465, though it is not easy to locate the place. Huxley (1983) 4 suggests near Taenaron, but is unconvincing. Cartledge (1979) 219 suggests that it referred to the Skala ridge between Ithome and Taygetos, which would associate it with the main revolt. At 153–4 he sums up the evidence for a revolt in 490 as "an arguable case". Others reject it, e.g. *CAH* V² (Lewis) 102. However, an exodus of Messenians at this date helps explain the events at Rhegion and Zancle/Messene in c489: see note to §§22–24 and on §23.2, and cf Shaw (2003) 102–7.

[7] It is unclear if he was recruiting volunteers or mercenaries. Who paid the subsistence of the Argive volunteers who went to Aegina, §92.2? Arcadian mercenaries, seeking to escape poverty, are recorded from the 480s onwards: Paus 5.27.1–2 (Sicily, 480s); Hdt 8.26 (Xerxes); see generally Nielsen (1999) 40–43, Roy (1999) 346–348, Morgan (1999) 341. They could contribute to Arcadia's economy.

ignore the traditional divisions between the first two), or also travelled into the interior, it is easy to see that local aristocracies would view his plans with suspicion and dismay. Even if he was just recruiting a private army to attack Sparta, they would not want to provoke a military reaction from Sparta by being seen to have encouraged it; there was a risk that Sparta would treat the form of oath which he was administering as a breach of their treaties. If the Arcadians were minded to end those treaties, in itself a questionable notion given the risk of a Spartan military response, they would not want to do it at the instance of a renegade Spartan king, much less under his leadership. Similar considerations apply to any of the plans which assume a helot revolt. They may have sympathised with the Messenians, but times had changed since the Messenian wars, and the Spartan army would be perceived as formidable. If they were minded to help militarily, again it would not be under the banner of a Cleomenes. They would value the status quo far more than any perceived benefits from helping him. We should not be over-persuaded by the events 20 or 30 years later, when Tegea and Argos, and then an Arcadian confederation without Argos, attacked Sparta (ignoring that both ended in defeats: Tegea, c473–c465; Dipaia, c471–c465). Argos would then seem a powerful ally, and the alliances were not under a Cleomenes.[8] Assessments of his plans commonly assume that they were logical and practicable, and appealed to the Arcadians. That is not the view taken here. They were as ambitious and controversial as any of his previous enterprises, and the Spartans were right to be worried about them. But they would also be seen as ambitious and controversial by the Arcadians, and not to be encouraged.

11 Their attitude may have hardened when he asked the chieftains to swear at or by the Styx. Note that he does not succeed: see on πρόθυμος, §74.1. The request was unusual, to say the least, and he may have made it precisely because he detected a lukewarm response to his plans. The gods swore by the Styx; it is unlikely that Arcadians did so also (see on τὸ Στυγὸς ὕδωρ, §74.2). If it was for the gods, men should not use it, and Cleomenes' suggestion that they should

[8] For these events see Andrewes (1952) 3–5; Forrest (1960) 229–32; generally *CAH*[2] V 104–5, 108 (Lewis); *BM* 203; *HG* 262. We depend on 9.35.2 (and Isoc *Archidam* 99) for our knowledge of Dipaia. For Tegea from the Argive perspective, and the problem of dating, see Appx 15 para 17.

would be seen as eccentric, even sacrilegious. If it was also an Arcadian oath, you would not go there to swear it. Even today, the Styx is not easily accessible. It is quite unrealistic to think of men from Tegea or, indeed, most of Arcadia, commonly going there to seal some bargain;[9] or that now, τοὺς προεστεῶτας, whoever they were, would readily accede to Cleomenes' wish to take them there. If Arcadians could swear by it without leaving home, it is possible that Herodotus' wanting to take them there is an accretion in the tradition; but it is far more probable that Cleomenes' request was perceived as eccentric, and a further reason for not supporting him. For the reasons both in para 10 and here, we should be cautious about assuming that the Arcadians were agreeing with his plans. Indeed, we should be alert to the real possibility that his return to Sparta, if not initiated by them, was not obstructed by them. They would find his presence an embarrassment, and an undertaking by Sparta that he would be properly treated would satisfy whatever obligations they felt they had to him in terms of the laws of hospitality. See, further, para 15.

12 An assessment both of his plans and how the Arcadians saw them is considerably sharpened if we consider his madness. Jeffery spoke of "a powerful but unstable character which ended in madness" and "an unstable and overwrought mind . . . finally broken by the intolerable situation of a paramount war-leader now in the abyss of disgrace" (*CAH* IV^2 356, 366). Forrest (1980) 93–4 suggested paranoid schizophrenia, as subsequently fully argued by Devereux (1995).[10] To Greeks, madness was often a visitation by the gods, not a treatable medical condition. But they could recognise it (as we might),

---

[9] It would be at least 90 km, and need at least two long days over mountainous terrain from Tegea. Frazer on Paus 8.17.6 relates that in 1895 he needed 5 hours (riding?) to get from (modern) Pheneos to Solos, a distance of some 24–25 km. Ancient Pheneos was nearby. From Solos the waterfall is still several hours on foot. In spring 2001 I took over an hour to take a car the first 17 km from Pheneos, over a stony and rutted track which can be no better than in 1895 (the last 7 or 8 km to Solos is now tarmac). Solos is near the site of ancient Nonacris (see on καὶ δή, §74.1); nowadays it is readily accessible from the Corinthian Gulf at Akrata.

[10] At 105–6 (conveniently at Richer (1998) 403 n. 11) Devereux points out that while historians suspect the story of suicide (cf note to §§71–75), if it was an invention, those inventing could not have foreseen how plausible the details would sound to the psychiatrist. Devereux traces the condition back to boyhood, when Cleomenes would have to cope with the pressures from his half-brothers' family; cf Bultrighini (2003) 63, 87, 89.

as a significant deviation from accepted standards and conventions, or conduct based on delusion.[11] Thus Athenian law permitted children to apply to the court to protect family property, or set aside a disposition of property, or a will, on various grounds (e.g. undue influence of a woman) including that their father was "mad", i.e. suffering from παράνοια: *Ath Pol* 56.6; Xen *Mem* 1.2.49; Aeschin *Ctes* 251; Ar *Nub* 845; Harrison (1968) 1.79–81; and see on οἱ προσήκοντες, §75.2.

13 Despite judgments such as Jeffery's, and assessments such as Devereux', some historians question the concept of making a modern diagnosis of a man long dead, on whom we only have limited information. But it may be significant that two consultant psychiatrists who have read the information we have about Cleomenes (paras 2–3) independently came to similar conclusions: he had some degree of personality disorder (cf his persistent misuse of religion), or suffered from underlying mental instability, hypomania or even mania, which either predisposed him to, or was the backdrop to, later frank mania.[12] Such a person can function apparently normally and shrewdly for long periods, but periodically exhibits symptoms of mild elevation of mood, accompanied or evidenced by increased energy and activity.[13]

[11] And treat it by conventional medicine if it was seen a consequence of a bodily upset, e.g. purges and diet for delusions caused by bodily illness: Hipp *Affect Int* 48 (c400). Hipp *Morb Sacr* (probably second half fifth century), deals with the physical manifestations of what the author regards as brain lesions or softening, and we call epilepsy, though it also has three cases of persons who are "mad" (secs 1, 17, 18 in Jones' Loeb). The Hippocratic corpus often uses μαίνομαι for the delirium of a patient in a high fever, or other uncomfortable state (e.g. *Morb Pop* II 3.18, VII 1.25). See, generally, Simon (1978), esp chaps 8–13. The Greeks had a rich vocabulary for madness: μανίη νοῦσος, ὑπο or καταμάργος, παραφρονέω (cf §75); οὐ φρενήρης and ἀκρομάνης, 5.42.1; others include μανία παρανοία and λύσσω and cognates. The divine aspect is reflected in δαιμονάω and (later) θεόληπτος.

[12] I gratefully acknowledge the interest in the present problem, and input from, Dr Neil Silvester, consultant psychiatrist at Doncaster Infirmary, and Dr Keith Rix, consultant psychiatrist formerly of High Royds Hospital near Leeds, now in independent practice. Their views broadly coincide. The categories of mental illness are currently set out in the psychiatrists' standard reference work, ICD-10, which represents international consensus on mental illnesses and their diagnostic features (the relevant sections here are F30, F31, and F34); it encapsulates long-standing practice. "Frank" means that the patient has gone "over the top" and it can be seen that his mania is now affecting his conduct.

[13] Dr Silvester postulates hypomania within F30; Dr Rix suggests cyclothymia, F34. These are not rigid categories; the mild elation of cyclothymia shades into milder forms of hypomania.

It leads to euphoria, in which he loses some grasp of reality and takes an overoptimistic or unreal view of the real world and what he may do or can achieve. It involves increased brain activity, i.e. his thinking processes are speeded up and he says clever things that he might not normally do. In Cleomenes' case, we can see that reflected in ambitious plans, the wisdom of which others doubted, his disregard for conventions, and his witty answers. We should also note the tradition of instability reflected in §75.1 (see on μανίη): "previously somewhat unbalanced", looking back to 5.42.1, that Cleomenes was "not in his right mind and somewhat mad". We must allow for the context of 5.42 being hostile, that his half-brother Dorieus should have been king (notes to §§49.2–55 paras 4, 8; §§71–75). But we only know of what Cleomenes did on a few occasions over 30 years; his contemporaries would witness other incidents. These traditions may simply reflect his personality, and the words lie in the mouth of laymen, not doctors. But, even if the phraseology has an element of hindsight, they do suggest that his behaviour was not perceived as normal in their terms.

14 Such a person is particularly vulnerable to stress, typically something which interrupts his plans. He becomes even more optimistic or more impractical in his ideas or plans; and as his hypomania gets worse he becomes manic, when he loses touch with the real world, or develops psychotic symptoms, i.e. delusions; or both.[14] Here, we can identify two incidents which could stress him. One is the discovery of his bribing Delphi. Until then, things had gone his way: he had got rid of Demaratos, probably the first Spartan king to achieve such a thing; he had made his mark in Aegina; and he foresaw no problems in working with Demaratos' replacement, Leotychidas. The other is the frustration of his plans in Arcadia by being brought home; until then he believed that his plans there were progressing well. It is instructive to review matters on that basis.

15 If it was the bribery, he would appreciate the adverse consequences of staying in Sparta, so he leaves. But it explains his trip to Thessaly. Whether he had a Thessalian *xenos* (like Brasidas, noted

[14] The converse is not true. Many men of energy and wit, with a strong personality, survive. It is those with an underlying vulnerability in their personality, or hypomania, who react badly to stress.

on ὁδῶν, §57.4), or merely the hope that the Aleuadae, or other Thessalian chiefs, would be sympathetic to providing him with substantial numbers of troops to escort him home and use whatever force was necessary to ensure that his kingship was confirmed, he would think that such an idea was realistic, and be acceptable to the Thessalians. The Thessalians would not; they would have no good reason to help him, nor see his plan as sensible: cf on Θεσσαλίην, §74.1. Their refusal would be pragmatic, whether or not they also thought him or his plans "mad" by their standards. Again, whatever his aims in Arcadia, paras 8–9, he would see them as both feasible and likely to appeal to the Arcadians. They would see them differently, as discussed in paras 10–11, to be rejected, whether or not they also thought him, or them, "mad". The more over-ambitious or unrealistic or controversial we judge his plans to be, the more we are justified in treating them as evidence of hypomania or mania.

16 The same point arises on the Styx oath. If it was an oath for the gods, it would be a symptom of his condition that he thought it appropriate to use it; he might not see it as putting himself on a par with the gods, but the Arcadians could so judge it. If it was indeed an Arcadian oath, he did not just want them to take it; he wanted them to spend two or three days going there, two or three more to come home. It would seem entirely reasonable to him, quite unrealistic to them. Indeed, his wanting to take them to the Styx was like the thirteenth stroke: it was an unnecessarily stupid idea in itself, and would throw doubt on the feasibility of his wider aims; it could only confirm their doubts about the wisdom, or sanity, of his plans. That would also support the suggestion that they were as keen as the Spartans to see him leave Arcadia, para 11. Accepting the diagnosis cannot help us decide what his plans were; but it does mean that we should not assess them on the basis that they were sensible or achievable or likely to command support amongst the Arcadian leaders.

17 But, as noted in para 10, it can be suggested that his plans in Arcadia were only another instance of his long-standing ability to formulate ambitious plans. If so, it can fairly be said that the interruption of those plans was the stress that finally lit up his hypomania or mania. Whatever his state in Arcadia, soon after returning to Sparta he is clearly hypomanic or manic: his condition has deteriorated

to the point that he started hitting people. It would not matter whether he thought that it was appropriate conduct; or he was deluded into thinking that they were about to attack him. By now, his total conduct was such that the Spartans considered him mad in their terms, and his family locked him up. The diagnosis of hypomania or mania can stop there, and it is not affected by whether he subsequently died as described or was murdered.[15] But on the footing that it was suicide, it is easily understood. For a man in a prominent position to be locked up, and in the undignified way described, would have an adverse effect on his mental condition. The loss of both power and dignity was likely to aggravate his condition and cause him to swing into depression, even become psychotic, with delusions that he was being persecuted; he would think that his family as well as his friends and country had abandoned him.[16] This would only make his condition worse, and he would come to believe that everyone, his family in particular, was out to "get" him. At the end, his physical state was likely to be poor; his mental state would swing between irritability and anger, and a depressive, self-destructive, psychotic condition. Hence his final actions: he threatened to harm the helot if he did not give him a knife, a last demonstration of his lost power. We should not assume that he actually intended to kill himself; self mutilation, as distinct from self-injury (e.g. cutting the wrist) is very uncommon as a method of suicide.[17] He may have intended it as a gesture, hoping that his family would release him from custody (that belief could itself be evidence of a psychotic state). His depressive and psychotic state would enable him to ignore the pain; but he would put himself into shock and bleed to death.

[15] E.g. Parke and Wormell (1956) I 162: the circumstances of his death are "suspicious . . . modern scholars are inclined to suppose that it was a political murder prudently hushed up"; Cartledge (1979) 151: "I prefer to follow [those] who suspect foul play"; Burn (1984) 270; Bultrighini (2003) 89–90. Jeffery, *CAH* IV^2 366–7 leaves it open, as does Harvey (1979) 260, who carefully analyses the arguments both ways, though noting that the family who were guarding him (Leonidas, Cleombrotos and Gorgo) were those who stood most to gain by his death. But see the comments of Devereux (1995), n. 10.

[16] F31 (n. 12) is headed "Bipolar affective disorder": the two poles are elation and depression.

[17] As a form of suicide, it is outwith the considerable experience of either doctor: but see Cartledge (1979) 153 ("not unexampled in psychoanalytical literature"), and cf n. 10.

18 It is possible to say that Cleomenes was naturally an energetic and ambitious man, his plans in Arcadia were no more ambitious than earlier ones, and the Spartans brought him home in their own interests to prevent him carrying them out (cf Cartledge (1979) 153). We could add that he did not go mad, and the whole tale of his return, from hitting people to his suicide, was a cover story for his murder. But there are two things in favour of the views expressed here. Firstly, is it just coincidence that everything we are told about him, even limiting ourselves to Herodotus, so well fits the proposed diagnosis? If the story of his last weeks was an invention, it is extraordinary that it so well fits the overall picture (n. 10). Secondly, if incidentally, it helps support the MSS reading of Thessaly at §74.1.

APPENDIX 15

PROBLEMS IN THE ARGOS NARRATIVE, §§76–84

Date of the campaign and its motivation

1 Paus 3.4.1, perhaps drawing on *Lakonika*, says that Cleomenes attacked Argos immediately (αὐτίκα) on becoming king, i.e. c520. The best argument in favour of this is that he took on a difficult task in a bravura attempt to show that he was worthy to hold the kingship, despite the rival claim of Dorieus (note to §§49.2–55 paras 4, 8). But most historians reject this late Spartan tradition[1] and place it in the mid 490s,[2] for several reasons: (a) it helps make sense of the double oracle, the Milesian part of which prima facie anticipates the fall of Miletus in 494.[3] (b) It is easier to make sense of subsequent events: the "slaves" taking and then losing power, §83; perhaps the Argives using their defeat as the reason (or excuse) for not officially sending troops to Aegina, §92.2; and the use of νεωστί, "recently", attributed to them in 481–0 when they spoke of those losses (7.148) when refusing to help against Persia (for the word, see Appx 10 n. 6). (c) At §92.1 the Argives fine Sicyon and Aegina for supplying the Spartans with ships: and that reads more easily if it

[1] Writers of Spartan history were late, and the value of what they recorded is pro tanto suspect. Huxley (1962) 19 suggests that Pausanias may have used Sosibios (*FGrH* 595, perhaps late second century). The story in Socrates of Argos that Demaratos was also there (para 6) is not persuasive, at least on the dates proposed by Forrest (1980) 21: Cleomenes succeeded c520, when Demaratos' father Ariston was still king; Demaratos did not succeed until c515; cf on Ἀρίστωνι, §61.1.

[2] E.g. *BM* 162; *CAH* IV[2] 497 (Hammond), so *HG* 196, 201; Jeffery (1976) 125, id *CAH* IV[2] 335, 364; *CAH* V[2] 101 (Lewis, with some reservations). For a defence of Pausanias' date see Wells (1923) chap IV; he accepts the Telesilla story, infra, as true (cf Appx 6 n. 10). Stadter (1965) 52, following Jacoby, argues that Demaratos was added to the story after an incident at Argos in 271, when Pyrrhus king of Epirus was killed by a projectile thrown by a woman from above (Paus 1.13.7, Plut *Pyr* 34). The ransom trick does not help, since there was no Argive coinage even in 494; they start in c475–c468: Kraay (1976) 96. Ransom could have been paid in bullion or coins from elsewhere, e.g. Aegina.

[3] See Appx 6, esp paras 8–10, noting the possibility that Cleomenes' consultation of Delphi (next note) was a few years before actually invading, and the double oracle was given shortly afterwards.

had happened not long before the events just described, the fighting between Athens and Aegina, which on any view probably happened in the period 493 to 484: Appx 12 paras 5–6. (d) In Herodotus' narrative, only Cleomenes is there.[4] (e) There is much merit in the point made by Jones (1967) 53, Jeffery (1976) 125, that a 50 year truce after Thyrea would expire in c496. (f) If Telesilla was there, whatever her role, the later the date the easier it is to accommodate her.[5]

2 Understanding Cleomenes' motive and plan involves several problems; when he set out, he could not have foreseen that he would be able to eliminate a substantial part of the Argive army. Did he indeed hope to capture the city, and so compel her to join the Peloponnesian league, and did he persuade the ephors that he could (cf on §§76.1 and 82.1)? Or was his aim to incorporate Argive territory into Laconia (but see para 3 *ad fin*)?[6] That he might want to make his mark as the new king has been noted supra; but a victory over Argos would enhance his position at any time. There were probably always internal political tensions within Sparta: cf note to §§49.2–55 paras 3–4. Did he do it out of personal ambition, or was there a substantial body of Spartiate opinion behind him wanting to "nullify a major rival for hegemony of the Peloponnese" (Cartledge (1979) 149); or were both the case?[7]

---

[4] In Herodotus, it was Cleomenes who had the oracle, and he alone led the expedition. This is consistent with it being after the law of 506, that only one king should lead the army. But there are cases of one king doing it before then: note to §§49.2–55 para 3. The 510 expedition was said to be in response to an oracle, but that of 508 was not.

[5] It is also arguable that Herodotus' narrative reads better if Cleomenes had been on the throne for a good time.

[6] Tomlinson (1972) 95–6, who dates the attack to 494 and after the fall of Miletus, suggested the alternative, or perhaps additional, aim of neutralising possible Argive support for Persia; Cartledge (1979) 149, infra, left it open. That is very doubtful, as few Greeks would see Persia as a threat to Hellas in the mid 490s.

[7] There was probably an emotive side to the hostility between Sparta and Argos. Both probably said that Aristodemos and his brothers had shared out the Peloponnese (cf on §52.1). Sparta's control of Messenia had already given her Cresphontes' lot in addition to her own, and she also sought to appropriate Agamemnon (cf *ibid* and note to §§49.2–55 para 5). But Argos could claim that she had inherited the lot of Temenos, and was also successor to Agamemnon: see Jeffery (1976) 134–6, 164. Kelly (1976) 41–2, 44–5, questions the reliability of the "lot" references, but the story of Tegea at Plataea, 9.26–7, shows how powerful tradition could be in such matters. Although it is unclear how far Argos' authority extended (paras 17–18), she blocked Sparta's claim to total hegemony in the Peloponnese.

3 We should have an open mind about capturing Argos. Cleomenes had said that the oracle foretold it, and he was prosecuted for not doing it. He could hope to beat the Argives in a hoplite battle; but what if they waited for him in the city? If he won a battle, what would he do if the survivors then fled back there? He was faced with the real possibility of a siege, something Greeks had little experience of, and at which Thucydides was to say that the Spartans were bad.[8] Also, if Sepeia took place in the fourth Argive month, as was later stated (para 6), that would be early autumn, and late in the year to start a siege.[9] He would have to hope for surrender or betrayal.[10] If, as noted on §76.2, the real reason for his retreat from the Erasinos was that the Argive army was waiting on the north bank, we might suspect that he did not want to fight them there, precisely because even if he won the battle, the survivors would flee to the city. Also, they blocked his way to the plain between Argos and Tiryns: his plan all along could have been not start a siege, but to capture the grove, and then claim that this fulfilled the

[8] Thuc 1.102. Greeks could only blockade and hope for surrender by starvation or treachery: Kern (1999) 89–93; Connolly (1981) 276–7; *HCT* I 16–19, 301; van Wees (2004) 124–6, 138–45. Few earlier sieges are recorded: Cirrha in the First Sacred War; and specifically by Sparta, Eira in the second Messenian War (as related, Paus 4.17.10–21, it took 11 years!). In the first War, *id* 4.7.6 says that the Spartans did not know how to besiege a Messenian stronghold; they unsuccessfully besieged Samos for 40 days in c525, 3.54–6, when Cleomenes would be a young man. In 499 the Ionians with Persian help had failed at Naxos after four months (p. 53); in 498–7 Onesilus, probably inspired by Persian siegecraft, failed at Amathus in Cyprus (5.104, 113); in 479 the Athenians only just succeeded at Sestos after a long siege, despite the garrison there being unprepared, 8.116–18. At Argos, Cleomenes would have to organise a food supply; also he could fear that his army would be vulnerable to "guerrilla" attacks from men who lived in the Argolid, who formed the majority of the population. Miltiades has the same problem on Paros, Appx 18 para 6.

[9] Although there is a problem in placing all the 7 Argive month names which we know, our text specifies that Hermaios was the fourth month, and their new year began in the summer, as with many Greek poleis: Samuel (1972) 90. Even if we assumed that the *Hybristika* festival in Hermaios recalled a battle on the 7th of the previous month, it would only put Sepeia back into late August or early September; for that possibility cf Marathon, commemorated on 6th Boedromion, but fought in (probably) the previous month: Appx 17 F2.

[10] Thus we could assume that the αὐτόμολοι of §79.1 were men to whom he had already offered power in a Sparta-controlled Argos. Even Cleomenes could not foresee that a few years later, Euphorbos and Philagros would surrender Eretria to Datis (§101); or that the aged Hippias could persuade the Persians that he could procure the surrender of Athens (§§102, 107); in one version of Miltiades' Parian expedition, there were Parians prepared to negotiate surrender: Ephoros *FGrH* 70 F63 (Appx 18 Endnote; paras 5–8, 11–12).

oracle. This would be a typical piece of Cleomenic lateral thinking and verbal dexterity, though it presupposes that he already knew that the grove existed, and that it was dedicated to the eponym. He could not foresee just where he might have to fight the Argives, or that they would flee into the grove. But he could hope to win an actual battle anywhere on the open ground between Argos and Tiryns, and then seize the grove; it would avoid all the complications of a siege: the effort he put into getting himself near Tiryns was precisely because that is the area where he wanted to fight. Cf also on πλοίοισι, §76.2; §79.1; and on ἐπείρετο, §80. While he did in fact succeed in neutralising Argos for the time being, it does not seem that Sparta retained control of any Argive territory. It may be that the mountainous terrain and few settlements beyond the existing frontier (for which see on ἐσφαγιάζετο, §76.1) made that impracticable.

The lacuna in the narrative

4 We need not assume that when Cleomenes' herald said that he had the ransom, it was physically in his hands; there may have been a Hellenic custom that a relative or a *xenos* giving a name was a sufficient guarantee that the prisoner or his family would subsequently pay it. But if the men in the grove believed the herald, there would also need to believe in some mechanism by which he had learnt the names. One is from prisoners or deserters; but after a longer period they could believe, either that news of the battle had reached the city, and older relations had ridden out to offer ransom; or that Cleomenes had sent to the city, told them of the position, and his men had returned with a list of names. Given that the grove was 7–8 km from Argos (cf on Σήπεια, §77.1), either could have been accomplished with horses in a little over an hour. This should make us think that there was in fact an interval between the end of the battle and sending the herald.

5 Cleomenes did not in fact have ransom or the offer of ransom. What did he do during the interval (if we accept that there was one)? One reason for thinking that he would do something is that he is always portrayed as energetic. There must be a possibility that he went, or sent, to the city to see if he could trade the men in the grove against its surrender; cf para 10. Even if his plan was as pro-

posed in para 3, Spartiates whether in the army or at home would expect him to capture the city. If he could do that with minimum effort it would be a bonus. Moreover, some such contact offers a tangible occasion which could be exploited by those making the later accusation of bribery, §82. If he did try, he was rebuffed; the Argives might not have believed that their army was totally trapped, and have suspected a Spartan trick, for instance. By the time he or his delegates returned to camp, the interval had elapsed, and he could pretend that he had the ransom.

Telesilla

6 Her story comes down to us in two versions: Plut *Mul Virt* 245c–f and Paus 2.20.7–8.[11] Plutarch says: Telesilla was sickly, but was advised by an oracle to take up poetry, which cured her. When Cleomenes marched on the city after killing the Argive army, she led the women on to the walls, and they repulsed both him and, according to Socrates of Argos (*FGrH* 310 F6) Demaratos also; some women were killed. As a result, the women of Argos were granted the privilege of erecting a statue of Ares. The battle took place on the 7th or the 1st of the fourth month, Hermaios, and is commemorated on the 1st by a cross-dressing festival called the *Hybristika*. To make up for the men killed, *perioikoi* (not slaves, as Herodotus says) were enfranchised and the widows were married to them; they objected to low status husbands, and so the Argives passed a law (ἔθεντο νόμον) that "married women having a beard must occupy the same bed as their husbands."

7 Pausanias, in his tour of Argos, reached a sanctuary of Aphrodite, in front of which was a stele described as the poetess Telesilla, her books at her feet, holding a helmet. He then tells her story: when Cleomenes marched on the city after burning the grove, she manned the walls with the household servants (οἰκέτας), the old men, the youths, and the women, armed with such weapons as were to hand.

[11] Also in Plut *Apophth Lac* 223b, Polyaen *Strat* 8.33, Suda sv Τελέσιλλα, Clem Alex *Strom* 4.19.120.3; Lucian *Amores* 30. They derive from either the same sources as the two cited passages, or those passages, and add nothing, except Lucian, who says that the women of Argos worshipped Ares.

They resisted the Spartan attack, and the Spartans withdrew, being ashamed to fight women. This fight, he adds, had been foretold in an oracle (i.e. the epicene oracle), of which he cites the first three lines.

8 There is a consensus that the versions of the story known to Plutarch and Pausanias (and the latter's informants) were in various *Argolika*, histories of Argos, the earliest of which were mid fourth century, i.e. some 140-odd years after Sepeia: see Jacoby on Socrates of Argos, *FGrH* 310 F6 (IIIb Commentary 45–7); Stadter (1965) 47–8.[12] The basic reasons are that Plutarch drew on at least two accounts, naming Socrates for a detail not in the other(s); while Aristotle knew that the battle was on the 7th of the month, and afterwards the *perioikoi* were enfranchised, details he could not have got from Herodotus (*Pol* 1303a6–8, in a passage dealing with how cities coped with significant male population losses); hence it is inferred that he got them from one of the first *Argolika*. We cannot be sure when Telesilla first appeared;[13] Pausanias gives no help as to how old he thought the stele was. But she probably appeared early on. As Jacoby and Stadter show, the story as a whole was designed to offer both an explanation for how the Argive part of the double oracle was fulfilled: the female victory, though many men were killed, was Telesilla and her women repelling the Spartans from the city itself, in fighting or threatened fighting; and also aetiologies for Argive women worshipping Ares, and the Argive cross-dressing festival, the *Hybristika*.[14] The ὅταν . . . τότε would be understood as "on the occasion when", not as indicating what came first (cf on ἡ θήλεια, §77.2).

---

[12] If Pausanias got some of his information from oral sources, by his day local tradition must have been largely influenced by literary accounts. Stadter 48, 51, suggests that the Spartans withdrawing so as not to fight women was also in *Lakonika*. The two stories are considered at length in Piérart (2003) 276–9, 279–83.

[13] We know of seven authors (*FGrH* 304–310): Aristotle's source would be Demetrios or Derkylos (*FGrH* 304, 305). Socrates cannot be dated other than no later than the first century. It is doubtful that an Argive version of Sepeia had been written earlier. The only surviving fragment of Hellanicus' *Argolika* is a piece of mythical history (*FGrH* 4 F36), and Jacoby, IIIb Notes 28 n 92, thought that he just followed Herodotus for Cleomenes. Hippys of Rhegion is also said to have written an *Argolika*; Jacoby doubts this; in any case he down-dates him from the time of Xerxes' invasion given in *FGrH* 554 T1 (= Suda, sv) to 350–300.

[14] For the Argives, giving Telesilla and the women a successful military role put Argos on a par with Tegea (n. 17). See also Graf (1984b), discussing the involvement of women in the worship of Ares, and cross-dressing rituals. Some of the

The stories of a Spartan attack on the city directly conflict with Herodotus. But they must contain some kernel of history. There *was* some sort of enfranchisement (paras 12, 15–16), and probably marriages of Sepeia widows to the "new men" (paras 12–13).

9 Further, whether invention or history, the *Argolika* had to "sound right" to their readers. Despite the loss of life, Argos recovered; by the late 470s she was again playing an important role in the Peloponnese (para 19), and continued to be active in Greek affairs into the fourth century: Tomlinson (1972) 101–41. Argives must have developed traditions about how they had overcome Sepeia, if only, as Jacoby puts it, to heal their wounded pride (*FGrH* IIIb commentary 45). Such accounts are explicit at 7.148, and perhaps implicit in the "slaves" story of §83, however we understand that, and at §92.2 (cf para 1(b)). It would be surprising if they did not come to put more stress on the fact that the Spartans had failed to capture the city than the losses at Sepeia, especially as Sepeia had triggered the widening of the franchise and the movement towards democracy (cf paras 12, 15): the new men would stress the first more than the second. By the mid fourth century tradition had no doubt lost detail, but it was likely to recall that they had "beaten" the Spartans. Thus when the first *Argolika* were published, however much embellishment and aetiology they contained, they would have to be consistent, or at least not inconsistent, with popular tradition as it then stood. Whichever author first included Telesilla, the widening of the franchise goes back to one of the first, as Aristotle shows. We may thus suspect that, however embroidered the *Argolika* were, they were built on a substratum of tradition which still recalled something of the political events of the early fifth century, probably also including the marriages of Sepeia widows.

10 That raises the question whether there was a further substratum of fact which we can recover from the *Argolika*. It is probable that when Cleomenes invaded, Argos was a walled city, with five gates.[15] When the army marched out to Sepeia, no doubt some

details may have been rather imaginative, to judge from Plutarch's own rejection of 7,777 killed at Sepeia "ὡς ἔνιοι μυθολογοῦσιν".

[15] Plans in Tomlinson (1972) 16 and Winter (1971) 104, fig 80; the circuit was

adventurous youths went with them; but it is natural to think that non-combatants, principally teenagers and men above military age, would assemble at the gates and on the walls, to await news.[16] When the Argive camp was overrun, a few men would escape back to Argos (cf on §83.1), and report what had happened. Even if the camp was beyond Tiryns, a man on a horse could cover 8 or 9 km in less than half an hour. Many would then fear that the Spartans might reach the city before the Argive army; when the news eventually included that the latter was trapped, they would certainly fear it. They would prepare to defend the city, and those helping, fetching food and weapons, could well include servants and women (cf Tomlinson (1972) 94). They would close the gates and man at least the walls facing the general direction of Tiryns. That alone could feed a later patriotic tradition that they had repelled the Spartans from the city. If, as canvassed in para 5, Cleomenes used the "interval" to negotiate for the lives of his captives, his delegation was repelled, albeit verbally (and probably with abuse and brandishing weapons). In a nutshell, we can envisage several incidents which fed later Argive traditions expressed as beating the Spartans, even beating them in actual fighting; it would be the Argive equivalent of fourth century Athenian oratory which said that Athens had single handedly saved Greece from the Persians in 480 (p. 19 n. 62). In turn, it would give the writers of *Argolika* a basis on which to build their stories. The presence or absence of Telesilla is not essential to such a view; she may well be part of the literary embellishment. She was a suitable person to be made leader of the women who had originally played a rather more modest role than was later written up.[17] By the mid fourth century, no one would be able to date her

c5 km, with a maximum distance between walls of 1.4 km: news would spread quickly across such a small area. The remains of the walls are archaic or early classical; unfortunately the excavator, Vollgraf (1907) 157–9, was minded to date them to the second half sixth century by reference to Cleomenes' expedition, which he dated to 520, accepting the date in Pausanias and citing Wells (n. 2). Tomlinson 17 treats the walls as archaic, though at 95, describing Cleomenes' attack, he seems to reserve the position. The substance of this paragraph is not affected if there were no walls; the non-combatants would still assemble at the edge of the city.

[16] Only about a fifth of Argives lived in the city, some 10,000 persons including servants (Tomlinson (1972) 18); but there would be plenty of boys between 10 and 20 and men over 50 still there (cf para 14). 500 would be enough to man the whole circuit, though we do not have to imagine that they actually did that.

[17] We have well-attested cases of women helping only two generations later:

with precision; ironically, neither can we, though it is probable that, if alive in the 490s, she could only have been a young girl.[18]

Background to, and implications of, §83

11 From at least the mid sixth century, Argos had been a typical aristocracy, with a council (βουλή, 7.149.1–2, strictly βολά, e.g. *IG* IV 554) and magistrates, δαμιοῦργοι. It is not clear how far office was open to all her Dorian inhabitants, or limited to a restricted group of aristocrats; the franchise probably extended to all. But she also had a significant non-Dorian population. Their precise status is unclear and need not have been uniform; but they would not be eligible to vote for, much less participate in, the government of the polis.[19] Some would work directly for the Dorians, cultivating their

Plataea, 431, and Corcyra, 427: Thuc 2.4.2, 3.74.1; ironically Plataea was in the same year that Pericles is made to say that women should be seen and not heard (*id* 2.45.2). Aen Tact 40.2 says that when Datames besieged Sinope, early fourth century, there was a shortage of men, and women were dressed as soldiers and put on the walls to deceive the enemy. Of course, there was a literary precedent for the women on the walls, on Achilles' shield: Hom *Il* 18.514–15. For the incident at Argos in 271, see n. 2. Earlier stories of women fighting are regarded as inventions, not history: the Laconian women of Aigila defeating the Messenians in the second Messenian War, Paus 4.17.1 (not cited by Graf (1984b) 248, though he has a similar story of Spartan women from Lactantius, fourth century AD); and Tegean women under their queen, variously called Perimede or Marpessa or Choira ("sow", a word with sexual connotations), e.g. Paus 8.48.4–5, beating the Spartans on the "fetters" occasion, 1.66: discussed Graf 248, 250–1.

[18] The surviving fragments, *PMG* or Loeb *Greek Lyric IV* (ed Campbell) 719–726, are too slender to date her by style, language or content. They indicate poems or songs in praise of Apollo and Artemis, and concerning Niobe; the Pausanias narrative perhaps suggests Aphrodite also. Euseb *Chron* Ol 82.2 (112 Helm) gives her a floruit in 450, linking her with Crates the comic poet and Bacchylides. Crates' floruit is plausible, as it corresponds to his first victory (see *OCD*[3] sv), but not that for Bacchylides. Eusebius also mentions him under Ol 78.1, 468, and 87.2, 431; but he was probably born c518 (see *Greek Lyric IV*, 5), so 450 is questionable and 431 unlikely. M.E. Colonna, *Ann Fac Lett Nap* 5 (1955) 67–72, cited in Graf (1984b) n. 22, would have her born c 490. That would be long enough ago for her association with Cleomenes' attack to be plausible to the Argive of 350.

[19] 9 and 6 δαμιοῦργοι, a common name in Dorian states for archons, are recorded in *IG* IV 614 and *SEG* XI 314, mid sixth century: Jeffery (1990) 156–8. The βασιλεύς who survived into the fifth century (7.149.2; ML 42) probably had religious or symbolic duties only. If there was also a popular assembly, ἁλία or ἁλιαία, we do not hear of it. The tribal names, n. 24, indicate that we may properly speak of Dorian and non-Dorian populations, though there had no doubt been intermarriage.

farms or as household servants; others lived in their own settlements, and retained a degree of local autonomy; some were artisans and craftsmen.[20] In all they would form a sizeable minority of the population.[21] There are few literary references to them: §83, Plutarch and Aristotle cited in paras 6, 8, and the "naked" word which appears in late reference works.[22] In broad terms, they form part of a wider picture in many Greek poleis: a sizeable part of the population was to some degree subservient to a ruling class, and the helots are an extreme case: van Wees (2003); Argos specifically at 41–5. The Dorian aristocrats might call them δοῦλοι (cf para 12), but outsiders see them as *perioikoi*; as pointed out by Forrest (1960) 223 n. 7, discussions of what *perioikoi* meant to a writer is not the same as deciding the substantive position in a given place. Finley (1960) 188 lists the various areas where such men could be at a disadvantage, and discussions such as Lotze (1959) (Argos specifically at 53–4) and Andrewes (1990) ultimately can only suggest what was likely. It is probable that the non-Dorian Argives were basically free: Piérart (1997) 335. On one point we may feel confident: as at Zancle, the δοῦλοι were not slaves in the later sense of those captured in fighting between Greek states; down to the first half of the fifth century they were uncommon.[23]

[20] Tomlinson (1972) 66, 67–8. At 98–9 he suggests differences between those in the city, or working farms near Argos, who had little freedom, and those further away, who could administer their own affairs and might even have owned or had transmissible tenancies of their land.

[21] Tomlinson (1972) 264 n. 6 puts the Argive army at 6,000, and the total population of the Argolid as more than 50,000. An army of 6,000 suggests a total full citizen population of all ages and both sexes of 25,000–30,000; thus the underclass might comprise 35–50% of the total population. However, in the city itself, where only some 10,000 people could live (n. 16), even allowing for servants, there was likely to be a higher concentration or proportion of full citizens than in the country. The "approximately 7,000" hoplites in 392 (Xen *Hell* 4.2.17) more likely reflects recovery and growth in the 100 years since Sepeia than numbers at Sepeia. Hall (1995) 591, who argues for a smaller Argolid (n. 34), puts it rather lower, 4,000 adult males and a total population of 20,000–25,000.

[22] Pollux 3.83, γυμνῆτες; Steph Byz svv Χίος, Γυμνήσιοι. Neither mean literally naked. Pollux 1.130 includes the word in a list of lightly armed troops, but at 3.83 and in Stephanus it is associated with helots and other similar groups; thus it may have been coined to connote lack of resources, farm labourers rather than farmers: cf Tomlinson (1972) 68.

[23] Tomlinson (1972) 98 points out that when Plutarch "corrects" Herodotus' δοῦλοι, the word for him had different connotations to Herodotus' time. We know of few early occasions which allegedly produced slaves from inter-Greek fighting. When Argos conquered Asine, the inhabitants were allowed to emigrate to Messenia (Paus 4.14.3). Cirrha is said to have been enslaved in the First Sacred War, per

12 Even so, there remains a dichotomy between Herodotus, who speaks in effect of a revolution in which the "slaves" seized power, §83.1; and Plutarch and Aristostle, paras 6, 8, who indicate voluntary enfranchisement of *perioikoi*. Herodotus has the slaves expelled, on which the others say nothing. There are two factors which point to a solution. One is that immediately after Sepeia, Argos had a manpower crisis; however many survived Sepeia (cf on §83.1), she needed an army. The other is by 451 Argos was a democracy, and her non-Dorian citizens had their own tribe, the Hyrnathioi.[24] It seems likely that she solved her manpower problem by enfranchising a number of her *perioikoi*, and marrying the bachelors among them to the Sepeia widows (para 13). This would enable her to field a reasonably sized army, e.g. if Sparta attacked again while she was thought to be weak; and also ensured continuity in her birth-rate. If, initially, only some *perioikoi* were enfranchised, over a period it would have to be made universal.[25] In practice, enfranchisement would involve eligibility for office. The Dorian aristocrats, who were Herodotus' sources, had probably always looked down on their servants and labourers, and called them δοῦλοι; certainly it is how they now referred to them. They will have resented and regretted both their elevation and their marriages (cf Forrest (1960) 222–3). They misrepresented the post-Sepeia government as a forcible revolution. Moreover, although they were temporarily able to recover power, they lost it again, probably by the time they were talking to Herodotus: cf para 16.

Aesch *Ctes* 109, though fourth century references to that war are suspect (Davies (1994)). We have references to slaves at Carystos, Conon *FGrH* 26 F1.44 (perhaps early eight century: Huxley (1966) 50); and Cydonia, Hdt 3.59; for Zancle see on ἐπίπλων, §23.5. The slaves who were working the silver mines at Laurion are a puzzle: if Athens had a silver surplus in 483, where did they come from, and what was their precise status? The same point arises if we accept that there had been slaves at Marathon (Appx 17 D2).

[24] Move to democracy: Tomlinson (1972) 192–9 with 101–16; Forrest (1960) 221–32, with different emphases. See also Thuc 5.47.9 and *HCT ad loc* (referring to Forrest; the δαμιοῦργοι of n. 19 have gone and the archons are now ἄρτυνοι. In 418, 5 generals command her army, Thuc 5.59.5). Argos had the usual three Dorian tribes, Hylloi, Pamphylloi, Dumanes; from the mid fifth century there is epigraphic evidence for the Hyrnathioi. There is a slight possibility that it goes back to an enlargement of the army under Pheidon, which had lapsed (see Tomlinson (1972) 86, 180, 189). Even if so, it was clearly the tribe for the "new men".

[25] Plutarch's "best of the *perioikoi*" suggests that initially, enfranchisement was selective, and also, perhaps, favoured those living nearer to Argos.

13 Plutarch says in terms that the Sepeia widows were married to the new men, and a consideration of the demography, paras 14–15, suggests that this must be right. There were still enough Dorians if it was just a matter of filling the magistracies and other public offices, and probably to resist a revolution. But Argos needed more than magistrates; as noted above, she needed both an army and to maintain the birth rate. A substantial number of those killed at Sepeia would leave young widows, or bereaved fiancées; the *perioikoi* now enfranchised would include bachelors. We glimpse the birth-rate point when Argos refused to help Greece against Persia in 481–0: she asked for a 30 year truce with Sparta so that her children could grow up in peace (7.148–52, esp 148.4–149.1). But it takes little to imagine that many of the women, and certainly their families, would resent the status of the new husbands.[26]

14 I now consider the effect of Sepeia on the Dorian population, including those living in the country.[27] The statistical probability is that, in such a population, with no recent history of past disturbance such as disease or emigration, there was a steady birth-rate. Thus each year, about the same number of babies are born; allowing for infant mortality, a smaller but similar number survive into adulthood, here treated as 20, the age for military service (I need only deal with the males). Let us call that a "cohort" of x males. Thus at any given time, the boys and youths aged between 0 and 19 can be thought of as 20 cohorts of x youngsters, those who, allowing for child mortality, will become adult.[28] In normal circumstances, each

[26] Outwith this Appendix is how far the "beards" detail in Plutarch simply reflects family opposition to a low status son-in-law and husband, and how far it reflects an Argive version of Dorian marriage customs: cf Plut *Lyc* 15.3, that Spartan brides were dressed in men's clothes.

[27] We cannot assume that all Dorians were substantial landowners, and Forrest (1960) 224–5 canvasses that even before Sepeia there were full citizens who wanted a more democratic constitution, and the changes after Sepeia involved them as well as *perioikoi*. That may possibly be so, but does not affect the discussion here. I am grateful for advice from John Turner, emeritus professor of genetics, Leeds University, for help on paras 14–15.

[28] The term "cohort" is used for an annual age-group, e.g. by Whitby (1998a) 111. To illustrate the point, we might imagine an average 300 male babies born in a year, of whom 250 survive to adulthood. The cohort for that year would be 250, those who will survive. The fact that in the real world, it may be 240 on one year and 260 in the next, is not statistically significant. The overall result is similar, though the figures would need slight adjustment, if the call-up age were 18. The

year a cohort of x men become adult, while another cohort of x babies are born. Sepeia made no difference to those already born: in each following year, x youths become adult (but they will now mostly lack their fathers or elder brothers). But there will a significant drop in the birth-rate in the years that immediately follow, which can only be partly compensated for, if the youngsters who become adult over the next few years are encouraged to marry sooner rather than later.

15 We can translate para 14 into figures, provided they are treated as ball-park ones and not as mathematically rigid. In the absence of a war, while mortality does not stop at 20, it is small until 30, and then rises somewhat between 30 and 50. For present purposes, we can assume that most of those who become 20 will survive to 30, and a substantial majority to 35.[29] I use the figure of 6,000 for the army, n. 21, and assume that it comprised essentially all the men between 20 and 50; and the percentages of n. 29. If 6,000 is thought too high, my figures can be adjusted downwards without affecting the principles argued for, and I allow for that to some extent below. If 6,000 is 78% of the adult males, there are still 13%, 1,000, between 50–60, and 9%, 690, of 60 or over. Thus if every last man had died at Sepeia, there would still be some 1,700 older men to fill the magistracies and other offices. We can deduce another figure. If 41% of the 6,000 were aged 20–29, that would be 2,460 men. Since mortality in that age range is small, that part of the army would comprise virtually all the 10 cohorts who had become 20 over the previous 10 years. In other words, in any given year, we may infer that around 250 youths became adult, i.e. each age cohort of para 14 was about 250. Thus in assessing what happened subsequently, we can postulate the following (for this purpose, I place Sepeia in 496; simple adjustment will accommodate an alternative date):

same applies if we assume that a few youths under 20 or men over 50 marched to Sepeia, and been killed.

[29] See, for instance, the distribution of cohorts suggested in Singor (1999) 70. He was dealing with Spartan *syssitia* and had to cover ages from 18 to over 60, but the principle is the same. Translating his figures to exclude those under 18, (a) in the 20–50 age range, 41% are 20–29, 34% 30–39, and 25% 40–49; (b) in the total adult population of 20 upwards, 32% are 20–29, 27% 30–39, 19% are 40–49. 13% 50–60, and 9% over 60. Thus the men aged 20–50 constitute 78% of the total adult males. These figures are in line with those in Whitby (1998a) 111.

(a) in 496, there were 5 cohorts of youths aged between 15 and 19, up to 1,250, plus Sepeia survivors, as well as 1,700 men of 50 and upwards: inadequate for an army, but sufficient to resist a revolution, and sufficient older men to provide a government;
(b) by 486/5, those 5 cohorts, and 5 more, have become adult. However many of the "1,000" volunteers (a rounded up figure) were killed in Aegina, §92.2–3, there will still be some 2,000 men aged 20 and upwards (including survivors);
(c) from 486/5, the oldest of these cohorts have become 30 and are eligible for office. By then, many of the men who were over 50 in 496 would be dead, but even if we postulate that this applied to all the over 60s and two-thirds of those then 50–60, there would still be over 300 eligible for public office. But given the 2,000 figure in (b), this is about the earliest date at which we can envisage that there are sufficient Dorians to hope to recover power in place of the "new men"; or, as Herodotus' sources put it, expel the slaves;
(d) but we must also allow for the effect of enfranchisement. Some of those enfranchised in c496 would already have children who have become 20 by c485 (at this date we must discount the boys whom they have fathered on the widows over the last 10 years);
(e) by c475, all the pure-blood Dorian cohorts alive at the time of Sepeia have become adult, and will be aged between 20 and 40. From now on the children becoming 20 will consist partly of pure-blood Dorians, probably a minority; their fathers will be either Sepeia survivors, or the older cohorts who have been encouraged to marry young. The rest, probably the majority, will be the children of "mixed" marriages, i.e. from the remarriages of the Sepeia widows (whether or not those children were enrolled in a Dorian tribe); or the children of the newly enfranchised men who had or have married *perioikic* girls.

16 It is hard to date the temporary recovery of power by the aristocrats, or to know whether the attack on Tiryns was then or later. By the mid fifth century, Argive democracy seems to have been broadly similar to the Athenian; but, as with the Ionia cases, both the ἰσονομία at the beginning of the revolt and the "democracies" set up by Mardonius (see Appx 11 sec 3), it is hard to know what changes took place, when, and how: extension of franchise and eligibility for office, and the respective powers of archons, council and

assembly. Evolution may have been gradual; but, subject to the aristocratic interregnum, irreversible; the interregnum may have been more a change of personnel than of régime. Forrest (1960) 229–32 proposes the interregnum starting in c468 and Tiryns in c465–4. At 227 he notes a dedication at Delphi, dateable to the mid-460s, arguably made by the aristocrats; at 225–6 he looks at a series of incidents between the early 480s and the late 470s which argue in favour of a more "democratic" régime or policy, from which we might also infer this evolution. They include their official refusal to send help to Aegina, though there could be other reasons for that: see on οὐκέτι, §92.1. Other incidents show only their anti-Spartan policy: fining Sicyon and Aegina for sending ships to Cleomenes, §92.2, and refusing to help in 481–0, para 13, where it is clear in the account. He points out that the references to a *basileus* and the powers of their *boule* when Argos refused that help do not evidence an aristocratic government; to which one might argue that the plea for her children to grow up in peace would lay more easily in the mouths of the new men than aristocrats who had recently retaken power, perhaps by force. He also notes that in 480 and 472, an Argive δημόσιος κέλης and δημόσιον τέθριππον won at Olympia, consistent with state-sponsored teams; and argues that when Themistocles went there in c470, it was as democratic as when he had supported her in 479 (Plut *Them* 20, Thuc 1.90–2).[30] By 473, the earliest date proposed for Argive action in the Peloponnese, the new men had long participated in government; and their children, including the oldest of those by the Sepeia widows, would be serving in the army.

17 Forrest's timetable includes other events involving Argos Arcadia and Sparta. Demographically that is acceptable: a generation after Sepeia, the pure-blood Dorian population would be at its highest: para 15(e). The interregnum had almost certainly ended by 463, in view of the praise of democratic Argos of Aeschylus' *Supplices* of that year. Themistocles was living in Argos between 471–0 and 466–5,

[30] The Olympic victories are in POxy 222.6, 31: Moretti (1957) nos 207, 233; his point that a similar Boeotian victory in 420, Thuc 5.50.4, Moretti no 339 (Forrest 226 n. 4), does not evidence democracy, may be right but is not the whole story: see on παραδιδοῖ, §103.2. He also suggests that the appointment in c475 of Gnostas of Oinous as Argive proxenos (see on προξείνους, §57.2) shows a perioikic government in Argos appointing a Spartan perioikos as an affront to Sparta.

the generally accepted dates for his ostracism and going to Persia; that is consistent with his moving on soon after the change of government (cf Forrest 227). Forrest argues that the Argos which supported Arcadia at the battle of Tegea and started to besiege Mycenae was democratic; the aristocratic interregnum left Arcadia to fight Dipaia alone, but itself proceeded to recover Tiryns and, eventually, Mycenae. He dates Tegea and the start at Mycenae to c469, and the other fighting to c465/4.[31] An attack on Mycenae in c465/4 is possible, because her Spartan allies could not come and help, being preoccupied with the helot revolt from 465. Others do not attempt to identify any of this fighting with the interregnum, and only place it in the same general period, e.g. Lewis in *CAH* IV^2 105–9, 500, 506–8: Tegea c?473–0, Dipaia c?473–69, 465–4 Mycenae. He leaves open the date when Argos recovered Tiryns, as well as whether the interregnum was in the 480s (102, 106).[32] As suggested in para 15(c), it can hardly have been before c485. If it was between then and 480, the "slaves" who went to Tiryns had been quickly absorbed: she sent a contingent to Plataea (para 18). One detail perhaps favours Forrest's chronology at least for the interregnum and Tiryns: it looks as though Herodotus' sources not only complained about the original enfranchisement, but also justified their capture of Tiryns; whether or not one accepts his other arguments and dating. No special help can be gleaned from the fairly general τέως for the period of good relations between the aristocrats and the "slaves" at Tiryns.

18 But Tiryns has to be seen in another light. Argos had long claimed the lot of Temenos (n. 7), but apart from Asine and Nauplia it is hard to be sure how widely her writ ran, or whether cities to which she made claim were independent, or at least autonomous, or subject to her. Our assessment has to be deduced from scattered references, e.g. in Pausanias and Strabo, and it is hard to decide how far their sources were accurate, or were conflating into one nar-

---

[31] Forrest would also date Dipaia to 465–4. His arguments might perhaps be affected if we reject his acceptance of an Arcadian League (229 n. 2: see Appx 14 para 5), and exclude Mantinea from the battle of Tegea.

[32] There is a consensus that after the mid 470s, Argos felt able to reassert herself in the Peloponnese. Tomlinson (1972) 101, 104, without analysing the implications of §83, brackets Mycenae and Tiryns as evidencing this Argive resurgence, so that she came to control all the Argolid.

rative incidents from archaic times and the fifth century.[33] Mycenae seems to have had a degree of independence, at least so far as control of the Heraion was concerned (see on ἱρεύς, §81). But Tiryns was closer to Argos, and with Argos controlling Asine, an independent Tiryns could only exist with Argive consent: even a small settlement on the old Mycenaean palace could not survive without the use of the adjacent plain and perhaps access to the sea. Piérart (1997) 336, *id* in Hansen and Nielsen (2004) 603, 615, thinks that Tiryns was a perioikic town subject to Argos. It may not be coincidence that the eponym was said to be the son of Argos (§80): Paus 2.25.7. On the other hand, Hall (1995) points to various pieces of evidence suggesting independence, including Tiryns' χωρήν at §76.2.[34] But whatever the position before Sepeia, it seems clear that both Tiryns and Mycenae, possibly other places, took advantage of it to make themselves independent: Mycenae sent men to Thermopylae, and in 479 both Mycenae and Tiryns sent to Plataea, and afterwards had their names inscribed on the serpent column at Delphi (7.202, 9.28.4; ML 27); cf DS 11.65 (Ephoros); Piérart (1997) 340. Tomlinson (1972) 100 went so far as to suggest that both had alliances with Sparta in 480–79.

19 But in the fifth century, Argos, whatever her past history or then government, was determined to take or recover control of the Argolid, and by the late 470s she was strong enough to do that (cf n. 32). The first evidence of this is the alliance with Tegea and the battle there, para 17. But she soon turned her attention to the Argolid, and recovered not just Tiryns and Mycenae, probably in

---

[33] "The history of Argos was not properly recorded until the fourth century B.C.": Tomlinson (1972) 105 (i.e. the *Argolika* of para 8). Jeffery (1976) 134–6 avoids suggesting which towns Argos controlled in the archaic period, but it probably extended to Hysiai to the south-west and the Thyreatis to the south. For a useful discussion of Argos from the ninth century to the present events, taking into account archaeological evidence, Tomlinson 67–78, esp 75–78; 79–86; 87–92; 187–9; Piérart (1997) 325–7, 334–6; *id* in Hansen and Nielsen (2004) 602–3. Kelly (1976) 51–141 is much more cautious, and his comments on the unreliability of Pausanias and other ancient writers are well worth considering even if one rejects all his conclusions. Tradition also spoke of an attempt to expand northwards: Pheidon was said to have been killed fighting Corinth: Appx 16 para 2.

[34] At 587–9, including a sixth century inscription speaking of the δᾶμος and an ἁλιαία, assembly. It falls within a longer discussion, 587–611, arguing that archaic Argos controlled less territory in the Argolid than has been assumed.

the mid 460s, but also Hysiai, Orneae (the latter in 418–16) and other places, e.g. Cleonai: see *CAH* V² 106–7 (Lewis). We may thus reject the overlay in the assertion that the men of Tiryns were slaves and the Argives their masters (δούλους, δεσπότῃσι, §83.2). If the recovery of Tiryns took place under the aristocratic interregnum, one motive may have been punishment for taking in the "slaves" who had dared to run Argos for so long. But in reality it was only one step in Argos, recovered from Sepeia, reasserting herself in the Argolid, a policy pursued with enthusiasm by the government of the day.

APPENDIX 16

PHEIDON(S) OF ARGOS, §127.3

1 Each statement about Pheidon in §127.3 is controversial: his date, his introduction of measures, and his interference with the Olympics. We can say with fair certainty that his son Lacedas was not a suitor for Agariste, though when he did rule is not agreed (infra). From Plut *De Cap* 89e and Paus 2.19.2 we infer that Pheidon was succeeded by his son Lacedas and then grandson Meltas, the last king.[1] Meltas' rule must have ended by the mid sixth century, because inscriptions show that an aristocratic government was in post by then.[2] It is thus unrealistic to have Pheidon still alive even in 575, Lacedas unwed, but able to father Meltas on some other lady shortly afterwards, and then for him and then an adult Meltas both to rule before the end of the monarchy by c550; irrespective of the possible need to accommodate the other two kings in n. 1.[3] Although Herodotus is our earliest source, on this point he is reporting a story, not history, and is not to be followed.

2 Almost every reference to Pheidon speaks of him as a strong king with expansionist aims, but we are offered a wide spread of dates. Apart from the floruit of c575 of §127.3, we are offered 895 in *Mar Par FGrH* 239 A30; the 8th Olympiad, 748, by Paus 6.22.2; Nic Dam *FGrH* 90 F35 says that Pheidon was killed while supporting one side in a stasis at Corinth, arguably connected with Cypselus

[1] Plutarch spells the name "Lacydas", but he is identified with Herodotus' Leocedes (the Ionian spelling) and Lacedas, father of Meltas in Pausanias. Paus 2.36.4 and 4.35.2 names two other apparently late kings, Eratos and Damocratidas, not otherwise attested; it is hard to know if they are historical or how they fit into any reconstructed royal line.

[2] See Appx 15 n. 19.

[3] Despite the valiant efforts of Kelly (1976) chap 6 to make the Pheidon of §127.3 the king. Nor can we save Herodotus by making Lacedas a posthumous son of Pheidon (in which case he would be king, not the son of the king); at all events if we accept Caranos as his younger brother (infra). We might just save him by making Lacedas a middle aged widower, Meltas his son by his deceased wife, and giving both him and Meltas short reigns between c570 and c550.

establishing himself as tyrant c657. Argive kings were said to be descended from Temenos, and therefore Heracles (Appx 15 n. 7 for the Argive claim to the lot of Temenos; cf Appx 23). Ephoros *FGrH* 70 F115 = Strabo 8.3.33 made him tenth generation from Temenos, with no intermediate names. The Byzantine Syncellus accessed a complete stemma for his son Caranos, said to be ancestor of Macedonian kings, who were therefore entitled to compete in the Olympic games; cf Paus 9.40.8. We have it as DS 7.17 and Theopomp *FGrH* 115 F393. Curiously, it makes Pheidon tenth from Heracles on inclusive reckoning; perhaps Ephoros confused Heracles and Temenos.[4] If historical, Caranos would be a younger son of Pheidon; his elder son was Lacedas (para 1).

3 Placing a historical Pheidon in archaic Argos depends on how we reconstruct her early history, and also decide what he actually did. For the first see Appx 15 n. 33. No solution to what Pheidon did is completely satisfactory, but there is a good deal to be said for the mid sixth century because (a) the seventh century is early on in the recovery of Greece in general from the Dark Ages, and Argos in particular, for a strong expansionist king: on that see the discussion in Kelly (1976) 73–93, including his reasons for rejecting an early date at 94–111; (b) while the specific date of the *Mar Par*, supra, is unrealistic, it makes him junior to Hesiod and Homer; and (c) his death as reported by Nic Dam is plausible; (d) a tyranny is more consistent with the sixth century; Arist *Pol* 1310b26–8 says that he started as king and became tyrant, perhaps a rationalisation of the traditions. The interference at Olympia is also in Ephoros F115, supra, who says that he united the lot of Temenos and took over Olympia. As Ephoros has just spoken of the games being founded as a joint enterprise by Heraclids and Oxylos, he was possibly justifying Pheidon's actions because he was a Heraclid.[5] Paus 6.22.2

---

[4] The stemma from Heracles to Temenos is the same as the non-Herodotean stemma for his brother Aristodemos: see on §52.1. *Mar Par FGrH* 239 A30 makes him 11th from Heracles, which would add another generation before or after Temenos. Beware Shaw (2003) 129 n. 276, who has Theopompos make Pheidon 10th generation from Temenos (correct at 92). Herodotus knows that the Macedonian kings are Temenids, but does not know Caranos: 8.137.

[5] It suggests that Ephoros' source was an early *Argolika*, which gave Pheidon credit for recovering the whole lot of Temenos, and justified his Olympic *coup* because he was a Heraclid (as if to meet the negative perception of other Greeks reflected in

puts it in the 8th Olympiad. 748 seems early for games which then probably had only a local significance (cf Kelly (1976) 96). Others put the Anolympiads in the 26th to 28th Olympiads, 676–668, and 34th, but attribute them to the Pisatans.[6] We should not make Pausanias fit this by a gratuitous amendment of his MSS, to "28th"; we may suspect his "8th", either as an error in his sources or as the use of a different numbering system to that which became generally accepted.[7] The mid sixth century is consistent with other details for the king, and it is suggested that he took over the games in conjunction with Pisa. It has been postulated that, as a strong king, he was ruling when Argos beat Sparta at the battle of Hysiai, to be dated to 669 per Paus 2.24.7. The historicity of that battle is a topic in its own right.[8] At the end of the day, all we can say is that in later tradition, the Argives claimed that their kings were Heraclids, and of the various names in the royal stemma Pheidon was the one particularly recalled for various expansionist and aggressive actions. To go beyond that requires us to assess the accuracy of a given later writer, and therefore of his sources; the arguments are often circular: because he was strong, he could have led at Hysiai; because that can be dated to 669, therefore he was king at that time; therefore we can have him controlling the Olympic games then by assuming co-operation with Pisa. But since we cannot realistically make him a contemporary of Cleisthenes of Sicyon (para 1), we do have to find him some earlier date.

Herodotus' ὑβρίσαντος). For the ability of *Argolika* writers to put Argive history in the best light and build imaginatively, but not necessarily accurately, on existing oral traditions, cf Appx 15 paras 6–9. Lys 32.1 opens by stating that Heracles had founded the games, but Pausanias was to collect various accounts in which several mythical heroes, including Oxylus and Heracles, held games before the current Olympics were (re)founded by Iphitus: 5.7.6–8.

[6] See Shaw (2003) 92–3 with nn. 171–3; cf Kelly (1976) 94–9. The issue of the Anolympiads is discussed in Shaw 91–9.

[7] Shaw (2003) 19–99 expresses more clearly than any previous scholar that when events were first assigned to Olympiads, it often involved guesswork and artificial calculation rather than accuracy; and further that there may originally have been more than one numbering system. For archaic Pisa see Roy (2002) 233–40; for her struggle for control of Olympia he refers at 240 to Meyer *RE* 20.1747–52.

[8] Paus 2.24.7 is to be read with 3.7.5, which has king Theopompos of Sparta attacking Argos. Hysiai is accepted by Tomlinson (1972) 79–84, including whether we may associate Pheidon with it, and Jeffery (1976) 136; doubted by Kelly (1976) 56–8; and down-dated to 497 by Shaw (2003) 169–74.

4 Various sources speak of Pheidon instituting a system of measures, and weights; some that he was the first to mint Greek coins, but on Aegina; it is hard to know how far one just copied an earlier statement.[9] There are two problems in deciding what lies behind them: (a) the king cannot have minted coins; (b) if he introduced a standard for Argos, it was not, despite Herodotus, that in use in the Peloponnese. Dealing first with coins, it is impossible for both chronological and political reasons. The first Greek coins were indeed those of Aegina, but date from after c575: Kraay (1976) 43 or c550: Jenkins (1990) 23. That is too late even for a king Pheidon whose son was a suitor (cf para 1). But why should the Aeginetans ask an Argive king to come across and do it? If she needed coinage for her trading, she could mint them herself. Letting the Argive king do it would give him a powerful political advantage, extending Argive control without military action: for the relations between Argos and Aegina see on πρότερον, §92.1, and cf Argos fining Aegina, §92.2. If Ephoros' source was Argive (n. 5), he may be reporting an Argive account which gave both Argos and Pheidon credit for leading the innovation of coinage; perhaps made easier if others treated "Pheidonian" and "Aeginetan" as interchangeable (para 5): coins followed a weight standard. The first Argive coins were not before c475: Appx 15 n. 2.

5 There is a consensus that the king instituted a standard system of weights and measures for Argos. A strong king would have an interest in promoting prosperity, and standardising weights and measures would encourage trading. Kelly (1976) 113–14 connects it with

[9] Measures: §127.3; Arist fr 480 Rose (= Pollux 10.179; from his *Argive Constitution*); Theophrast *Char* 30.11; weights and measures: Ephoros *FGrH* 70 F115 = Strabo 8.3.33; Plin *NH* 7.56.198; weights measures and coins: Ephoros *FGrH* 70 F176 = Strabo 8.6.16; *Mar Par* (n. 4); coins alone, Pollux 9.83 (but there he is merely first in a long list of names of those who allegedly first minted coins); Et Mag svv Εὐβοϊκὸν νόμισμα, ὀβελίσκος. The second entry says that after minting coins Pheidon "the Argive" ('Αργεῖος) δοὺς τὸ νόμισμα καὶ ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς ὀβελίσκους dedicated them in the temple of Hera. While this could mean that the Aeginetans handed over spits which had previously been used as currency as part of his fee, so that he could dedicate them back home, it is more probably internal Argive history: Jeffery (1976) 134–5 suggests a recollection of the king either gifting the temple with bullion, or connected with his standardising the lengths and weights of spits. Perhaps closer, from a different perspective, Kraay (1976) 314 sees it likely that the king was recalled for establishing a standard weight of silver as the equivalent of a handful (drachma) of iron spits (obols), previously used as currency.

Pheidon becoming tyrant, arguing that it would improve the economic status of the peasantry and prevent their exploitation by aristocratic landowners when dealing in grain and oil.[10] Identifying his measures (and weights) is not easy, however. They are referred to in two places in the context of conversion to another standard, and the most realistic conclusion is that his standards were lighter than either of the other two principle Greek standards, the Aeginetan and Attic-Euboic. But "Pheidonian" apparently came to be used as a synonym for "Aeginetan" (perhaps connected with a popular association of Pheidon with Aeginetan coins): most Peloponnesian cities used the Aeginetan standard. See also Endnote (c).

6 Of the two solutions to §127.3 suggested *ad loc*, Lacedas son of Pheidon the king was dead by the time of Agariste's wedding (paras 1–3); but recalling his father as a strong king who interfered at Olympia and set up a system of measures, and adding his name to the list of suitors, would help emphasise how artificial the list is. The second solution is equally possible: a younger member of the family could be the suitor, who became conflated with the son of the king as the story grew. A dedication ML 9 can be read as meaning that the royal family was exiled to Cleonai, because it speaks of an Aristis son of Pheidon there in c560;[11] thus a Lacedas son of Pheidon in 575/1 is feasible. We know from other cases that tradition can conflate two men (p. 19 n. 62), so it could explain our Pheidon and Lacedas; cf Tomlinson (1972) 81. The two solutions are equally balanced. Some are tempted to adopt the second but go further, and postulate that the suitor Pheidon (or perhaps another collateral) was the minter. But it would not explain why this Pheidon had the skill to mint coins, or the Aeginetans should wish to use a collateral of the former royal family to do it.[12]

---

[10] At 101 he points out that measures were more important than weights for staples such as grain and oil. Arist fr 480 (previous note) refers to a "pheidon" as a measure for olive oil; cf Theophr *Char* 30.11.

[11] It is a dedication for a Nemean victory: see commentary to ML 9.

[12] We should not rely on the second Et Mag entry (n. 9) merely calling him Argive, not king; the first entry calls him king.

Endnote: Weights and Measures

For fuller details see, e.g. Skinner (1967) 59–62; *OCD*[3] svv Measures, Weights (but quaere their assumption that the Aeginetan talent was heavier than the Attic: see on §130.2).

All Greeks used the following measures:

Dry measures: 4 *kotylai* = 1 *choinix*; 48 *choinikes* = 1 *chous*
Wet measures: 12 *kotylai* = 1 *chous*; 12 *choes* = 1 *metretes*

(a) Attic-Euboean measures

These can be established from archaeological finds, as follows:
Dry measures: *kotyle* = 270 cc; *choinix* = 1.08 litres; *medimnos* = 51.84 litres
Wet measures: *kotyle* = 270 cc; *chous* = 3.24 litres; *metretes* = 38.88 litres[13]

(b) Aeginetan measures

These can be established as in the ratio of 7:10 with Attic-Euboean measures by two routes. One starts with the two descriptions of Spartan rations; see Appx 13 n. 2, which also shows that small quantities were converted as 2:3. The second is that dry measures, at all events, had the same ratio as coinage, as shown by the Delphic inscription referred to in (c). Aeginetan coins were heavier than Attic-Euboean in the same ratio, 7:10: Skinner 55–6 has the Aeginetan drachma at 96–7 grains, 6.3 gr; the Attic 67.5 grains, 4.37 gr.[14] For present purposes, this is not affected by the changes in Attic measures over time, noted in Rhodes on *Ath Pol* 10.1–2 at 166. This

[13] See Skinner (1967) 61–2; for the archaeology, Hesperia 4 (1935) 346–8; 6 (1937) 165–6; 7 (1938) 222–4, 360–2; 8 (1939) 278–80. A possible cross-check with 1.192.3 is instructive: it says that the Persian artabe is 51 Attic choinices. The dimensions of actual Persian measures equate to an artabe of 58.61 litres (Skinner 46–7). This would make the *choinix* 1.15 litres. Within the limits of achievable accuracy, this is close, and in any case Herodotus may be speaking of some traders' rule of thumb, not an official exchange rate.

[14] Thus staters (didrachmas) on the Aeginetan standard are typically around 12.3 gr; Attic 8.5 or 8.6 gr (see the captions to Jenkins (1990) 27 illus 55–7; 28 illus 59; 64–6 illus 164–70 for Aeginetan; 25 illus 49–51 for Attic); Kraay (1976) 329–30 (Appx I) offers staters of 12.2 gr and tetradrachms of 17.2 gr (= staters of 8.6 gr) respectively.

gives a *choinix* of 1.54 litres and a *medimnos* of 74.06 litres; and, for wet measures, a *kotyle* of 386 cc and a *metretes* of 55.54 litres.[15]

(c) Pheidonian measures

Two passages offer a conversion: the description of Solon's reforms in *Ath Pol* 10.1–2, to be read with Plut *Sol* 15.3–4; and a fourth century inscription from Delphi, RO 45 = Tod 140, in which various offerings are converted to local weights and coinage. But there is a difference. In the first, "Pheidonian" means "Aeginetan" (cf para 5 and infra). In the second, Pheidonian measures are different to either Aeginetan or Attic. The first speaks of two ratios: 70:100; and 60 and 63:100. It and Plutarch are not easy to understand and have generated a substantial literature as to what Solon did (see, e.g. Rhodes *ad loc*; this is not the place to add to it). But it seems clear that Solon was converting heavier to lighter. The "devaluation" which is explicit in Plutarch was to help debtors. Solon cannot have done anything with coinage. Both Aeginetan and Attic coinage began later: for Aegina see para 4; Athens, mid (Kraay (1976) 56) or last quarter (Jenkins (1990) 26) sixth century; cf Rhodes *loc cit.* Debts would have been repaid in kind. Using the 7:10 ratio, before Solon, a man who owed, say, 100 drachmae would have had to find 630 gr of grain or silver to repay it. After, he need only find 437 gr; but the creditor would still get 100 drachmae. The inscription offers a quite different conversion: 3,000 Pheidonian *medimnoi* of barley donated by Apollonia, probably the Illyrian Apollonia, are converted to 1,875 local *medimnoi*, i.e. 8:5. Other conversions in it help on the conversion of Aeginetan to Attic, (b). Delphi, as part of Phocis, almost certainly used Aeginetan measures (as she did with her coins: e.g. Jenkins (1990) 69 illus 179 (stater, 12.14 gr; Kraay (1976) Appx I). If so, Pheidonian measures would not need converting if they were the same. If she used Attic measures, Pheidonian still cannot mean Aeginetan: 3,000 Aeginetan *medimnoi* would equate to 4,286 Attic. In other words, the Pheidonian *medimnos* was lighter than either of the others: 46.29 litres if Delphi used Aeginetan measures, 32.4 litres if she used Attic. See also the commentaries to RO 45 and Tod 140. Nor can this 8:5 ratio be fitted in to the Solon passages. It is

[15] The slight variation in modern equivalents also found are not here significant.

pure coincidence that 5:8, 0.625, is close to the 63:100 ratio of the *Ath Pol.* Solon was converting a larger, heavier measure to a smaller, lighter one. Delphi was converting smaller measures to larger ones.

That Solon was converting from Aeginetan measures can be supported by testing §127.3 against actual Peloponnesian coins. Herodotus would be right for most of the Peloponnese if, for him, "Pheidonian" meant "Aeginetan" (para 5): this was the standard for Elis, Arcadia, Sicyon, and Zacynthos (Jenkins (1990), captions to illus 244–8, 251–3); Sparta, (b) supra; and also Argos (staters of c12 gr: Hill (1906) 52). Corinth used Attic: Jenkins 73–6, 254.

APPENDIX 17

MARATHON

"Herodotus' account of Marathon will not do", said Gomme (1962) 29; but at least the text survives complete. This Appendix makes no attempt to review the vast literature on Marathon, with its many and variant views;[1] it seeks only to identify the key points, and express realistic (but not necessarily the only) assessments of them to supplement and expand what Herodotus says.

A *Other sources or input*

1 The dedications and monuments after the battle show pride in the victory, and that a quantity of booty was recovered, but tell us little about the fighting.[2] One version of an epigram attributed to Simonides speaks of huge numbers of Persians killed.[3] Aeschylus' epitaph, quoted

[1] Hammond (1973) 170 n. 2 lists 21 previous studies, and is itself 80 pages long; his *CAH* IV^2 account, chap 9 compresses to 27 pages; Evans (1993) is 28 pages; Lazenby (1993) 35 pages.

[2] At Athens, a dedication by or on behalf of the polemarch Callimachos, ML 18; a colossal bronze statue of Athena Promachos on the Acropolis, visible from Phaleron (Paus 1.28.2; Schol Dem 22.13); a shrine of Eukleia, known only from Paus 1.14.4. Work started on a Parthenon, destroyed by the Persians in 480. Miltiades dedicated a statue of Pan (Simon *Epig* V Page); two inscriptions survive praising Athenian victories, original locations unknown: the first probably referred to Salamis and the second to Marathon, added as a political gesture by Cimon to counter Themistocles' part in Salamis (ML 26). There was also a cenotaph: see G7. At Marathon, a Miltiades μνῆμα (Paus 1.32.3; the thought of it was to give Themistocles insomnia: Plut *Thes* 6.9, *Them* 3.5); and a white marble τροπαῖον of the Athenians identified by Vanderpool (1966b) 101–2 as near the church of Panagia Mesosporitsa, which he suggested replaced an original trophy of captured weapons and armour (105–6). See also Garland (1992) 103–4; and on ἑκατόν, §117.1. At Delphi there was a dedication of booty, ML 19, Paus 10.11.5; and a helmet dedicated by Miltiades (Lazenby (1993) 75; Snodgrass (1967) 100: another helmet perhaps relates to Plataea).

[3] The epigram attributed to Simonides, XXI Page with app crit, has a patriotic first line ("fighting on behalf of Hellas, the Athenians at Marathon . . .": cf para 3), but the second line circulated in variant versions, two of which had the Athenians killing (ἔκτειναν) 90,000 or 200,000 Persians; Hammond (1973) 203 would amend to ἔκλιναν ("repulsed"), the verb found in ML 26 (previous note).

on κομήταις, §19.2, refers to the "Marathonian Grove", D3. In the early fifth century, Athens issued tetradrachms with a waning moon and olive leaves. Hammond (1973) 215–17 sought to connect them to Marathon; but if they did not simply depict the owl as a night creature, they commemorated Salamis. Marathon was fought around the full moon (F1–4).[4]

2 The paintings in the Poikile Stoa, c460, included one of Marathon. Pausanias describes its three scenes (1.15.3–4): a general view of Plataeans and Athenians fighting the Persians; the Persians in flight and "pushing each other into the marsh" (presumably trying to get back to their ships, as is said by Pausanias in describing Marathon itself, 1.32.5–6); and the Athenians killing Persians as the latter embark in their ships. Adding Pliny's description (*NH* 35.34.57, 59) and other references, it showed Miltiades (hand extended, exhorting the Athenians to battle),[5] Callimachos and Cynegiros on the Athenian side, and Datis and Artaphrenes on the Persian; and gods helping the Athenians: Athena herself, and the heroes or demigods Theseus, Heracles, Marathon and Echetlos.[6] There are literary references to the help of Theseus, Plut *Thes* 35.5, and Echetlos, Paus 1.32.5; §116 perhaps hints at Heracles. It is a matter of comment that Herodotus did not mention at least the Persian retreat through the marsh (pp. 15, 34). As to the possible depiction of horses, see G7 with n. 68.

[4] The coins are to be dated after Salamis on technical grounds to do with dies and the dating of earlier issues: detailed arguments NC 1956 55–8; NC 1962 33–4; NC 1962 423; generally Jenkins (1990) 46; Kraay (1976) 61–2, 65. Hammond assigns them the high dating of "after 490", and connects them with his theory of the part played by the setting moon in keeping the Persian cavalry away (n. 68). Salamis was fought in the last quarter. Holoka (1997) 351–2 seeks to support Hammond's view.

[5] Aesch *Ctes* 186 with Schol Ael Arist iii.566 Dind.

[6] For a full discussion, Harrison (1972) 356–68; her reconstruction is at 364. Based largely on the late rhetoric of Polemon, she would include Hera Demeter Kore and Pan in it, as well as Epizelos, but rejects the implication of Nep *Milt* 6.3 that all 10 generals appeared. She collects the 50-odd literary references to the painting. Pliny *loc cit* gives us the painters' names: Panaenus, brother of Phidias, who did the human portraits; Polygnotus, for no fee; and Micon. The Brescia sarcophagus (illustration: Hesp 35 (1966) pl 35) is said to copy or reflect the third panel, and to show Cynegiros trying to capture a ship. Like the sculptures on the south frieze of the temple of Athena Nike, which are considered to depict Marathon, though in an idealised form (Harrison 353–6), it has a few and essentially naked figures for each army. But Dem 59.94 describes the Plataeans as wearing Boeotian caps, which suggests that the original depicted groups of soldiers more realistically.

3 There are many references to Marathon in later literature, but show only that it had a solid place in Athenian folklore: they had defeated the Persians against the odds, and single-handedly saved Greece; they did not have to share the victory with other Greeks, as with Salamis and Plataea. Aeschylus' *Persae*, esp 236–48, 472–5, may be pure patriotism; but Aristophanes' references reflect a context in which Marathon supported their claim to hegemony of Hellas and their control of the transformed Delian league.[7] The theme of a glorious victory, often expressed as defending Greece from the barbarians, is almost a commonplace in fourth century oratory.[8] None of this adds anything to Herodotus' account.

4 Theopompos *FGrH* 115 F153 said that the Athenian version of the battle glorified themselves but was unreliable; if he gave, or could access, the "accurate" account, it does not survive. But it is ambiguous. Did he mean references to Marathon in fourth century oratory, or accounts of the fighting? Enough survives to prove that there were accounts giving details not in Herodotus; but we have the same problem as with the Paros expedition: we do not know when they were first recorded, or the reliability of the sources at that point (cf Appx 18 paras 2–3). If Hellanicus wrote it up, he could have accessed sources no further removed from the events than Herodotus. An early Atthidographer, on the other hand, if he could not draw on previous material, could only use oral tradition as it stood some 100 or more years after the battle. We glimpse these accounts in Plato and Demosthenes and Ephoros (a likely source for Nepos); as we do in Pausanias, Plutarch and also the Suda, as variously cited below.[9]

---

[7] Thomas (1989) 211–12, 221–6. It is often said that there was a political component to this: Marathon was a hoplite victory, whereas the thetes who rowed could claim credit for Salamis. But that is doubtful: Thomas 224–5. Aristophanes coined Μαραθωνομάχαι, doughty old warriors, who if meant literally would be over 80 in 426: *Ach* 181; 696–7 (διωκόμεθα the Persians); *Nub* 423 (Μαραθωνομάχαι again), 986; *Eq* 660 (festival of Artemis), 781 (the sword won the battle), 1334, the trophy (cf n. 2: the trophy also fr 429 K-A, *Vesp* 711); *Vesp* 1075–90, a hotch-potch of references to both Persian wars (see n. 72), with 1081 referring to the charge at a run.

[8] E.g. Lys 2.20–1; Dem 14.70; Isoc *Paneg* 91, *Pace* 38, *Pan* 195, *Antidos* 306; Lyc *Leocr* 104; Aesch *Ctes* 181, 186. The distortion of Marathon in fourth century rhetoric is comprehensively discussed in Loraux (1986) 155–171; see also Thomas (1989) cited p. 19 n. 62, and Evans (1993) 279, 305–7.

[9] Nepos raises three problems: Ephoros' sources, his reliability, and the brevity and reliability of our Nepos: cf Appx 18 para 2. How (1919) argues for the value of Ephoros qua Marathon (and Paros). Hammond (1973) 235–9 argues that Nepos

The detail often seems plausible, but that does not automatically equate with accuracy.

B *The locus itself (see also maps 9, 10)*

1 Marathon, surrounded by high ground, has been carefully surveyed since the nineteenth century: for a full description, see Pritchett *SAGT* I 83–93 and II 1–11; Hammond (1973) 172–90. Even before the recent changes for the 2004 Olympics, features found and described had disappeared, but we can form a fair idea of the locus in 490. The Bay of Marathon offered a long sheltered beach, the Schoinia, about 1 km wide and c4 km long (photo, Lazenby (1993) 51), with shallow anchorage, though the sea level has since risen some 1.5 m (map, Hammond (1973) 218). Cape Cynosaura protects it from northerly winds. Behind it was a marsh about 2–3 km wide.[10] To the west, the plain of Marathon is c5 km long and c3 km wide. There have been some changes since 490: around the Soros, the ground level has risen by up to 3 m, and the course of the charadra may have changed (it possibly drained into the marsh, but is unlikely to have been more of an obstacle than today, which in most places is small). But overall, those changes do not significantly affect how we may understand what happened. At the south-west there was the Brexisa marsh.[11] The stream that comes in by Vrana loses itself in the plain. Autopsy indicates that Athenians at the south-west end of the plain would have no difficulty in seeing the lines of Persian ships at the Schoinia, and the Persian encampments, wherever they were.

Milt 4–6 and Suda svv διεξιφίσω ≈ Schol Ar *Eq* 781 and χωρὶς ἱππεῖς (G4) derive from Demon (*FGrH* 327; end fourth century), leaving open at 239 whether Demon used an earlier writer or the oral tradition of his day. At 239–45 he discusses the possible sources, basically Atthidographers, for Plutarch's various references, Aelian fr 74 ≈ Suda sv Ἱππίας (I) and Ἱππίας (II) (partly ≈ Plut *Paral Min* 305b).

[10] There are several references to the marsh: Ar *Av* 246–9, where the ἀτταγᾶς, black francolin, lived; Arist *Hist An* 569b9–12; Theophr *HP* 9.13.1; Schol Ar *Lys* 1032. Although it and Brexisa (infra) have since been cultivated, their existence is proved by the plants now growing (seen by me in 1998) such as *Donax* and *Phragmites*.

[11] Soros, Hammond (1973) 173, 175; sea level, ib 219, 257, 271; Brexisa, and charadra probably dry in summer, *ib* 186–7; previous note. See also Pritchett *SAGT* I 83–4.

2 There were two routes from Athens. The shorter (c36–38 km), but more difficult, ran north from Athens to Acharnae or Cephisia and then eastwards over Mt Pentelicon. Several paths led down to Marathon, marked A B C D and E on map 10; A followed a similar route to the modern road. The longer (c42–3 km) but easier, Hammond's "carriage road" (cf Strabo 8.6.19), ran east out of Athens by Hymettos to Pallene, and then northwards, coming in to Marathon by Brexisa. Matthaiou (2003) 194, 200, argues from epigraphic evidence (*IG* I^3 1015bis and 503/4) that at this point, with Mt Agreliki on one side and the sea on the other, it was called Πύλαι (rather like Thermopylae), the Gates of Marathon.

3 The site of the village (and deme) of Marathon is not known for certain. It has been postulated as around Vrana, but the better view seems to be that it was in the area of the modern charadra, as marked on map 10. Both armies had good water supplies. The Macaria spring was associated in the local folk-lore with the nearby tents of the Persian commanders and the pasturage of horses (Paus 1.32.5–6); there were several springs at the southern end of the plain, around Vrana and near Brexisa.[12] The τέμενος of Heracles (§§108.1, 116) has not been recovered by archaeology. At one time it was placed at the foot of Mt Kotroni, or near the churches of St Georgios or St Demetrios. But Matthaiou (2003) shows that two inscriptions found at Valaria, just north of the Brexisa marsh, make it almost certain that it was in that area.[13] Military considerations also favour this location: D1. Pindar's μύχῳ ἐν Μαραθῶνος (*Pyth* 8.79) for the games is apt for any location.

---

[12] Marathon: Pritchett *SAGT* II 1–7, rejecting the site nearer the modern town proposed by Vanderpool (1966a). Springs: *SAGT* I 83, 84–5; Lazenby (1993) 56.

[13] Matthaiou relies not just on the find spots but evidence from other relevant inscriptions; so Lazenby (1993) 54–6. The two from Valaria are *IG* I^3 2/3, relating to the Heracleian games, probably established after Marathon; and *IG* I I^3 1015bis, a dedication to Heracles, though the precise occasion depends on how it is restored; for this see Matthaiou's discussion of *τομπυλιοις*, 192–4. Games in his honour were probably held before 490, but those at which Pindar's clients won (*Pyth* 8.79, *Ol* 9.99, 13.10) were an enlarged event instituted in honour of the victory after 490: Parker (1996) 76, 153. For the other locations see Hammond (1973) 180, 188–90, Pritchett *SAGT* I 90–1.

4 The Soros, some 800 m from the shore and about 1¼ km west of the modern charadra, is undoubtedly the tomb of the Athenians; prima facie it is in the general area where many of them fell. Many Persian arrows have been found in it, scooped up with the soil when the mound was built. The tomb of the Plataeans may have been a further mound just to the north that was seen by nineteenth century travellers; alternatively it may be a mound near Vrana. Pausanias was unable to identify where the Persians were buried (1.32.5), but substantial quantities of human bones were observed near the church of Mesosporitsa and (especially as it is near the marsh, where so many are said to have died), it is a likely place.[14]

C *Events at Athens*

1 Rumours of the Persian armada crossing the Aegean must have reached Athens, even if they exaggerated its size, and would generate talk, in the agora if not the assembly, as to what to do. We must not interpose the hindsight of the Archidamian War, but it would be realised that Attica was hard to defend, and most of Athens itself was unwalled (the walled area was probably limited to the Acropolis and a small area to the north).[15] If, or when, rumours included the presence of Hippias, it does not follow that the Athenians would think of a landing at Marathon, though his father had landed there on his final return, 1.62.1, and the family estates were nearby (n. 21). They could well think of an attempt to land near Phaleron or perhaps on Salamis and thence over to the mainland between Athens and Eleusis. Apart from the uncertainty as to what the Persians might do, they must have argued whether they could beat them or should make some accommodation with them. This might not be

---

[14] Plataeans' tomb: Lazenby (1993) 75 with nn. 76, 77 (who much prefers that near the Soros); bones near Mesosporitsa, *id* 70–1.

[15] Winter (1971) 61–4, considering, inter alia, Thuc 1.89.3 and 93.2. Travlos (1971) 158, 261 points out that no remains have been found, but no 20 on his plan p. 8 offers a semicircle running from the Eridanos a little to the north-east of the altar of the 12 gods (§108.4) and round the west of the Areopagus to about the location of the later Odeion of Herodes Atticus. Camp (2001) 53–5 would limit the wall to the Acropolis. Lazenby (1993) 51–2 stresses the impracticality of defending Athens, especially if she had to take in refugees from Attica.

influenced by the controversy some 17 years earlier, if recalled, when Athenian ambassadors gave earth and water (see on Φρυνίχῳ, §21.2); but it was only 8 years since they had sent troops to help Aristagoras, with unfortunate results (pp. 53, 61). Opposition to Hippias, and speculation as to who might support him, would be a further topic. Once the Persians reached Eretria, they might then think that the Persians would attack them via the coast opposite, though not necessarily via Marathon: there were places nearer Athens (G4). We must not impose modern ideas of "parties", but behind the reluctance of the Athenian generals at §§109.1, 110, and the accusations of medising which attached to the Alcmaeonids, §§115, 121–4, we may reasonably detect talk as to whether to resist or negotiate.[16] For possible preparations see paras 3–4, 7.

2 When Eretria asked for help, §100.1 says that the Athenians (presumably in the assembly) refused it, but made the 4,000 cleruchs from Chalcis available. As noted *ad loc*, they may have included Chalcidians as well as Athenians, and including some lightly armed troops rather than hoplites. Even if 4,000 is rounded up, it would still be substantial help. But Herodotus' source may also reflect an undercurrent of feeling in the mid fifth century that the Athenians had not done enough to help Eretria. When the Eretrian Aeschines advised the cleruchs to leave, he tells them to go ἐς τὴν σφετέρην. Did that mean home to their holdings on Euboea, or, at least for the Athenians, home to Athens? They are said to have crossed to Attica (§§100.3–101.1); presumably in ships provided by Athens, and thereafter they, or some of them, probably formed part of the troops who assembled at Marathon.

3 There is no hint anywhere to controvert §103.1 (and Nepos *Milt* 4.2–5) that the Athenians went to Marathon after the Persians arrived; if so, they had no advance knowledge that Datis' destination was

[16] After the victory, it became fashionable to attack the appeasers: hence the "mediser" ostraka noted on Δᾶτιν, §94.2. It would be a false friend to note the punishment of Lycidas and his family in 479, 9.5, for suggesting a debate as to whether to come to terms with Mardonius. Times and circumstances had changed, in particular the evacuation and destruction of Athens, 8.41, 51–5, the previous year and its recent re-occupation by Mardonius, 9.3.

Marathon (e.g. from someone slipping across from Euboea). But the decision to go does imply a vote in the assembly, and traces of this survive. Indeed, one version attributed the proposal to Miltiades. Both Demosthenes 19.303 and Arist *Rhet* 1411a6–11 refer to the "Miltiades decree".[17] There are two problems, however. It was apparently recorded in writing by the mid fourth century, and there is a question as to whether that (re-)recorded an actual decision of the assembly on Miltiades' proposal, or was a forgery. On balance, it was probably the former.[18] The second is this: we can accept that Aristotle accurately summarised Cephisidotos' proposal "to go out to Euboea, having provisioned themselves, as per the Miltiades decree". Does this mean that Miltiades proposed going to help Euboea when she asked for it, and Athens refused it but sent the cleruchs, §100.1 (so Munro, *CAH* IV 237–9); or was the comparison on provisioning themselves and going out quickly, then to Marathon, in 357 to Euboea? The balance of probabilities favours the second. Also a decree (ψήφισμα), though not attributed to Miltiades, that the polemarch should lead the Athenians out to Marathon is referred to conversationally at Plut *QC* 628e. Even so, we should note that ἐπισιτισομένους reflects mid fourth century practice, where subsistence was typically at public expense (see Pritchett *GSW* I 3–5, 30–41). If Miltiades used a σιτι word, or ἐφόδιον, and the actual decree then recorded it, everyone would know that he meant each man getting his own provisions: army service, like jury service, was at this date a civic duty to be performed at one's own expense (Pritchett 3, 11–12, 34). Nepos *Milt* 4.4–5 has a different emphasis: he speaks of a debate by the generals whether to guard the city or meet the

[17] Demosthenes just has τὸ Μιλτιάδου . . . ψήφισμα, but Aristotle says: Κηφισόδοτος . . . παρακαλῶν . . . τοὺς Ἀθηναίους εἰς Εὔβοιαν ἐπισιτισαμένους ἔφη δεῖν ἐξιέναι τὸ Μιλτιάδου ψήφισμα. The occasion is assumed to be 357, when the Athenians liberated Euboea from Thebes (*HG* 512, 515), and so a few years before Demosthenes' speech (348).

[18] Habicht (1961) argued that it was one of 9 decrees from the fifth century, 5 from 480/79, which were forged in the fourth century for political propaganda purposes. This extreme view is rejected by Thomas (1989) 84–8. It seems a reasonable inference that there *was* a decision of the assembly to march out to Marathon, whoever proposed it. We must be careful to distinguish the question whether such decisions were recorded in writing (or always so recorded) in 490 from the question whether a version made in the fourth century, if that is what happened, was pure imagination, a re-engraving of an old version, or had a basis either in a book (e.g. Hellanicus) or in what popular tradition still recalled. Cf p. 14 n. 44.

enemy in the field, with Miltiades urging the latter. At all events, it may be that some of the points ascribed to Miltiades at Marathon, §109, reflect his arguments before the assembly.[19]

4 Whatever Miltiades' input, we may imagine much talk, including debates in the assembly; both whether to resist, and whether to do so in Athens or to go to meet the Persians wherever they landed. We must not assume detailed planning, as opposed to *ad hoc* responses to the situation as they perceived it developing; but the Athenians may have taken some steps before knowing that, and where, the Persians had landed, e.g. arranging for locals to watch their coasts. §105.1 says that it was the generals who sent Philippides to Sparta, the context implying that the troops were already at Marathon; Nepos *Milt* 4.2–3 is express on the point. But Plato *Leg* 698d–e says that the Athenians sent for help (throughout Greece: *id Menex* 240c implies the same, where the stress is on helping Eretria) after getting Datis' message that he had captured Eretria (para 6), as if he was still there and before they knew where in Attica he would land. Further, Philippides' message as reported, §106.2, says only that Eretria had been enslaved, not that the Persians were already at Marathon. When the Spartans came, they appear to have been making for Athens itself (§120); possibly because Philippides had not mentioned Marathon, though it may be because they were met at the border of Attica and told that the battle was over. Herodotus may have assumed that having put the Persians at Marathon at §102, it would be understood that Philippides said so. But it is equally feasible that Philippides was sent by the assembly, or perhaps the boule, once the Athenians heard that Eretria had fallen, or Datis sent to them. Herodotus' ascribing it to the generals may reflect the mid fifth century sources, when generals were influential (cf Rhodes 274 on *Ath Pol* 22.5). Indeed, once the Athenians heard about Eretria, they may have put themselves under the generals, and perhaps made other preparations, e.g. the suggested coastal watches.

[19] For instance, his appeal to patriotism, though not in the precise words now attributed; παραδεδομένοι Ἱππίῃ, §109.3; μηδίσαι, §109.5; καταδουλῶσαι and ὑποκύψωσι, §109.3, are a reminder of the fate of the Eretrians. Nepos *Milt* 4.5 has: civibus animum accessurum . . . de eorum (the citizens) virtute non desperari. See Lazenby (1993) 57.

5 A separate point concerns Hippias. He was presumably with the Persians because he had persuaded them that he could engineer the surrender of Athens.[20] It is doubtful if many in Attica as a whole would welcome his return (cf para 1), but he may have been in touch with potential supporters; he probably had adherents bound by ties of family or cult, e.g. from family estates in Brauron or amongst the ὑπεράκριοι in the area to the north.[21] It is just possible that he had also sought support in the Marathon area itself: there is evidence that resistance to synoecism persisted in some areas of Attica, including the tetrapolis of Marathon, with traditions and practices continuing which reflected their former independence; Hippias may have tried, or hoped, to exploit that.[22] Any such support presumably evaporated when the Athenian army assembled at Marathon, and could later be hidden behind the accusations against the Alcmaeonids.

6 As noted on συλλέξαντες, §9.2, the Persians usually tried diplomacy before a battle. It is thus likely that they would try it here to supplement whatever Hippias had promised; if he failed, they faced considerable problems (E2, G2–6). Whether they did so in the terms of our surviving versions is another matter. Plat *Leg* 698d, supra, says that Datis sent to report that he had netted Eretria and captured all the inhabitants; true or not it frightened the Athenians, whereupon they sent for help all over Greece. DS 10.27, presum-

[20] Doenges (1996) 3–4 argues that the Persians thought that Hippias would secure the surrender of Athens, after which Athens under him would guarantee the nominal surrender of the rest of Greece.

[21] The Pisistratid family estates were at Brauron: *APF* 11793 XI. 1.59.3 calls Pisistratos' adherents ὑπεράκριοι, those living on the poorer land beyond Pentelikon and Hymettos, north of Brauron: Jeffery (1976) 94–5; Rhodes on *Ath Pol* 13.4. Both were probably factors influencing his choice of Marathon as a landing place: Lewis (1963) 22–4. See also next note.

[22] Discussions of synoecism also involve its date. In the case of Brauron, one of the problems about finding a historical basis for the story at §§138–9 is whether, at its putative date (c800), it had been absorbed into Attica. Hornblower on Thuc 2.15.1–2 conveniently summarises views for dates from the tenth century onwards; so Sealey (1976) 92–5, who favours a later date; Lewis (prev note); Parker (1996) 12–13, from the religious perspective, offers 950–700. They stress that despite synoecism, local practices survived. In the case of the tetrapolis of Marathon, Philoch *FGrH* 328 F75, there is evidence for its cultural independence in the fourth century: *Syll*³ 930. Moreover, there could have been recent dissatisfaction, because Cleisthenes split it in working out the trittyes, by detaching Probalinthos, and so separating the rest of the tetrapolis from the Brauron area: Lewis 30–1.

ably from Ephoros, says that Datis sent to demand that the Athenians surrender to him, claiming kinship by asserting that he and they were each descended from Medos, adding the threat of a worse fate than Eretria if they spurned him. As it stands, it is anachronistic. In the traditions current in 490, Medea just spent time in Athens after leaving Corinth.[23] An "Athenian" Medos, son of Medea and Aigeus, father of Theseus, only appears later, probably at a time when relations between Athens and Persia were close: either the Peace of Callias, 449 or the Peace of Epilycos, 423, for which see Appx 11 nn. 25–6. See Gantz (1996) I 248, 254–5, 372–3.

7 The possibility of coastal watches, perhaps with fire signals, would help explain how the Athenians got to Marathon so quickly. They could only start when it was learnt where the Persian ships were making for, or perhaps had started to land. A fire signal would reach Athens in less than half an hour; a man on a horse up to two hours. We then have to allow time for the formal decision to go (unless the decision to confront the Persians wherever they landed had already been taken), and the men to assemble with their weaponry, and messages to be sent to outlying parts of Attica. The actual journey to Marathon would take at least 8–10 hours.[24] In one respect, they were lucky. Because Datis would not think like a modern general, and would concentrate on setting up camp (including his own luxurious establishment: cf H3), which is assumed to have been around the Schoinia (cf B3), he would not think of occupying the plain to the south-west, or secure any of the roads and paths back to Athens. The crossing from Euboea would be some 45 km; if the first ships left around midnight they would arrive at Marathon about dawn. Whatever the size of their forces, E1, it would take a considerable time for some 500–600 ships to cross, all the men to disembark and all the stores to be discharged, and then set up camp.[25]

---

[23] 7.62 reflects this: Medea went on to Media and gave her name to the Medes; and by Jason she had a son Medeios, who had no Athenian connection: it is just possible that Aesch *Pers* 765 Μῆδος refers to him rather than the real Median king Cyaxares (see Graf (1984a) 19 n. 18).

[24] Hammond, a notoriously quick walker, posited 8 to 9 hours; he got from Athens to Marathon by the shorter route in c6 hours and back by the longer in c7; but accepted that an army needs longer: (1973) 210, *HG* 16 n. 2. Holoka (1997) 348 suggests 10–14 hours for the battle-weary troops to get back afterwards.

[25] In this context, the few ships taking the Eretrian captives to Aigilia, §107.2, do not affect the timing.

That gave the Athenians enough time to learn where to go, arrive, and establish themselves at the other end of the plain; though, if the Persians did arrive around dawn, it would be night, some 12 hours later, before the first Athenians arrived. Also, they too would arrive over a period; the realities as well as the imperfect ἐβοήθεον, §103.1, suggest this. Only those living in the city itself would go together; those in country areas would only know where to go when messengers arrived. From the city, most would come by the longer but easier route; it may have been thought that this would also enable them to make a show of strength against any Pisistratid supporters in Brauron. From some parts of Attica, the tracks over Mt Pentelicon would be more convenient.[26] But however the Athenians got themselves to Marathon, over whatever period, they were able to establish themselves at the west end of the plain.

D *The Athenians at Marathon*

1 The Heracleion, by which the Athenians camped, was almost certainly near Brexisa (B3). On military grounds that makes good sense: it directly guarded the road to Athens, though at the other possible locations their rear would be protected by the hills. Also, assuming that the Soros indicates the centre of the initial fighting, Brexisa better fits the 8 stades (1½ km) run of §112.1; the other locations are about double that distance. At any location, they were probably too numerous (next paragraph) for all to encamp within a temenos, and numerous enough to control a stretch of perhaps 3 km from the marsh to the foothills of Mt Agreliki, possibly as far as the mountain tracks to Acharnae and Cephisia.

2 Herodotus gives no numbers for the Athenians, and only says that the Plataeans came πανδημεί (§108.1); they perhaps included Boeotians from adjacent settlements such as Hysiai (cf on §108.6). Elsewhere, 9,000 to 10,000 Athenians and 1,000 Plataeans are

[26] Burn (1984) 243 n. 14 regards these tracks as unsuitable for an army, at least to make speed; but they would be the obvious route for detachments coming from some parts of Attica, and also the Plataeans, who would come via Oenoe. But Doenges (1996) 7 prefers the shorter, more difficult route. The time taken to arrive from Athens itself would be much the same; if anything the shorter route would probably take slightly longer.

recorded.[27] These figures are probably rounded up, but in the right range; they are in line with those recorded for 480–79: 8,000 Athenians and 600 Plataeans at Plataea (9.28.6; more Athenians were at Mycale).[28] It makes sense to assume that the Athenians included at least some of the cleruchs from Chalcis, C2. According to Pausanias, there were also slaves, afterwards liberated: Paus 1.32.3 (their burial), 7.15.4.

3 Trees got into the tradition, though the plain is not now heavily wooded. The Μαραθώνιον ἄλσος of Aeschylus' epitaph, A1, might refer to them, rather than a sacred grove of Heracles.[29] Nepos *Milt* 5.3 refers to trees, but the passage is hard to understand: he says that the Athenians did not line up in open ground, but at the foot of the mountains, and so that trees would impede the Persian infantry; adding that the area mostly had few trees (*arbores rarae*). The emendation *arbores stratae* has been proposed, i.e. cutting down trees to block the cavalry.[30] The source for the Suda χωρὶς ἱππεῖς, G5, spoke of τὰ δένδρα by the Athenian camp; the τά suggests that in the source, the trees had just been referred to.[31] These texts may reflect the fact that either part of the Athenian camp was where trees provided protection; or possibly they erected a timber stockade.

4 It seems clear from §110 that there were several days of stalemate, whether or not we accept the prytanies. When the Athenians encamped at Marathon, their plan of choice would be to sit tight until Spartan help arrived;[32] we should not be blinded to the realities

---

[27] Paus 4.25.5, 10.20.2; Plut *Paral Min* 305b; Nepos *Milt* 5.1; Justin 2.9.9; Suda sv Ἱππίας (II); Schol Ar *Eq* 781 ≈ Suda sv διεξιφίσω, for the Plataeans only.

[28] The broad accuracy of the 8,000 Athenians is accepted in estimating the population of Attica in 480, noting also their ability to man just 180 triremes at Salamis: see Appx 9 para 14. The population in 490 was probably not significantly different.

[29] But the trees at Tricorynthos (Schol Ar *Lys* 1032 (n. 10), Hammond (1973) 179–82) were too far away to affect the Athenian camp.

[30] The "not . . . open ground", regione . . . non apertissuma, is an emendation; the MSS have nana (or nona) partis summa. Stratae was proposed by Monginot (1882) and adopted Hammond (1973) 212–14, who over-ingeniously postulates that the Athenians moved their camp forward each day until it was 8 stades from the Soros, using the cut trees as an abattis or movable protection. If so, it was unique in ancient warfare so far as we know.

[31] Pritchett *SAGT* II 9 says that δένδρα means living trees, and that for a stockade, we would expect some expression such as σταύρωμα (Thuc passim) or τεῖχος ξύλινον (Thuc 2.75.4; Hdt 7.141.3, in an oracle); but felled trees left as an obstacle could presumably surely be referred to as δένδρα.

[32] Expressly attributed to one general, though in the debate at Athens: Suda sv Ἱππίας (II).

by the Philaid propaganda in §109, nor by the possibility of inferring some attempt to protect themselves against a sudden Persian attack from the "trees" references. While they could not anticipate the actual Spartan reply, they knew that several days would elapse before the Spartans could arrive.[33] Neither the Athenian generals nor the men would want to fight before then, especially once they could see the size of the Persian forces: cf on §109.1. When the actual Spartan reply was received, the only difference it made would be to add to the waiting period, whenever the Athenians thought the full moon would occur (cf F1); they would probably think that the Spartans would need 4 or 5 days to arrive. In any case it probably became irrelevant, whatever the circumstances in which they fought the Persians alone (G1–6). There might be some daily activities, e.g. setting a watch or sending out patrols, possibly training or doing exercises; though we must not introduce modern ideas of warfare.[34]

E *The Persians*

1 Herodotus says only that Datis had 600 triremes or ships, a conventional figure (Appx 3 para 1); and reports 6,400 men killed (§117.1). Later sources offering numbers vary from the moderate to the fabulous. Most modest is the 50,000 men of Plat *Menex* 240a (μυριάδες συχναί, *Leg* 698c): the king πέμψας μυριάδας μὲν πεντήκοντα ἔν τε πλοίοις καὶ ναυσίν, ναῦς δὲ τριακοσίας. His πλοίοις καὶ ναυσίν is likely to be more accurate than Herodotus' triremes, §95.2: see *ad loc* and particularly the reference to Appx 2 paras 5–8, especially if we assume that his 300 ναῦς in the δέ clause were those carrying supplies and ancillaries, not limiting the fleet to 300 in all. 600 ships, of which 300 were troopships, would suggest a maximum of 30,000 soldiers.[35] Other sources are useless; with rhetorical exaggeration they

---

[33] For instance, they could think that Philippides would arrive the day after leaving Athens; but the Spartans would then need time to get equipped, and take at least 4 days to reach Marathon.

[34] There were accounts which excluded the stalemate and placed the battle either on the day that the Athenians marched out (Isoc *Pan* 87; Suda sv Ἱππίας (II); hinted at Lys 2.26) or the next day, with the variation that they only decided to go after the Plataeans had come to Athens to support them (Plut *Glor Ath* 350e; Nepos *Milt* 5.3).

[35] Given the crewing and carrying capacities suggested in Appx 2 paras 5–8,

put the army at between 200,000 and 600,000.[36] Any figures can only be guesstimates, but accepting 600 ships, and noting the number killed, it is not unrealistic to suggest that the actual Persian soldiers numbered 20,000 to 30,000, and outnumbered the Greeks (D2) by at least 2 to 1.[37]

2 Herodotus gives two reasons why Datis came to Marathon, §102: it was very suitable for cavalry, and it was the nearest point to Eretria. As noted *ad loc*, the second is strictly wrong, but right in practical terms. In strategic terms, none of his options were ideal. Marathon was still c40 km from his objective. He could, as at Eretria, have landed at two or three of the places further south (cf G4); he would still be c30 km from Athens. He might have gone straight to Phaleron. That would only be c5 km from Athens, but it was a long sail from Eretria (H5), and he could fear that the Athenians would see his armada en route and resist his landing, not just oppose him there. There were probably two actual reasons why he chose Marathon: he did not anticipate that the Athenians would come out to confront him there (and it probably never occurred to him to occupy the west end of the plain to prevent that: C7), and he expected a clear march to the city; and Hippias persuaded him of its merits, on the lines suggested in C5. In the event, both hopes were frustrated: see G2–6.

3 While it is a matter of inference from the tradition, the Persian headquarters can reasonably be placed on the north side of the

---

50,000 men in a total fleet of 300 would mean 166 per ship, presumably with the soldiers doubling as rowers; and where would all the food and equipment go? If we assume 300 troopships, and all triremes, they could carry 30,000 men, 100 men per trireme, if rowed from the top benches. For the importance which the Persians attached to their "Logistic Corps", cf Xerxes' arrangements, 7.25, and see Xen *Cyr* 6.2.25–40. The logistics of using ships to supply troops, though with reference to Alexander the Great, is discussed in Engels (1978) 1–28.

[36] 600,000: Justin 2.9.20 (200,000 killed); 500,000: Lys 2.21, Schol recent Ar *Nub* 986; 400,000 to 500,000: various writers, per Schol Ael Arist iii 126 Dind; 300,000: Paus 4.25.5; Plut *Paral Min* 305b; Suda sv Ἱππίας (II); 270,000: Ampelius 13.36; 200,000 plus 10,000 cavalry in 500 ships: Nepos *Milt* 4.1; 200,000 or 90,000, Simonides (n. 3). Even including ancillaries and servants these figures are unrealistic.

[37] Hammond (1973) 203 argues for 25,000 soldiers and 52,000 sailors. Doenges (1996) 5–6 argues for 12,000 to 15,000 on the basis that they did not much outnumber the Greeks. Herodotus' 600 triremes was before the Ionians and Aeolian conscripts joined, but these would not materially effect the total.

marsh near the spring Macaria (B3). The size of the Persian force on any view would require a substantial area for their camp; we can envisage it partly there, partly west of the marsh, and partly on the Schoinia, to which a water supply with mule trains could be easily organised. If the village of Marathon was located as suggested (B3), it would act as a sort of boundary.

F *Dating, and related topics*

1 It is almost certain that Marathon was fought around the time of a full moon. Polis calendars were typically at odds with each other, and often out of step with the actual new and full moons (cf Pritchett *GSW* I 117–8 and on καταλαμβάνει, §88), and we do not know how far a given city regularly observed the moon's phases, or simply allowed the months to follow one another.[38] Also, observations, especially of the new moon, depend for accuracy on human assessment as well as the weather.[39] Thus the 1st of the month and deemed new moon would fall on different days in different cities. Actual calendar differences are recorded: the Spartan calendar was 2 days behind the Athenian in 423 but 2 days in front in 421,[40] and there was a discrepancy of some 7 days between Athens and Boeotia in 479.[41] But in 490, it appears that the Spartans treated the full moon as falling on a day in middle of their current month.[42] When Philippides

[38] Indeed, we often do not even know all the month names in a given polis; cf Appx 15 n. 9. At Sparta Carneios was the second month (Plut *Nic* 28.2); we do no know the name of the third month: Samuel (1972) 93–4; Pritchett (1946). Generally on this problem, Figueira (1988) 50–1.

[39] Even if there are no clouds, it is a matter of judgment to decide with the naked eye when the moon is new. For calendar as out of phase with the moon, cf the complaint of the gods about the Athenian calendar, Ar *Nub* 615–26, *Pax* 406–15, despite, or perhaps lampooning, the recent reforms of Meton; Burn (1984) 240 n. 10. Plut *Arist* 19.7 goes on to say that even in his day, the beginnings and ends of months differed from place to place. Generally, Bickermann (1968) 16–18; Samuel (1972) 15.

[40] 423: 14th Elaphebolion (Athens) = 12th Gerastios (Sparta), Thuc 4.118.12, 119.1. 421: 25th Elaphebolion = 27th Artemisios, Thuc 5.19.1.

[41] Cf Plataea, fought on 4th Boedromion (Athens) = 27th Panemus (Boeotia), Plut *Arist* 19.7 (6th Boedromion = 3rd at Plataea, *id Camillus* 19.3; 3rd, *Glor Ath* 349f; 6th, *Mal Her* 861f).

[42] If they wanted to fix, or confirm, the full moon by observation, it could also be tricky: it often looks full for two or three consecutive nights. See Pritchett, *loc cit*, for the importance of the full moon for some purposes.

got there on the 9th, the context suggests that that would happen in the near future: perhaps in five or six days.[43] In other words, they were treating the full moon as on a day around 14th–17th of their month. That is so whether or not they had observed the new moon nine days earlier, and, if so, accurately. When they did leave, they came in three days, making extraordinarily good time (§120); it suggests that they left soon after midnight after celebrating the full moon. So we may postulate that they left very early on 15th–18th of their month, and arrived in Attica on the evening of 17th–20th. The battle had taken place, but the next day they saw the still unburied Persians. This suggests that the battle had been on the second day of their journey.[44]

2 Xen *Anab* 3.2.12 reports that the Athenians vowed an annual sacrifice to Artemis at her festival of Artemis Agrotera of one goat for every Persian killed, the context implying before the battle; and they killed so many that it was commuted to 500.[45] That festival was on 6th Boedromion (the third month). Plutarch offers 3rd, 4th and 6th for the battle (n. 41); but unless the Athenian calendar was significantly out of step with the moon's phases, any of those dates is unlikely for a battle fought near the full moon; if it was 6th, it would also be curious coincidence. Most probably the vow was made to be fulfilled at the forthcoming festival.[46]

3 We can suggest timetables for the events. The stalemate (D4) could have lasted as long 9 days, if there were 5 generals against

---

[43] Not being to leave until the full moon must mean, on any view, in the first half of the month. Thus Philippides did not arrive in the second half. In theory, 9th could have been the new moon, and the Spartans were saying that they could not leave for another 15 days. Common sense suggests that they were speaking of a much nearer future day than that.

[44] On the basis that the Athenians would bury their own dead the day after the battle, and deal with the Persians after that. Plato *Menex* 240c, *Leg* 698d in fact say that they did arrive the day after the battle.

[45] The vow is attributed to Callimachos by Schol Ar *Eq* 660 and to Miltiades in Aelian *VH* 2.25. The festival was reputedly founded by Theseus (Plut *Thes* 27.3). See also on §117.1.

[46] Cf Rhodes on *Ath Pol* 58.1. The Plutarch dates, n. 41, are almost certainly from a source which confused the vow and battle with the festival. It is over-ingenious to argue that the vow was made the day that Philippides left Athens, 6th Boedromion corresponding to 8th of the Spartan month; and either that the battle was in October, or that the Athenian new year had begun in June. Holoka (1997) 350 appears to do so, putting 6th Boedromion at the end of August.

fighting, and Miltiades stood in as proxy for the 4 who were for it. The following table uses the days of the Spartan month, with Philippides being despatched before (columns 2–3), alternatively after (columns 3–4) the Persians landed at Marathon (C4). The later events in column 3 can only be shown as within a range of days: thus "15–18, Spartans depart", must be read as "they depart on a day between 15th and 18th". It also assumes that Philippides got back to Athens in two days, and his message reached Marathon the day after (it would not affect the timetable if the Spartan reply was sent by their own runner, to enable Philippides to rest before returning). The Persian rest days, §102, can only be a guesstimate; they may have been more.

(1) *Spartan month*	(2) *Philippides sent while Persians on Euboea*	(3) *"Fixed events"*	(4) *Philippides sent when Persians land at Marathon*
3	Persians besiege Eretria		Persians capture Eretria
4	Persians besiege Eretria		Datis sends to Athens Persian troops resting
5	Persians besiege Eretria		Persian troops resting
6	Persians capture Eretria		Persian troops resting
7	Datis sends to Athens Persian troops resting Persian troops resting		
8	Persian troops resting	Philippides leaves Athens	Datis crosses to Marathon Athenians arrive, pm
9	Persian troops resting	Philippides arrives Sparta	stalemate 1st day
10	Datis crosses to Marathon Athenians arrive, pm	Philippides leaves Sparta	stalemate 2nd day
11	stalemate 1st day	Philippides arrives Athens	stalemate 3rd day
12	stalemate 2nd day	Philippides' message reaches Marathon	stalemate 4th day
13	stalemate 3rd day		stalemate 5th day
14–17	stalemate 4th/7th day	Spartans treat as full moon	stalemate 6th/9th day
15–18	stalemate 5th/8th day	Spartans depart early	stalemate 7th/10th day
16–19		Battle Spartans en route	
17–20		Persian fleet sails off Athenians buried Spartans arrive Attica	
18–21		Spartans see Persian dead	

4 The battle took place in the archonship of Phainippos, 490/89 (Appx 1 n. 2). His term and the new year began at the first new moon after the summer solstice. As the battle took place shortly before 6th Boedromion (para 2), and we need 10 years to Salamis, 480, there is a consensus that it was early in his term, August-September 490, placing Datis' progress across the Aegean and the sieges of Carystos and Eretria in spring-summer. In 490, the solstice was on 29th June at around 3.30 pm;[47] there had been a new moon on the night of 26th June, so the new year should have begun at or about the next new moon, 26th July. We can feel confident that the battle was fought near to, most probably just after, a full moon: para 1. In 490, they fell on 10th August and 9th September;[48] if we accept a vow made shortly before 6th Boedromion, para 2, which would be at the end of September, it favours the full moon of 9th September.

5 As a separate point to the foregoing, did the Spartans have a general ban on marching out before the full moon (presumably from the new moon to the full moon), or only with certain festivals? Any ban would have a religious basis,[49] and a breach would fall within Greek concepts of sacrilege (Parker (1996) chap 5, esp 153, 159); it would not stop them fighting, if they had left Sparta at a permitted time. The evidence from later authors suggests that no one really knew. Plut *Mal Her* 861e denies a general ban, but others accepted it,[50]

---

[47] All modern dates and times here are taken from Ginzel, vol I table III and vol II tables IV and V, and adjusted for Athens. Moonrise was: 10th Aug, 10 pm; 9th Sept, 6.30 am. The latter differs by 12 hours from Hammond (1973) 216 n. 3, but does not affect the substance here. For the reasons in F1, *non constat* that it was these dates which were treated as the new or full moon in Athens and Sparta.

[48] This assumes that the Athenians started their new year in 490 by observation, or was otherwise accurate. If they started it at the previous new moon, the end of June, their first full moon would have been 12th July. The next full moon was 6th October, and one might be tempted to equate that with 6th Boedromion; but on practical grounds it is very late in the year, even allowing for everything Datis had done since leaving Cilicia. It is hard to advance Boedromion to August, as does Holoka, n. 46.

[49] "Essentially, the question of the ban is . . . [whether] ancient superstition about phases of the moon extended to the military art": Pritchett *loc cit* 118. Hesych and Suda sv ἐντὸς ἑβδόμης say that the Athenians had a ban on marching out before the 7th of the month. Cf Goodman and Holladay (1986).

[50] Pritchett *GSW* I 116 cites 5 passages, plus the Suda repeating one of them, including Lucian *Astr* 25, which adds that they once debated whether to change the rule; Paus 1.28.4; Schol Ar *Ach* 84.

and there was a proverb, λακωνικαὶ σελῆναι, meaning an ambiguous bargain: Diogen Gramm 6.30, conveniently in Pritchett *GSW* I 120 n. 21; if not derived from the present anecdote, it suggests that if the Spartans had such a rule, others did not regard it as well based. As Pritchett points out (117), discussions have been obscured by assuming that Philippides arrived just before or at the time of the Carneia, and using that to date the battle.

6 There is a general impression that Spartan troop movements were not usually inhibited by the time of month;[51] where they were, a festival is mentioned, except at §106.3. Pritchett 120–1 examines the Olympic truce episode of Thuc 5.48–50, on the usual assumption that Olympia took place around the time of the full moon; but that is not directly in point;[52] he adds "I know of no other test case where we can be sure at the same time of the phase of the moon and of the interval of days between departure and battle". The evidence for festivals, and not just at Sparta, is clearer. Pritchett 121–6 lists and discusses the contemporary evidence, mostly Herodotus Thucydides and Xenophon, for religion taking precedence over military needs. They include cases where fighting was stayed or troops went home to celebrate a festival; three cases are directly relevant here. In 480, the Carneia delayed the Spartans sending troops to Thermopylae; the text is, unfortunately, ambiguous as to when Leonidas and his advance guard left Sparta,[53] but other evidence

[51] One might pray in aid Thuc 5.54.2: the Spartans would not march out during Carneios 419, but the following month (the third month: cf n. 38). This cuts both ways: they were apparently then saying that they could not leave during the whole of Carneios, but would do so at the beginning of the following month. It did not apply to all festivals: the Spartans delayed the Gymnopaidia in 417 when there was *stasis* in Argos: Thuc 5.82. Van Wees (2004) 119 thinks there was a general ban, but has just noted the cynical exploitation of religion by the Greeks for military purposes.

[52] Elis fined Sparta for sending troops to Lepreon during the Olympic truce (and barred Sparta from the games; cf on παραδιδοῖ, §103.2). But it is not clear whether they had left before the truce came into force, or, for that matter, at what time of the Spartan month. If Sepeia was on 7th of the fourth Argive month (Appx 15 para 6), and the Argive calendar was broadly in line with Sparta's, Cleomenes would leave Sparta during the third month (we have to allow him time for his ships to come to Thyrea). If he left after the full moon, that would not prove a ban on leaving earlier: the case in the next note suggests that he could leave at any time in the third month.

[53] 7.206.1; cf 8.72. Did Leonidas leave at the end of the previous month, or early in Carneios but before the festival began? There is no independent way of

shows that the Carneia typically imposed military restraint amongst Dorian states (Pritchett 122–3, including the express statement at Thuc 5.54.2). In 479, the Spartans said that the Hyacinthia prevented them marching, though Herodotus notes another reason, that they wanted to finish the wall across the isthmus (9.7). In 425, Thuc 4.5, they delayed because of an unspecified festival (not the Carneia, given the time of year). As an additional problem, there is evidence that a religious ban could be waived or broken.[54]

7 In short, the evidence for a general ban is not at all strong; that Herodotus does not refer to a festival is some, but not conclusive, evidence for it. That does not mean that the Spartans could not assert that there was one, if it suited them. In any case, public opinion may have been divided as to whether to become involved outside the Peloponnese, despite the Persian threat. Some would recall the Athenian defeat of Sparta in c508; Cleomenes' intended intervention there in c506 had affected Demaratos; helping Athens over Aegina the previous year had led to Demaratos' deposition, even if that had not yet been discovered to have been fraudulent (notes to §§49.2–55, paras 3–5; Appx 12 paras 3–4). While few, if any, Spartans would have accepted submission to Persia for themselves, some would see a poetic justice if she now beat Athens. Also, Sparta's close ties with Delphi (see on Πυθιοί, §57.2) may have made her cognisant of Delphi's policy not to resist Persia, as noted on καὶ τότε, §19.2. Finally, there is the possibility that Sparta had had to send troops to Messenia to deal with a helot revolt (Appx 14 para 9). The balance of probabilities just tips in favour of the Carneia;[55] Carneios was the second month (n. 38), the very time of Marathon (para 4). If so, what the Spartans said was not an excuse; but it would not mean that the other factors did not also exist. Sending just 2,000 men, albeit quickly, could reflect a compromise decision on the public

establishing this: cf Pritchett, *loc cit* 120. The apparent intention to leave after the festival is at odds with their attitude in 419 (previous note).

[54] See Pritchett *loc cit* 119 (whether seers could waive the ban); 124–5 (Argive tricks with the calendar at their Carneia); 125–6 (generally).

[55] Burn (1984) 257, who accepts the Carneia, offers an August timetable, his arguments not being affected by his treating the full moon as the night of 11th, not 10th, August. Hammond (1973) 217 argues for September, partly because he needs a late moonset to explain why the Persian cavalry were not in the battle line (214–15; G5).

opinion point, or a fair contingent if part of the army was in Messenia, or both (cf on §120). We know curiously little about the Carneia. We think that it was celebrated over 9 days, culminating at the full moon. Because of the problems over out of phase calendars (para 1), we cannot be sure if that meant that it began on (say) 7th of the month, so as to end on 15th, regardless of the state of the moon; or on a day when it was judged that the moon might at least appear to be full in 9 days' time, or in some other way.[56]

G *The battle*

1 Why did battle take place before the Spartans arrived? The simple explanation is Herodotus': Miltiades wanted the glory, and took action on the day of his prytany instead of prudently waiting for the Spartans. If so, he showed that streak of confidence which had served him well at Lemnos but was to lead to disaster at Paros. A more sober (if speculative) assessment is that after several days of stalemate, the troops were getting restless. The full moon had probably passed; many would not work out the time needed for Spartans to reach Attica, at least with precision. Those who had always been frightened of the size of the Persian army would say that no help would come, and wanted to retreat to what they saw as the safety of the city, even talk of coming to terms with the Persians. Miltiades may have feared lest he lost the initiative; it would need only one or two of the other generals, influenced by public opinion, to change his vote and reverse the decision to fight.[57]

2 What were Datis' plans? Hippias had not secured a surrender; diplomacy had failed, C6. He was stuck at Marathon. He had probably not anticipated the Athenians coming to confront him (cf E2), but they did now block his way to the city. It was said that he ravaged (ἐπόρθει) the countryside around.[58] With the Athenians where

[56] Athen 4.141f says that it was a 9 day festival; Eur *Alc* 445–51, taken with §109.3, could suggest that it culminated at the full moon. Cf Pritchett *loc cit* 120, 124, where he proposes that it was tied to observations of the moon, not days of the calendar.

[57] On a 6–4 division, the polemarch's vote could not affect the outcome.

[58] Dem 59.94, Plut *Arist* 5.1; cf *id Paral Min* 305b.

they were, and hills to the north-west, any raiding could only have been done to the north, towards Oropos and Rhamnous. That would not help conquer Athens. He would not want to keep his troops idle, and they had already been rested after Eretria, §102. He needed to engage the Athenians in battle, a battle he could hope to win; after which he could march on Athens, even if his rear was vulnerable to attacks from survivors. He had larger forces, including trained troops (Appx 3 para 6); he would know that the fewer Athenians' last experience of fighting was against Thebes and Chalcis sixteen years earlier (506: Appx 12 para 2), and, for a few, eight years ago at Sardis (pp. 53, 61); and they had no mercenaries.[59] If there were no other factors, then it would be still be Miltiades' decision (and ambition) to have the Athenians fight on this day, though it would be what Datis was waiting for.

3 But as each day went by, the pressure on Datis to take action increased. He had probably hoped to win quickly; on that point, we should note placing the Eretrian prisoners on Aigilia (cf also on §107.2). It suggests that he did not expect to be long in Attica. He had enough ships, e.g. supply ships now empty, and men, to have sent them straight off to Cicilia or the Levant, to start their overland journey to Susa. If there were around 800 people (see on σταθμῷ, §119.2) they would need 20 galleys at most (at only 40 people per ship: Appx 2 para 8); even with escorts, it would only be a fraction of his fleet. Of course, it may have been a matter of pride to bring the captives home with his main fleet; also, although he theoretically controlled the Aegean, that also offered protection against an attack by a determined group of islanders seeking to release the Eretrians. We cannot assume that Datis learnt that Athens had sent for help, or of Sparta's reply; though if Hippias was in touch with supporters in Athens both are possible.[60] If he did know, he too would assume that the Spartans would need 4 or more days to arrive. But even if he was a day or so out in his calculations, he would

[59] Unless we date some of the fighting against Aegina to c493 (Appx 12 n. 12).

[60] The source for Nepos *Milt* 5.4 assumes that he knew they were coming. We know not how well Datis was able to get intelligence of what was now happening at Athens, nor how much contact Hippias had with friends in Athens. If Philippides' journey was known, Hippias might have known enough of Spartan religious practices to tell Datis what was probable.

certainly want to fight the Athenians before the Spartans arrived.[61] Thus he could have been tempting the Athenians to come out and fight for several days before the actual battle. It looks from §111.3 that on the day of the battle the Persians were already drawn up in battle line, somewhere on the Athenian side of the charadra, before the Athenians marched out. Unless he had foreknowledge that the Athenians would come and fight on this day, we might infer from that and §110 that he had been bringing his troops out each day during the stalemate.[62] Thus we might think that on the morning of the battle, he sought to put more pressure on the Athenians, for instance by advancing his men nearer the Athenian camp than previously, and deploying them in such a manner as to appear that they might now attack the camp itself. This could explain §111.3: the Persian line was longer than on previous days, and the Athenians had to adjust their line accordingly. Whether Datis in fact wanted to try and overrun the camp, as opposed to a pitched battle, is another matter. But it is possible that it was this manoeuvre which persuaded Miltiades to gave the order to march out, and in response, not just to his own assessment, but pressure from the army who saw the danger of the Persians, much nearer than previously; and his prytany was coincidental.[63]

4 Paras 1–3 are substantially matters of inference, but another view has some evidence to support it. It is that Datis decided on a change of tactics: to divide his forces, embarking part on the morning of the battle, while retaining a substantial rearguard to detain the Athenians at Marathon. He may possibly have intended at this stage to land troops at modern Rafina or Loutsa or Porto Rafti, now behind the Athenian lines (cf E2); but his main plan would probably be to go to Phaleron and get established there before the Athenian survivors of the battle could get back from Marathon. This view is

[61] His own calendar was probably a fairly accurate lunar one, based on regular monthly observations of the new moon, using or following the practice of Babylonian astronomers, and he might assume that Greek calendars were the same. But being a few days out in his calculations would not alter the urgency of making the Athenians fight as soon as possible.

[62] We may compare Mardonius' behaviour at Plataea, 9.39–52 passim, challenging or inviting the Greeks to fight.

[63] This view of Datis' plans is partly similar to Lazenby's analysis, (1993) 61–2, who points out that the Persians had had to move several kilometres from their camp area to be near the Soros.

based on (a) accounts that he did so; (b) almost all his ships escaping, and (c) his ability to collect the prisoners from Aigilia, despite the picture of a headlong flight from Marathon; (d) the length of time needed to sail to Phaleron; (e) the apparent absence of the Persian cavalry in Herodotus; (f) the χωρὶς ἱππεῖς story. If he arranged the embarkation at the east end of the Schoinia, towards Cape Cynosaura, with no unusual movement at the western end, it would be undetectable by the Athenians, and they would not realise that something unusual was happening until numbers of ships were seen sailing south, which may have been after they had marched out to fight. If they did realise it sooner, it would be an additional reason why Miltiades decided to fight; he would not want the men retreating down the coast, to stop themselves being cut off at, say, Rafina, and, more urgently, to protect the city.

5 Two late authors, but with fourth century Greek originals, indicate point (a).[64] If there was a division, it is unclear if Datis left Marathon or stayed to direct the battle. If it was he who later ordered the complete withdrawal from Phaleron, then, division or not, he must have got there with fair speed. We can infer this tactic from (b), because despite the rout and loss of up to a quarter or fifth of his men, he only lost 7 ships, though this is also explicable on the basis that the west end of the Schoinia became a bottleneck, and effectively prevented the Athenians from advancing along it to any extent. To this we may add collecting the Eretrians from Aigilia, (c), this too suggests an orderly withdrawal, not a hasty retreat. Moreover, ships sailing in that direction would appear to the Athenians to be returning to Euboea. While they might not be in sufficient numbers to make them think of a complete Persian retreat, and so an extra encouragement to fight, it might not immediately alert them to the notion that a large Persian fleet was about to sail south. The time required to sail to Phaleron, (d), is more conveniently discussed below, H5.

[64] Nepos *Milt* 5.4 with 4.1 (100,000 out of 200,000 plus the cavalry) and Ampelius 15.9 (80,000 out of 270,000, based on Pompeius Trogus). The figures may be exaggerated, but the fact of the division of forces must have been in their Greek sources: Nepos drew on Ephoros and Trogus used Theopompos.

6 Point (e) is problematic. It is odd that, having stressed the Persian cavalry earlier, Herodotus does not mention their role in the battle; he offers considerable detail for the prominent part they played at Plataea.[65] On the other hand, he seems to have believed that they took part: see on §§112.2 and 113.1. The reason that their absence is consistent with a partial withdrawal is the argument that, as it would be difficult to embark horses in the mêlée of the retreat, as men scrambled to get on the ships, we should assume that they were quietly embarked at dawn. But the riders could simply have abandoned (or killed) the horses as they made for the ships. Withdrawal or not, the argument for their absence is made stronger if one accepts (f), the story in Suda sv χωρὶς ἱππεῖς: when Datis was withdrawing from Attica, Ionians approached the Athenians, coming up to the trees (D3), and shouted χωρὶς ἱππεῖς: "away—the cavalry". Miltiades understood the point, attacked and won.[66] The story is rejected for two reasons. One is that the expression had some other origin, but was later associated with Marathon; also we cannot rely on a record made some 1,500 years after the battle. The latter point is bad as framed. The real question is the reliability of the Suda's source. If it was the late fourth century Demon, for instance, we might feel some confidence that it was a genuine saying still recalled from Marathon.[67] The stronger reason is that Herodotus apparently believed they were there (supra: the arguments on that cover (e) with or without (f)). The weight we attach to Herodotus' belief in their presence (and his not describing what they actually did) depends on his sources. Men who fought in the centre, on either side, might simply assume

[65] 9.20, 22–3; 39, 40, 49–50, 52, 57; Hammond (1973) 207–8, 246–7; generally for 480, 7.84–6. Cavalry are noted at Malene, §29.

[66] It is perfectly good vernacular to convey the message. The text is in Burn (1984) 247 n. 23; Hammond 237; Pritchett *SAGT* II 9.

[67] Whether the Suda's ultimate source was a historian or a paroemiographer, it included the detail of Datis withdrawing (ἀναχωρήσαντος αὐτοῦ). If the latter, collections of proverbs started as early as Aristotle (*OCD*[3] sv pareomiographers); for this one, Demon, *FGrH* 327, is a serious candidate (Parke (1946), and cf n. 9). If it did have some other origin, what was that occasion, and how did it later become associated with Marathon? Yet no later surviving source mentions it until the Suda. Pritchett *SAGT* I 92, II 8–9, arguing for authenticity, suggests that as it was apparently not in Ephoros and unknown to Plutarch, it comes from an Ionian tradition unknown to mainland writers. Note that the Suda adds: whence the proverb is used for those who break formation (τῶν τάξιν διαλυόντων); consist with an account that the cavalry were withdrawn in order to be embarked.

that the cavalry had been there on the wings. On the other hand, if he accessed a fair sample of participants, or their sons, he may have had good information that they were there. But the one horse and rider on the Brescia sarcophagus, n. 6, may only be a Persian commander; the reference to the Athenians capturing horses and other things is a piece of late rhetoric. The best evidence for their presence outside Herodotus are the Persian riders in the Nike frieze, n. 6; its value depends on whether it was an idealised representation or derived from a solidly based tradition.[68] As a final complication, we could accept the χωρὶς ἱππεῖς story, but treat it as disinformation sent by Datis to persuade the Athenians to come out and fight.

7 The Soros is regarded as broadly corresponding to the centre of the battle lines, built nearest to most of the bodies, and given the Persian arrows in it: B3. But reconstructions of the battle lines (which are assumed to have started as straight lines facing each other) place them parallel to the shore, the Persians having their backs to the sea, at various angles to the shore, and at a right angle to it. Matthaiou (2003) 200–2 has given cogent reasons why στέσαμ' πρόσθεν πύλôν in IG I[3] 503/4 is associated with a cenotaph in Athens commemorating the Marathon dead, and refers to the Athenian line before the battle, πύλôν referring to the Gates of Marathon (B2); if so, the natural meaning, given the geography, would be a line more or less at a right angle; incidentally giving themselves the maximum protection to their camp and the road to Pallene. That the Persians had themselves already lined up at a right angle also seems the most natural position. Other pointers are the Persian centre chasing the Athenians ἐς τὴν μεσογαίαν, towards the interior (§113.1), the evidence of the fleeing Persians falling into the marsh (B2), which in the context has to be the large marsh by the Schoinia, and calculations of the length of the lines on the basis of the assumed size of

[68] E.g. if they were depicted on the Stoa painting. The Brescia figures are interpreted as probably being captured: Harrison (1972) 365. Athenians capturing horses: Ael Arist 1.107, 108 Behr. The Nike frieze riders could be commanders or actual cavalry. Hammond (1973) 215–17, in connection with his view of the coinage, n. 4, has the ingenious argument that the horses were absent because their grooms had been using the setting of the moon to end their overnight pasturing and bring them back to camp, and on the morning in question were deceived because the sun rose before the moon set.

the Athenian army.[69] The two lines starting parallel to the shore make it easier to envisage a literal flight inland, i.e. up the paths to Cephisia and Oenoe. It would mean that the Athenians left the road to Pallene unguarded, though we could then put the Persian left wing nearer the Athenian camp than on previous days. But there were several paths into the hills, and ἐς τὴν μεσογαίαν should not be understood in some mathematically rigid sense; indeed Matthaiou 202 argues that it means south towards Pallene. Persians fleeing towards the marsh, and (presumably) falling into it while trying to cut across it to the Schoinia is easier to envisage with lines starting at a right angle. The balance of probabilities favours that, especially now that the Athenian encampment can be placed with fair certainty (D1).

8 Holoka (1997) 333–8 makes a strong case that the battle could not have commenced at dawn, because we must allow time for the Athenians to eat, move forward and adjust their line, and make the necessary sacrifices. Herodotus describes the beginning of the battle as the Athenians moving forward δρόμῳ for about 1500 m ("not less than 8 stades", §112.1). The distance is consistent with the men lining up (by tribes) outside the probable location of the camp, and the Soros marking the approximate position of the initial confrontation. But a run over that distance, especially by hoplites, though rooted in the tradition (Herodotus uses δρόμῳ four times), has troubled commentators, and actual tests with fit young men show that few could achieve it and fewer be still able to engage in vigorous fighting. A sensible interpretation is that the Athenians advanced steadily and determinedly, with a spurt over the last 50–100 m, especially once they were within range of the Persian archers.[70]

[69] A favourite calculation comes out at around 1,600 m, which happens to coincide with the middle of the line being where the Soros now is, if it was more or less at a right angle to the shore. Allowing 1 yard or metre per man, and noting §111.3, it could have been achieved by two wings of c450 m 8 men deep, and a centre of c700 m 4 men deep. See Lazenby (1993) 64, 65; Hammond (1973) 178–9.

[70] Tests reported by Donlan and Thompson (1976) and repeated *id* (1979) indicate that even fit young men wearing armour and carrying a shield would not be able to run for the whole distance, much less fight vigorously after it, and some adjustment to the tradition is required. A run over the final distance would be perfectly feasible: van Wees (2004) 171–2, noting that a race in armour had been an Olympic event since 520.

9 The Athenian tactics of strong wings which closed on the Persian centre instead of pursuing the retreating Persian wings have provoked debate as to whether it was planned, by the generals as whole, or by reading into Herodotus the implication that it was by Miltiades himself; or, as was probably the case, an *ad hoc* response to an opportunity which could be seized: note to §§109–117 and on §113.2. It would be unique in ancient warfare to make a weaker centre as a pre-planned trap; while they would expect it to crumble, they could not foresee that the Persian wings would retreat. If it had really been Miltiades' idea, the Philaids would have wanted to stress it.[71] A subsidiary point is that the Athenian wings probably did not completely enclose the Persian centre: some of those Persians were probably able to join the retreat towards the marsh and the ships: see on §113.1, 2. Indeed, van Wees (2004) 180 questions the accuracy of the story, on the basis that hoplites did not have the control to organise the manoeuvre, and it is an idealised account of heroic behaviour. Herodotus describes the struggle as "long" (§113.1).[72] Modern assessments put it at between 4 and 6 hours; the Athenians as they retreated and then advanced would cover at least 10 km.[73]

H *After the Battle*

1 Datis was able to sail away in good order. He had about three-quarters of his men and almost all his fleet. §115 shows that the fleet was sailing along the Attic coast (ignoring. the small number which went to Aigilia). Whether or not he had divided his forces,

---

[71] Preconceived plan: Hammond (1973) 196, Burn (1984) 250; not preconceived, Lazenby (1993) 64.

[72] On the basis that Ar *Vesp* 1085, πρὸς ἑσπέραν, referred to Marathon, as used to be proposed (but 1075–90 probably refer to both Persian Wars: MacDowell on 1077–88; for 1081 see n. 8), it inspired one 19th century commentator (Wordsworth, Athens and Attica, cited Rodgers on Ar *Vesp loc cit*) to this purple passage: "the hour of the day combined with the local bearings of the plain of Marathon may have conduced much to the success of the Athenians. The sun would have streamed in full dazzling radiance, and against it the conical tiara of the Persians would have offered little protection".

[73] Hammond (1973) 225–6 starts it before dawn and proposes 5.30–9.30 am. Only Holoka *loc cit* analyses the total distances covered by the Athenians, first as they retreat, and then advance to the marsh and Schoinia, perhaps slightly overestimating them at 6–10 miles; he suggests 7.30 am–1.30 pm for the battle.

the retreating Athenians merely prevented him landing men in the Rafina area, if that was one of his plans (cf E2, G4) and made Phaleron his only option. Plut *Arist* 5.5 speaks of a wind in the straits sending the fleet to Attica and not into the Aegean; but, apart from their having no difficulty in going north-east to Aigilia to collect the Eretrians, if such a wind arose, as it often does in the area, it is unreal to think that Datis' decisions were determined by it. If he was really making for home, he would have had adequate opportunity to change course before reaching Sounion.

2 Herodotus says: the Athenians believed that the Alcmaeonids gave Datis the idea of making for Phaleron, and raised a shield when the Persians were already in their ships (§115). At §§121–4, when defending the Alcmaeonids, he accepts the shield story as true (§124.2). This gives rise to numerous problems irrespective of their alleged involvement.

(a) As reported, the pursuit and fighting are over, the Persian ships are at sea, and wherever the signaller is, he is some little distance, and therefore time, away from the Schoinia. We may doubt that a shield signal would be seen by Persian officers on a ship, or distinguishable amongst the many men now moving south. This objection has been met by putting him up on Mt Agreliki, and assuming that he used his shield as a heliograph (though this is not what Herodotus says), with the further argument that we can deduce that the fighting was over by c9.30 am, as after c10 am the angle of the sun would make a flashing signal impracticable.[74]

(b) The greater difficulties turn on why the signaller was making it, and its meaning: did he know (and how) that the battle would be that morning, when it would be over, and that win or lose, most of the Persian forces would get away? The meaning of the signal had to be pre-arranged: but neither "go to Phaleron: the city is less

[74] Hammond (1973) 209–10, 226, *HG* 216 n. 2, *CAH* IV^2 512. Hodge and Losada (1970) demonstrated that a shield could be used as a heliograph at almost any time of the day. Hammond's timing is also suspect because he allows far too short a period for the Persian fleet to get to Phaleron: H4. The heliograph is accepted by Burn (1984) 251; but the analysis of Lazenby (1993) 72–3, rejecting the signal, is preferable. A shield signal as such is recorded at Aegospotami, Xen *Hell* 2.1.27.

well protected than yesterday" nor "do not go to Phaleron—the Athenians are on their way back" (the Persians could see that) are plausible. A possible message from a Hippias adherent could be: "you may implement your plan to go to Phaleron—we confirm that we will help you into Athens". But that involves Datis otherwise going home without success, and only changing course for Phaleron because of the signal. The probability is that there was no such signal, and it either grew as a rumour out of some innocent incident, or it was invented as a piece of political malice (cf Lazenby (1993), cited n. 74; and see on αἰτίη, §115).

3 Aristides and the men of his tribe were left to guard the battlefield, per Plut *Arist* 5.5. A guard by someone is probably true, to protect both their own dead and the Persian spoils and booty. That these were substantial may be inferred from making a start on a Parthenon, the huge statue of Athena Promachos, the dedications at Delphi, and the other items listed in n. 2. It is no argument against an orderly withdrawal of part of the forces before the battle; if 6,400 were killed and more got away, it argues for about half the forces being left behind. Also, Datis would assume that he would win, and may not have fully struck camp.

4 There is something uncanny in the final episode: why did the Athenians not stop in the city, but go to Cynosarges: did someone know of Datis' intentions, and if so how; or was it an inspired guess? There are considerable timing problems. Herodotus says that they went ὡς πόδων εἶχον, as quickly as they could, and arrived before the Persians (§116). Plut *Arist* 5.4 says that they got to Athens the same day as the battle.[75] Holoka (1997) 340–8 questions this;[76] after several hours fighting, the men would need to eat and drink, and would not move as quickly as they had arrived; his 10 hours by the coast road may be generous (he suggests 14 by Cephisia). We cannot

---

[75] Hodge (1975a) 156 n. 5 points out that Plut *Arist* 5.4 does not say that the confrontation at Phaleron was the same day as the battle, only that the Athenians got there on the same day.

[76] His calculations use figures for marching armies, and the picture here is of men making their own way at their own speeds; he also queries whether they were carrying their own armour. But his basic point, that they were weary and would need rest and refreshment, and had a considerable distance to go, is good.

fix the time they left Marathon (G8), but on the most optimistic view the quickest men might reach Cynosarges, 5 km south of Athens, late at night, with the rest arriving into the small hours of the next day.

5 At least some of them would arrive before the Persians. Marathon to Phaleron by sea is c112 km, about 60 nautical miles, with Sounion exactly halfway. It is, however, unrealistic to accept the 9 hours at 6 knots average of Hammond (1973) 221 (who also shortens the distance slightly): Hodge (1975a and b). If the Persians enjoyed the meltemi, often blowing from the north in the summer, and inferable from Plut *Arist* 5.5 cited in para 1, it would help them to Sounion but be a positive disadvantage on the north-west course to Phaleron: cf Plat *Crit* 43d.[77] A few triremes might make it in about 12 hours.[78] But a fleet sails more slowly than an individual ship; the best fleet speed in Casson (1995), noted in Appx 4 para 1, was Caesar's fleet in Appian 2.13.89, 4½ knots with a following wind. If it sailed through the night (it was near the full moon), a few fast triremes which left at dawn might get there in the early hours of the next day, but a fleet would do well to make it in 30 hours: 10–15 hours to Sounion with a favourable wind, and 20–30 hours from Sounion to Phaleron: Hodge (1975a) 168. So while some ships might arrive soon after the Athenians, most would only do so during the following morning. If Datis himself gave the order to withdraw from Phaleron, we need not assume that he was on one of the very first ships away from Marathon, but he would be among the early arrivals (cf G5). We need not assume that the whole 600 ships got there before he decided to withdraw; once he saw that a landing would be opposed, he retreated, and he could "collect" the rest of his fleet as he sailed east. That he had gone by the evening of the day after the battle can be supported by the point in Hodge

[77] Crito says that it is quicker to walk from Sounion than to sail (cited Hodge (1975a) 169, who also doubts that Phoenician galleys could achieve significantly greater speeds than Greek or Roman ones (163–6)).

[78] This theoretical calculation, for a small squadron of well-rowed triremes, is 3 hours under sail to Sounion, with a favourable wind and so achieving 10 knots average; plus 9 hours rowing at an average of 3.5 knots. Whether even Phoenicians could consistently keep up that rate, without a break or a meal, is doubtful.

(1975a) 170: by the time the Spartans arrived, which was probably that evening (F1, 3), the Persian ships had gone.[79]

6 Finally, we should note the tradition of a runner who brought news of the victory to the city, who died after conveying his message. No one agreed on his name. Lucian, *Pro Laps* 3, says Philippides, having joined the forces at Marathon on his return from Sparta; but other historians named him as Thersippos or Eucles (Plut *Glor Ath* 347c). Perhaps several men each claimed to have been first with the news.

[79] The above ignores the delay for those ships which go to Aigilia to collect the Eretrians. In relation to the arrival of the Spartans, as noted on §120, Holoka (1997) 350–1, while extending their journey to Athens, denies that such a distance could be covered in only three days, and wants 4 or 5.

APPENDIX 18

MILTIADES' EXPEDITION TO PAROS

1 As pointed out on §134.1, any story about this expedition must have originated on either Paros or at Athens, and there are six texts which throw light on the Athenian versions: Ephoros, in part of Steph Byz sv Πάρος, = *FGrH* 70 F63; Nepos' *Milt* 7; and four scholia to Aelius Aristides, here called S1 to 4. They are set out in the endnote; one or two other passages are noted below. For the beginning of the expedition, they offer Miltiades reducing other islands before Paros (F63/Nepos); going to Naxos and not Paros (S1, 4); and intending to go on elsewhere after Paros (S3). The motive is that they had medised or had revolted from Athens.[1] For the end of the expedition, they offer a negotiated surrender, broken off when an accidental forest fire was said to be a Persian fleet, and causing Miltiades to go (F63/Nepos); and his being injured in the leg at the temple, by an arrow shot by Demeter as a signal to go (S2, 4; injured fighting, Nepos). S3 has the *prytanis* detail noted below, and Nepos, S2 and S4, and perhaps S1, have him dying in prison. The "other islands" stories can be explained as accretions to the story, but the two accounts of the end are noteworthy. Either the Athenians had two different stories ("but some say that . . ."), or their account accommodated both the negotiations and a visit to the temple.

2 The six texts can only be windows into the originals, and we should look at them for the substance rather than their literal translation; but we can be confident that at least one Athenian based writer, other than Herodotus, had written up the story by the end of the fifth century; because Plato knew the *prytanis* detail of S3: *Gorg* 516d–e, c385.[2] The immediate ancestry of the scholia were com-

[1] Paros' prosperity is mentioned in F63/Nepos, but the context is her medising, not that Miltiades had promised her wealth to the Athenians.

[2] The *Gorgias* is more probably dated to 387–5 than 398–88: Dodds 18–30. That is too early for Plato to have learnt it from Ephoros. For a possible explanation for the story, see on πεντήκοντα, §136.3.

mentaries on Aristides, principally that of Sopater, fourth century AD. There is no trace of the negotiations or the fire of Ephoros/Nepos, though the Persian fleet might lurk behind the treason in S2 (cf on πεντήκοντα, §136.3); Miltiades is injured at the temple. This suggests that Sopater used account(s) other than Herodotus and Ephoros; if not the original writer(s), later ones who quarried or epitomised them. That such texts existed in Sopater's time can be deduced from his near-contemporary Libanius.[3] Who the original writer(s) was/were can only be speculation; but Hellanicus, Stesimbrotos, and Ion of Chios are candidates, and they would be recording traditions at no greater distance from the events than Herodotus; *prima facie* their accounts would be a fair reflection of what Athenians were saying in the mid fifth century. An early *Atthis* would be rather later.[4] The accuracy of those traditions is another matter: assumption and camp rumour can feed oral tradition as easily as actual eye-witnesses, and the prosecution allegations and defence rebuttals at Miltiades' trial[5] will have reinforced some of the details (para 16). As to Ephoros, there remains the problem of his reliability for fifth century events. If we could be sure that he was following earlier written accounts for this part of his work, then he too would give us insight into the traditions as they stood when first put into writing.[6] If he used other

[3] Lib *Decl* 11.25 refers to the goddess injuring Miltiades as a signal to go (S2, 4), and 11.32 to his intention to go to other islands after Paros (S3). Foerster's Teubner edition shows where Libanius followed Herodotus and where not. Kinzl (1976) 295–304 analysed the texts in the endnote, and Lib *op cit* 24–6, 32, and concluded that we could construct Ephoros' account of Miltiades on Paros from them. That may be so, but for the reasons discussed here it is safer to say that the scholia and Libanius reflect, or also reflect, Athenian writers other than, and at least one earlier than, Ephoros.

[4] This summarises the longer review of possible writers in Scott (2002) 123–5.

[5] I use "trial" in this Appendix without prejudice to the point noted on θανάτου, §136.1.

[6] Casson (1914) 86–7 suggested the *Persica* of Dionysius of Miletus (p. 13 n. 41) as one of Ephoros' sources; a possibility here if Dionysius wrote up Marathon and followed it with the Paros expedition and Miltiades' death. If Ephoros' knowledge of Paros was largely learnt from his teacher Isocrates, it may have contained some of the broad brush inaccuracies of fourth century oratory (cf para 3). More generally, his reliability is called into question from passages such as his account of how the Archidamian war broke out (DS 12.38–40), which totally differs from Thucydides and is an anti-democratic slander on Pericles: Barber (1934) 84–94. Schwartz *RE* 6 sv Ephoros 13–14 and Barber 117–19 discuss how Ephoros seems to have deliberately set out to contradict Herodotus; particularly attractive for him here, since Herodotus had given him the opening by omitting an Athenian version. But How (1919) argues for his reliability for Paros (cf Appx 17 n. 9), and others accept his

input, or even his imagination, his accuracy is called into question: his μηχανήματα sound anachronistic for the early fifth century (cf on §133.2). Further, he may have wanted to shape his narrative at this point to explain the meaning of ἀναπαριάζειν rather than give an accurate account of what he understood to have happened.[7] Also, even if Stephanus used Ephoros as opposed to an intermediate source such as a paroemiographer, he only needed to cite the part that explained ἀναπαριάζειν, not the whole account of the expedition. We can, however, use Nepos to give us further insight into what Ephoros did write, despite his (Nepos') brevity. *Milt* 7.1–4 is close to F63, and the 70 ships, although in Herodotus, could also have been in Ephoros.[8] On the other hand, it is not clear if Nepos had a copy of Ephoros in front of him or wrote from memory; and in any case, our Nepos is itself an epitome, and he cannot be a full transcript of Ephoros.[9] Other details leave a good deal to be desired: the fire on the mainland, and the reference to "Sagoras". A fire on Greece or Asia Minor could not possibly have been seen from Paros; Sagoras is often amended to Stesagoras, but Stesagoras had been

---

basic reliability, e.g. Hammond (1996), who seeks to reconcile Herodotus and Ephoros over Thermopylae.

[7] He seems to have liked to include proverbial expressions: *FGrH* 70 F119 = Strabo 9.2.4; F149 = Strabo 10.4.17. Although ἀναπαριάζειν is a hapax except in collections of proverbs, it could have been a vernacular expression; quaere whether Stephanus' "still in use" meant in his day or in the time of his source. It is often said that ἀναπαριάζειν reads like a creation of old comedy (e.g. Kinzl (1976) 297 n. 69); Macan II 255 n. 8 doubts that it derives from this occasion. If so, it might have been coined from complaints that Parian marble merchants broke their contracts by short delivery or poor quality. But it could have been invented at Miltiades' trial, with the prosecution saying: "do you really believe that he had an agreement with the Parians to surrender, and they then broke that agreement, ἀνεπαρίασαν, by pretending there was a Persian fleet"; or "he claims that he had an agreement which the Parians broke, though in reality he was bribed by the Persians to go away" (cf para 16). I cannot find a parallel for ἀνά plus a place name for a verb with an adverse "racial" connotation, e.g. †ἀναλακωνίζω, "behave like a bad Spartan". But, as Dr Armand D'angour reminds me, some ἀνά compounds do have a withdrawal or back connotation, some with -ιζω endings; see LSJ sv ἀνά F4: ἀνακαινίζω, ἀνατίθημι in sense LSJ III, ἀναχωρέω, ἀναψηφίζω.

[8] For Ephoros as Nepos' source for Greek history see Albrecht (1977) 1.479; for his *Miltiades* see also Jacoby on *FGrH* 70 F63–4. Nepos got Miltiades dying in prison from Ephoros, as we have it also in DS 10.30.1 (it is also in S2, 4, and Plut *Cim* 4.4, *Arist* 26.5).

[9] Bradley (1991), in a detailed discussion of Nepos' sources for 9 biographies (not including *Miltiades*), regularly identified cases where Nepos has been guilty of error and confusion: generally, 163; for some specific cases, 14, 16, 42, 43, 61–2, etc.

killed before Miltiades went out to the Chersonese, §38.1, and we know of no other brother.[10] The description of the siege reads more like a Roman one, built on Ephoros' μηχανήματα.[11]

3 The "other islands" references illustrate how assumption rather than actual knowledge can feed tradition. As soon as Miltiades asked the assembly for ships, some Athenians would infer that he intended to go to one or more islands;[12] when there he may have discussed with friends[13] whether to abandon Paros and try elsewhere, and camp rumour would readily speculate that that was in his mind. Over time, the expedition got confused in one direction with the beginnings of the Delian league, partly because there was speculation that that was one of Militates' own ambitions, partly by confusing him with his son Cimon (cf infra), who played a part in those beginnings, partly confusing him with Themistocles, who also raided Paros (8.112); and in another direction with his reduction of Lemnos and probably Imbros some time previously, §140 (or Lemnos became associated with the start of the league). In the mid fifth century, Philaid tradition had an interest in recalling Miltiades' success there. Factually, Herodotus is to be preferred: Miltiades went straight to Paros and straight back (and the promise of wealth is also the most likely reason why the expedition was authorised). The Naxos reference in particular could have come from an orator rather than a historian, who confused or conflated Miltiades with Cimon. That father and son were confused as early as the 390s can be seen from Andoc 3.3; so Dem 23.205, mid fourth century. Both are excellent examples of how an orator could make an erroneous statement which

---

[10] For Sagoras see on ὑπεραπελογέοντο, §136.2. Another textual problem is the trees at Marathon, 5.3, for which see Appx 17 D3. His conflation of the two Miltiades into Miltiades of Marathon may reflect his sources rather than his own error: cf on Μιλτιάδης, §34.1.

[11] His *operibus*, works, translates μηχανήματα, but his *vineis ac testudinibus*, sheds or other structures to protect the besiegers and their rams or other devices, are Roman.

[12] The request for troops would have to be in the assembly: see on αἰτήσας, §132. Also, since Athens had been able to extend her influence into the Aegean over the previous two or three generations (Appx 8 n. 8), Miltiades may have been able to phrase his request so as to imply that he wanted to extend that.

[13] We must not write "his staff" or "senior commanders"; that would import modern ideas alien to the polis army (though not the Spartan: Xen *Lac Pol* 13.1, 7). But he probably had an inner circle of friends and confidants, and perhaps men acting as junior officers to help with a force of the suggested numbers, n. 16 (the Athenian *lochagos* is first formally evidenced in 479, 9.22).

was acceptable to his audience and consistent with what a sufficient number of them "knew" of the old event.[14] Cimon suppressed a revolt on Naxos soon after 470 (Thuc 1.98.4; for the date see Hornblower *ad loc*). That he succeeded there, while his father failed on Paros, would not prevent an orator making some broad-brush statement about Miltiades' failure on Naxos leading to his prosecution.[15] Thus when Sopater found a text putting Miltiades on Naxos, it could have been in an orator whose speech is lost to us. Generally on "other islands" see Scott (2002) 117–22.

4 For the end of the siege, the account in F63 is so different to Herodotus that it is commonly said that they cannot be reconciled (e.g. Kinzl (1976) 304). But there was only one actual sequence of events. One solution is to accept the negotiations, and reject the temple story as invention; though we then have to explain why it circulated, in variant versions, both on Paros and in Athens. Another is to accept the temple and reject the negotiations and the fire as invention, which requires us to explain how it arose. The alternative, examined here, is to accept both: that when the "arrival" of the Persians ended negotiations and made Miltiades leave, he decided to mitigate his losses by stealing from the temple; an enterprise frustrated when he fell and injured himself. None of the accounts are free from difficulty, as discussed below, but we can get some help by taking note of how an oral tradition may arise and develop (cf pp. 17–18). It is also an exercise which necessarily involves an element of subjective judgment. But at least it offers a possible resolution.

[14] In brief, Andoc 3.3 has Miltiades ostracised, and recalled from the Chersonese to treat with the Spartans in 452, "as he was Spartan *proxenos*". It was Cimon who was recalled, and may have been involved in the five year truce between Athens and Sparta (see Meiggs *AE* 111 with Endnote 9). The *proxenos* attribution is another error: the *proxenos* was Alcibiades' grandfather till c460, *APF* 600 V, then Hipponicos, for whom see on Ἱππονίκου, §121.1. Dem 23.205 has Cimon convicted, nearly sentenced to death, and fined 50 talents, conflating his own trial at which he was probably acquitted with Miltiades' trial, after which Cimon paid the fine. See Thomas (1989) 203–5.

[15] Cf p. 19 n. 62. An alternative view is that while the origin of the "Naxos" version was an orator, his statement was later copied by someone else, and it was the latter's text which Sopater read. Confusion between this expedition and Aristagoras' against Naxos seems less likely.

5 I start with details which, on balance, are likely to be right. The agreement of F63 implies previous negotiations, and Macan II 254 suggested that this was a more rational account than Herodotus'. Secondly, Herodotus' 26 days on the island has the ring of authenticity: a precise number which stuck in tradition. Thirdly, if it is right that the Parians consulted Delphi over Timo, she must have had some dealings with Miltiades in relation to the temple. Fourthly, and in a sense the other side of the coin to that, it looks as though he was at the temple, in circumstances in which he did not want to admit why, or how, he had been injured: hence the story about the arrow from Demeter. I shall also urge three further points. One is that he believed that a Persian force was at Mykonos. The second is that when he was injured, he did not think it was serious, much less fatal. The third is that he was injured just before leaving Paros. With this in mind, I propose an actual sequence on these lines. One side or the other initiated negotiations, probably to pay Miltiades off rather than surrender. During them, the Parians said that the Persians might come and rescue them; after a few days, they sent a man to Mykonos, to light a fire where it could be seen on Paros. Even if the fire was accidental, he still believed that the Persians were coming. Either way, he dared not risk fighting them. The Parians also sent to Timo, to tell her to tell Miltiades that the temple contained valuable items. He ordered the army to prepare to leave, and went to the temple to see if he could retrieve some of its treasure, but accidentally fell. He explained his injury as an arrow from Demeter, and also as a signal to go.

6 Looking objectively at the position, both sides would be interested in bringing the siege to an end. As noted on πρόφασιν, §133.1, Miltiades had a lot riding on the success of the enterprise. He needed to keep the Philaid flag flying until Cimon was older; but his prosecution of 493 can have left him with few illusions about the enemies who would pounce if he now failed. It says, perhaps, a lot about the pressures he was under, possibly affecting his judgment, that he thought that the Parians would pay up; and when they refused, that a siege would persuade them to change their mind; the potential problems of undertaking a siege are noted on §133.2 and in Appx 15 n. 8. But as time went on, he must have become concerned lest they continued to refuse, and he had to return empty handed; at best he might hope to avert another prosecution by

offering to repay the costs. Strictly, we are still in an age when citizens were expected to do military service as a civic duty, and shipowners to provide their ships on that basis. But he could easily think that half a talent per day was the absolute minimum he could hope to get away with; in his less optimistic moments it would be a talent.[16] Since he was already two days out of Athens when he arrived on Paros (cf on §133.1), and had to allow two days to return, by day 10 of the siege he could see himself having to find up to 14 talents. By day 20, that had risen to 24.[17] As time went on, he must have become more worried. The men would become restless if kept there too long; his own position would become more precarious the longer he stayed without a result. He would in fact be ἀπορέοντι, at a loss, as the Parians were to say (§134.1), even if that was assumption. The option of leaving and trying another island, whatever others said or thought, was not attractive.[18]

7 The Parians would want rid of him. The Athenian depredations in the countryside (δηίωσας, §135.1) were spoiling their crops; the siege prevented them exporting their marble. They would watch their stocks of food and water, though they were probably not completely cut off, because it is doubtful if Miltiades could block the harbour by night. As noted on περικατημένῳ, §28.1, Greek sailors expected to come ashore to eat and sleep at night. Despite F63's "cut off by sea" (τῆς θαλάττης εἴργων), it is unlikely that Miltiades could impose such discipline on his rowers as to keep them consistently in their

---

[16] Pritchett *GSW* I 11–12, 34 for the public duty point; when pay was introduced, it was probably 2 or 3 obols per day: Pritchett 11, 14–23; cf jury pay, initially 2 obols (Rhodes on *Ath Pol* 27.3). Thus if we adopt the 4,000–5,000 men suggested (see on αἰτήσας, §132), an arithmetical calculation at 3 obols would come to 2,000 to 2,500 dr per day for pay or subsistence. He would have to allow something for the hire of the ships, and rounding up. If his enemies demanded 1 dr per day per man, that would easily round up to a talent per day.

[17] It may not be coincidence that the fine of 50 talents was not (as Nepos says) the costs, but double the costs, calculated as 30 days (26 on the island plus 2 for transit each way) at 5,000 dr per day: 25 talents.

[18] See Scott (2002) 119. Briefly, Naxos was, if anything, more of a risk: she had successfully resisted a substantial Persian led force 10 years earlier (p. 53; but Develin (1977) 575 suggests that he did intend to go on there after Paros). It would be undesirable to try Delos, with its religious connections (cf §97); most other islands were small and not wealthy. Perhaps his best bet would have been Thasos, since he had bigger forces than Histiaeus in 493, §28; from there he might have been able to flee to his wife's family as a last resort.

ships each night. We should not assume that the harbour was hermetically sealed 24 hours per day, or the Parians could not bring in modest amounts of supplies by night.[19] At all events, both sides would be interested in negotiations, though from rather different perspectives. If one side put out feelers, the other would take them up. The negotiations implicit in F63 are likely.

8 It is harder to assess what the negotiations were really about. Strictly, τῶν τειχῶν πιπτόντων in F63 would mean that the Parians were about to open their gates to Miltiades.[20] We may question whether either side wanted that. Miltiades had promised to bring back "wealth", however that was understood. To capture Paros would give Athens another Lemnos; did Athens want that at this time? Would the demos regard that as fulfilling his promise to enrich them, even if she had extended her influence in the Aegean as opportunity presented (cf n. 12)? 489 was a time when Athens was importing grain, not exporting population: see on §100.1.[21] He had gone there for money or money's worth; why settle for less after nearly a month? For their part, it is hard to see why the Parians would want to surrender. Unless their supplies had run out, and they were unable to bring in more by night, they would want to remain independent. It is more likely that both sides wanted to talk about paying him off. In one sense, the Parians were arguably in the stronger position. They would have a good idea of his problems, para 6. While in theory, the longer he was there, the higher his demands, because the higher the costs, they could also think that the longer he was there, the more ready he would be to compromise in order to extricate himself. Unless and until they ran out of food, they could string him along.

---

[19] There would be other factors: how many men he could allocate to the ships, and therefore how many ships he could crew, even by day, without prejudicing the blockade of the walls; and the problem of maintaining discipline amongst crews who were required to do more than they wished or expected: cf the problems at Lade, §12. Naxos had held out for 4 months, p. 53.

[20] As F63 couples it to an agreement, πιπτόντων cannot mean that Miltiades had actually undermined a section of wall; the walls were not falling in that sense.

[21] For the Parian version, that Timo told Miltiades how he could capture (ἑλεῖν) Paros, §134.1, see on ταύτην *ad loc.*

9 The fire is odd. Three points stand out: it was on the part of Mykonos that was visible from Paros; it came just before the Parians were due to surrender; and it was readily accepted as from a Persian fleet. F63 implies that which is explicit in Nepos, that Miltiades also believed that. If we exclude the coincidence of the location and the timing, it is credible that, viewed from Paros, one might not distinguish between the glow of a forest fire and a fire signal; the nearest part of Mykonos is 35 km away, slightly to the north of east. But if it was accidental, to attribute it to the Persians was a quick piece of lateral thinking by the Parians, hoping to frighten Miltiades, and thinking that he could not afford to ignore it. An actual Persian fleet is improbable. Although Datis had brought the islands into the empire, it is unlikely that the Persians maintained naval patrols around them, any more than they maintained garrisons in Greek cities (cf Appx 3 n. 6, Appx 11 n. 6); though one might argue for a specific force, which the Persians sent when they heard of the siege.[22] But if it was a real fleet, why should it be spoken of as a forest fire?

10 The best explanation is that it was lit deliberately. During the negotiations, the Parians would tell Miltiades that they had sent for Persian help. That would sound reasonable to Miltiades. The Persians had naval bases only a few days' sailing away: Abdera, perhaps Cyme or Samos (Appx 3 para 2). Miltiades would have to accept that the Parians could have got a man out of the harbour by night to ask for help (para 7), and that the Persians might respond. After a few days, the Parians could make it appear that they had arrived: they send a second man over to Mykonos, who lights the fire just where it can be seen on Paros. Once Miltiades saw it, he would readily believe that it was this help arriving. He would not wish to encounter them. Many of his ships were not ἀξιόμαχοι (see on §89), and he had no experience of naval battles. He could not risk exposing his men to fighting Persian troops, especially as the Parians might then come out of their city and attack his rear: he had just seen what happens to an enclosed army at Marathon. Prudence demanded that he leave, and quickly; he would give the order to prepare to depart.

[22] They had already shown that they would not tolerate Histiaeus' private army: see on Ἅρπαγος, §28.2. But they had not sought him out: they waited for him to come to them.

For the possibility that the fire story was prosecution canard, see para 16.

11 The Timo story as it stands reads like an urban legend, to celebrate Miltiades' failure and subsequent death, and to record the Delphic response about his bad end being fated.[23] Why should any Parian want to help Miltiades capture his or her own city? That she told him what men are not supposed to know has all the hallmarks of folklore, even if we can rationalise it (see on εἴτε, §134.2). As the story stands, how could the Parians know that she had spoken to him? That he took fright at the door of the temple is also story teller's imagination;[24] as pointed out in para 13, the Parians did not really know what Miltiades' injury was. But, as noted in para 5, some contact between her and him seems factual; otherwise why should her conduct have been referred to Delphi? In passing, there is the odd coincidence (and it is perhaps no more than that): like the fire in F63, the fall in this account also has happens at a critical moment.

12 Here too, there are critical points. However much we discount the Parian version, it is odd that, like the Athenian version, it puts Miltiades at the temple, and injured there (and the fact of his injury is firm: infra); and we can infer that there was something furtive about his presence from the Demeter arrow story, as if Miltiades did not want to tell his own people just what he was doing there. The solution here proposed is that she was told to send him there; that would also explain why, afterwards, it was known what she had done. Although Timo was a prisoner, the Athenians could scarcely prevent a visit from a man claiming to be her brother. He got her to approach Miltiades, and tell him, not about Demeter's rites, but that the temple contained valuables. A temple would normally contain treasure of various kinds: cf on ἕρκος, §134.2. The Parians had the measure of the man. Especially if we accept that they said that

[23] The Parians were not defeated, but in some ways one might broadly compare the Telesilla story, where the Argives could turn a defeat into a victory with a story with substantial overlay but a likely substratum of fact (cf Appx 15 paras 9–10).

[24] Once it was said that he had fallen over a wall, "I expect that he took fright at the doors and was in a hurry to get away" becomes "he took fright at the doors . . .": that is exactly how oral tradition develops.

they had sent for help from the Persians, and hence the fire, this was part of their ploy. They hoped that if he decided to go when he thought that the Persians were nearby, he was sufficiently desperate to commit sacrilege and steal treasure rather than return home empty-handed.[25] They could not foresee the injury; but afterwards they could accuse him of sacrilege to the Athenians. They could hope either that his enemies would prosecute him for that, or at least that he would be compelled to return the items and pay the Athenians for their value out of his own pocket.[26] Even if the fire was genuinely accidental, they could still hope that he would be tempted to fill his coffers from the temple.

13 Next, we should look at Miltiades' injury. We can realistically say three things about it. One, it was not the cause of him leaving Paros, e.g. because he thought it was life-threatening or wanted to see a doctor in Athens. A leg injury is not of itself usually fatal. We may infer that he left for some other reason. Secondly, once infection set in, his expectation of life was very limited; thirdly, as a corollary, and as is implicit in the Parian story, the injury happened just before he left.[27] Also, no one knew exactly what the original injury was: the two alternatives at §134.2 are guesses from his later condition, though our information is too slender for us to make a precise diagnosis (though it is obvious that it was not caused by an arrow from Demeter). What would be fatal, at least in a world without antibiotics, was supervening infection which was beyond the ability of the body's natural resources to resist. Once that happened, he would die within a short time.[28] While §136.2–3 are a layman's description and not clinical notes, they paint a graphic picture of a man who has succumbed to such infection, and will soon die of it.

[25] Or perhaps to top up the modest payment the Parians had offered in negotiations. The use (misuse) of temples at Athens (Appx 14 para 3) and Argos (§§81–2) by Cleomenes suggests that leaders of a buccaneering stamp might be prepared to cross the bounds of propriety if it suited them.

[26] Cf on §72.2 for a possibly comparable situation, where those bribing may have let the other side know that their leader had been bribed.

[27] I gratefully acknowledge the interest in the problem of Miltiades' injury, and input about it, from Dr David Barnett, consultant physician, Mr Martin Stone, consultant orthopaedic surgeon, and Dr Philip Cowen, retired lecturer in pathology, all of Leeds. Their advice is reflected in what follows.

[28] Thus we should reject Herodotus having him leave because he was ill, φλαύρως ἐχων, §135.1, as retrojection from his subsequent condition.

14 From a purely medical perspective, the reference to σφακελίσαντος, §136.3, is puzzling. Any Greek would be familiar, in a general sense, with the conditions denoted by σήπω and σφακελίζω. The first describes an infected or ulcerated wound: it is typically red, often accompanied by pus. Moreover, once it gets a hold on the person, septicaemia develops and he will become feverish, toxic, and comatose, with a high temperature, and generally be in considerable discomfort: exactly reflected in the description of Miltiades having to be brought to the trial on a couch and unable to speak in his own defence, and his subsequent death. To a doctor of the day, σφακελίζω denoted a condition for which modern doctors use both "necrosis" and "gangrene". They are essentially similar in their presentation: the skin goes black from loss of blood circulation, but the causes are different.[29] Its mention here is puzzling, because one would normally expect it to follow the original injury, and not be an additional complication of an infected wound. While this shows the danger of trying to make a medical diagnosis from a layman's description, there can be no doubt that Miltiades suffered a secondary infection as a result of the initial injury, untreatable in his day, which overwhelmed him.[30] More probably, we should stress σήπω; any wound which penetrates the skin, if not carefully cleaned, will readily attract an infection or ulcer of one sort or another. The short life spans indicated in nn. 29–30 strongly suggest that the actual injury must have happened just before he left Paros; but we must also assume that he was prosecuted very quickly on his return, and died a couple of weeks or so after that. As a footnote to the above, if he was shot with an arrow, either as Nepos alleges or if we imagine a Parian

[29] Perhaps more precisely, a modern doctor would say that gangrene is a more severe form of, or development from, necrosis, with specific connotations as to its cause: basically either from starving a limb, usually the leg, of blood, as from a serious fracture; or from an infection such as gas gangrene, the First World War killer, in which the circulation is unaffected, but the organism *Clostridium welchii* grows in an infected open wound. Hipp *De Fract* describes necrosis in the particular sense as the consequences of bandaging a fracture unskilfully and too tightly. In any of these cases, the patient's expectation of life is some 4–5 weeks maximum. There is the well-known case of Richard I, whose arrow wound turned gangrenous and who died within a fortnight.

[30] For completeness, one should add that a comminuted fracture can compromise, even sever, the artery (or, rarely, the vein), deprive the leg of blood circulation, and so cause gangrene. Without an amputation, again the patient's life expectancy is 3 to 4 weeks at best. But it is unlikely that Herodotus used σπασθῆναι to mean that Miltiades fractured his leg (see on τὸν μηρόν, §134.1).

guerrilla who had penetrated the Athenian lines and shot him by the temple, the medical consequences would be the same; as with Richard I (n. 29), once infection set in it would prove fatal.

15 We can now attempt to assess what happened, and how the variant traditions arose. If we accept negotiations (cf para 7), they would be difficult to keep secret. Whatever their purport, Miltiades would put a good face on them to others, e.g. his friends (n. 13); indeed, some of them may have taken part. Thus a rumour that the siege would soon end, and favourably to the Athenians, would quickly get round the camp. Whether the fire was accidental or not, and whatever the Parians had said about a possible Persian rescue mission, Miltiades believed that it was the Persians; at least he could not afford to assume otherwise. He decided to go, and gave the order to prepare to depart. Two conflicting stories now circulated: they were going because the negotiations had been successful and the Parians were surrendering (hence τῶν τειχῶν πιπτόντων); they were going because the Persians were at Mykonos. As to Datis being its commander, it was the obvious name to attach to the force: "it must be Datis" soon becomes "it is Datis". The Greeks knew no other name.[31] But Miltiades was under such pressure that he did not want to return empty-handed, and decided to go to the temple, either to remove the treasure which Timo has told him was there, or at least see what help he might need to do that. He might baulk at removing an actual statue of the goddess, but he might rationalise the rest by treating gold or silver dedications as private deposits, and so the spoils of war. But while there he fell and injured himself; not, as he thought, seriously. It prevented him removing anything, but it also gave him the perfect alibi. A bleeding wound enabled him to avoid explaining why he was really at the temple; he can say: the goddess has shot me; it is a signal to go. As the men rowed home, a third rumour might start: they should have stayed and fought the Persians; they speculate that Miltiades had been bribed to leave (Nepos 7.5).

[31] It is argued that because Datis was said to be the commander, the expedition should be put into 490, and the fleet was assumed to be part of that returning from Marathon: e.g. Bicknell (1972b); Hamel (1998) 168 n. 1. His dream at §118.1 was while he was at Mykonos.

16 On his return, he was prosecuted, despite his then condition. As with Miltiades in the Chersonese, §§34–41, we should not underestimate how much the prosecution and defence cases helped feed the traditions (cf on §104.2(g)); here, the prosecution had a number of stories on which to build their case. As with the earlier prosecution, the allegations need not have been logically consistent, and some of them may have originated at trial rather than amongst the army. Miltiades, they would say, had brought the Parians to the point of surrender, and then backed off like a coward, instead of returning with the wealth he had promised. Was it a forest fire which he had stupidly believed was a Persian fleet; or was he too frightened to fight Datis again? Was the real reason that he left that the Persians had bribed him to go away? Indeed, had his negotiations with the Parians been for a bribe, and not a surrender? The allegation that an unsuccessful commander had been bribed was almost standard form, as with Cleomenes, §82. The prosecution would not have to choose between a real fire mistaken for a Persian fleet and a real fleet coming to bribe him; nor explain why the Persians should want to bribe the man who had recently defeated them to go away rather than catch him and take their revenge. If we can trust Nepos *Milt* 8, the prosecution added that he aimed to become tyrant, though the reference there to his position in the Chersonese suggests that, if made, it was at his first trial (cf on §104.2(g)). Part of the defence, in addition to the points noted by Herodotus, would be to turn the clandestine and potentially sacrilegious visit to the temple to his advantage. Whether or not he had said it at the time, he could now say that had been walking past the temple when he was shot in the leg. It had to be Demeter signalling him to go; he left because of her (this recalls Cleomenes' story of Hera's flame, §82; and it avoided having to admit to sacrilege), not because he was frightened of the Persians or any other reason; he might add, he did not know how big the Persian force was, and he did not wish to risk Athenian lives by confronting it.

17 A sequence broadly on the above lines accommodates both the apparently differing Athenian traditions which we can recover, and also suggests how they came to be expressed as they did: partly fact, partly rumour or assumption, partly assertions on both sides at the trial. It means rejecting the detail in Nepos *Milt* 7.5, that he was wounded "while attacking the city". We do not know if he copied

this from Ephoros, or it is his epitomator's phrase to summarise a longer description in the original. But if mid fifth century traditions said it, we might have expected Herodotus' sources to say so. He wanted to present Miltiades in the best light, and fatally wounded while fighting for Athens would have been a plus (cf para 19).

18 It also explains how the Parians knew what Timo had done. As to their consulting Delphi, this probably arose from internal political differences. After the Athenians left, some would be ready to accuse those conducting the negotiations of having offered too much, even surrender, in return for preferment, or of sending Miltiades to a temple associated with womens' rites.[32] Delphi would be well aware of the realities (cf on §135.3); hence their response. It is unlikely that the consultation was an invention, added to a story that may have reached Herodotus only a few years later, as a teenager on Samos, for instance. It is one thing to add an anachronistic consultation to a story set in the mythical past, as at §139.1; it is much harder to invent one for a recent event; though if Delphi kept written archives by 489, it is doubtful if anyone would go there to check an assertion such as this (cf p. 15).

19 I do not suggest that the above is the only way of reconciling the various stories; but it does show that it is possible to do so, even if requires a little imagination. But it also helps explain why Herodotus did not include an Athenian account (cf note to §§132–136). He had to accept Miltiades' failure, but may have thought that Athenian versions were too uncomplimentary. So he excluded him being fooled by the forest fire, and cowardly fleeing before imaginary Persians, or even being bribed to go; but also making the unrealistic claim that he had been shot by the goddess (gods may intervene in Homer, but not now). He could make it appear that Miltiades failed on Paros because it was so fated. He omitted Miltiades dying in prison, and went on to underline his positive achievement in recovering Lemnos for Athens. The Parians no doubt had their own account of the negotiations and the forest fire, but Herodotus wished to confine himself to their narrative of the Timo story.

[32] For the little we know of Parian politics in the fifth century, see Hansen and Nielsen (2004) 765. We can detect similar political dissension a year or so earlier on Aegina (see on ἄνδρας, §73.2) and perhaps with Euphorbos and Philagros at Eretria, §101.2.

Endnote

Stephanus Byzantinus sv Πάρος: ἀπὸ ταύτης λέγεται παροιμία τὸ ἀναπαριάζειν, ὡς Ἔφορος ἐν τῇ ι. ὁ δὲ Μιλτιάδης τῶν μὲν ἄλλων νήσων τινὰς ἀποβάσεις ποιησάμενος ἐπόρθησε, Πάρον δὲ εὐδαιμονεστάτην καὶ μεγίστην οὖσαν τότε τῶν Κυκλάδων καθεζόμενος ἐπολιόρκει πολὺν χρόνον, τῆς θαλάττης εἴργων καὶ κατὰ γῆν μηχανήματα ἄγων. ἤδη δὲ τῶν τειχῶν πιπτόντων καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ παραδιδόναι τὴν πόλιν τῶν Παρίων διωμολογημένων, ὕλης τινὸς ἐς αὐτομάτου περὶ τὴν Μύκονον ἐξαφθείσης οἱ μὲν Πάριοι τὸν Δάτιν αὐτοῖς πυρσεύειν ὑπολαβόντες ἐψεύσαντο τὰς ὁμολογίας καὶ τὴν πόλιν οὐκέτι τῷ Μιλτιάδῃ παρεδίδοσαν. ὅθεν φασὶν ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἡμᾶς χρῆσθαι τῆι παροιμίαι τοὺς ψευδομένους τὰς ὁμολογίας ἀναπαριάζειν φάσκοντας.

. . . from Paros comes the expression ἀναπαριάζειν; so Ephoros book 10: Miltiades made landings on some of the other islands and ravaged them, and then besieged Paros, then the most prosperous and greatest of the Cyclades, for a long time. He cut it off by sea, and brought up siege machinery on land. The walls were about to fall and the Parians had agreed to hand over the city, when there was an accidental fire in a wood on Mykonos. The Parians understood this to be a fire signal by Datis; they broke their agreement and would no longer hand over the city to Miltiades. Hence the saying, still current, ἀναπαριάζειν, for those who give back-word on their agreements.

Nepos, *Milt* 7: [1] Post hoc proelium classem septuaginta nauium Athenienses eidem Miltiadi dederunt, ut insulas, quae barbaros adiuuerant, bello persequeretur. quo <in> imperio plerasque ad officium redire coegit, non-nullas ui expugnauit. [2] ex his Parum insulam opibus elatam cum oratione reconciliare non posset, copias e nauibus eduxit, urbem operibus clausit omnique commeatu priuauit, dein uineis ac testudinibus constitutis propius muros accessit. [3] cum iam in eo esset, ut oppido potiretur, procul in continenti lucus, qui ex insula conspiciebatur, nescio quo casu nocturno tempore incensus est. cuius flamma ut ab oppidanis et oppugnatoribus est uisa, utrisque uenit in opinionem signum a classiariis regiis datum. [4] quo factum est ut et Parii a deditione deterrerentur et Miltiades, timens ne classis regia aduentaret, incensis operibus, quae statuerat, cum totidem nauibus atque erat profectus Athenas magna cum offensione ciuium suorum rediret. [5] accusatus ergo est proditionis, quod, cum Parum expugnare posset, a rege corruptus infectis rebus discessisset. eo tempore aeger erat uulneribus, quae in oppugnando oppido acceperat. itaque cum ipse pro se dicere non posset, uerba fecit frater eius Sagoras. [6] causa cognita capitis absolutus pecunia multatus est, eaque lis quinquaginta talentis aestimata est, quantus in classem sumptus factus erat. hanc pecuniam quod soluere in praesentia non poterat, in uincla publica coniectus est ibique diem obiit supremum.

[1] [after Marathon] the Athenians gave Miltiades a fleet of 70 ships, so that he might make war on the islands which had helped the barbarians.

In this he compelled the majority to return to their duty; he conquered some by force. [2] Of these, he was not able to reconcile Paros, buoyed up by its wealth, by his arguments. So he landed his troops, and shut off the city with siege-works and deprived it of all access. Then he approached closer to the walls with sheds and protective structures. [3] When he was on the point of taking possession of the city, far off a grove on the mainland, which could be seen from the island, started to burn at night from an unknown cause. The flames were seen by besiegers and besieged, and both thought that it was a signal from a detachment of the royal fleet. [4] For this reason the Parians were persuaded not to hand over the city, and Miltiades, fearing that a royal fleet might confront him, burnt his siege-works, and set off for Athens with his forces intact, to the great indignation of his fellow-citizens. [5] Therefore he was accused of treason, in that, when he could have taken Paros by force, he had been bribed by the king and given up his enterprise. At that time he was ill with wounds which he had sustained in attacking the city. Since he could not speak for himself, his brother Sagoras did it for him. [6] He was convicted but freed of the death penalty; he was fined. This was put at 50 talents, the costs of the expedition. As he could not immediately pay this sum, he was put in prison and died there.

S1 Schol Ael Arist iii 531–2 Dind, from Hypothesis to Ὑπὲρ τῶν τεττάρων, Μιλτιάδης (150 Behr): Ἡρόδοτος ἐν τῇ ἕκτῃ ἱκανῶς ἐξείργασται τὰ περὶ τὸν Μιλτιάδην . . . κατηγορηθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ Ἀλκμαιωνίδων, ὅτι Νάξον, ἢ Πάρον, (ἄμφω γὰρ λέγεται) δυνηθεὶς ἑλεῖν, κατεχομένην ὑπὸ Περσῶν, οὐκ ἐβουλήθη, ἐκινδύνευσε μὲν ἀποθανεῖν, τεσσαράκοντα δὲ τάλαντα ἐζημιώθη, ἃ ἐξέτισε Κίμων. τέθνηκε δὲ μετὰ δύο ἔτη τῆς μάχης, ὡς οἱ πλείους ψηφίζονται ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ.

Herodotus, book 6, has sufficiently dealt with Miltiades. . . . He was accused by the Alcmaeonids that he was able to capture Naxos, or Paros (both are mentioned), held by the Persians, but he did not wish to. He was at risk of the death penalty, but was fined 40 talents, which Cimon paid. He died two years after the battle [sc of Marathon], when the majority voted for imprisonment.

S2 ib 572 Dind *ad* 206 Behr [S2]: ἀλλ’ ἐν δεσμωτηρίῳ ἐφρουρήθη. ἡ δὲ ἱστορία αὕτη. μετὰ τὰ κατὰ Μαραθῶνα ἐπεστράτευσεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Παρίους ὁ Μιλτιάδης, ἢ ὅτι συνέπραξαν τῷ Πέρσῃ, ἢ ὅτι ἀπέστησαν τῶν Ἀθηναίων. ἔστι δὲ αὕτη ἡ νῆσος εὐτελής. ταύτην πολιορκοῦντος αὐτοῦ ἐπέμφθη βέλος ἐξ ἀφανοῦς, καὶ ἔτρωσεν αὐτοῦ τὸν μηρόν. ὁ δὲ νομίσας τῆς Δήμητρος εἶναι τὸ βέλος (ἦν γὰρ πλησίον τοῦ τείχους βωμὸς αὐτῆς) καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν φοβηθεὶς ἀνεχώρησε. καὶ προδοσίας αὐτοῦ κατηγόρησαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ἐνέβαλον, μέχρι τῆς ἐκτίσεως φρουροῦντες αὐτὸν τοῦ τιμήματος· κατεψηφίσαντο γὰρ αὐτοῦ πεντήκοντα τάλαντα. δεινῶς δὲ εἰς ἐγκώμιον αὐτοῦ τὴν αἰτίαν περιτρέπει, δεικνὺς ὅτι διὰ τοῦτο ἐζημίωσαν αὐτὸν Ἀθηναῖοι, διότι νομίζοντες αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον, καὶ τοῖς πᾶσιν ἀήττητον, εἶδον ἀναχωρήσαντα αὐτὸν ἐκ Πάρου ἄπρακτον.

He [Miltiades] was in prison. This is the story. After Marathon he made an expedition against the Parians, either because they had collaborated with the Persians, or because they had revolted from the Athenians. The island is not important [εὐτελής, "cheap"]. As he was besieging it an arrow was sent from an unseen source, which wounded him in the thigh. He thought it was from Demeter, because an altar of hers was near the wall, and in fear of the sacred place he withdrew. The Athenians prosecuted him for treason, and threw him in prison, keeping him there until the fine was paid. For they had condemned him to pay 50 talents. He (Aristides) cleverly turns the accusation into praise of him, showing that the Athenians fined him for the reason that, thinking that he was more than human and everywhere unconquered, they saw that he had returned from Paros with his mission unfulfilled.

S3 ib 677–8 Dind *ad* 377 Behr: ὅτε γὰρ ἐκρίνετο ἐπὶ τῇ Πάρῳ, ἠθέλησαν αὐτὸν κατακρημνῆσαι. ὁ δὲ πρύτανις εἰσελθὼν ἐξῃτήσατο αὐτόν. ἡ δὲ αἰτία τῆς Πάρου αὔτη ἦν· καταδουλοῦσθαι τὰς νήσους τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, καὶ ἐξελθὼν εἰς Πάρον πρώτην, καῖ παρελθὼν τὸ ἱερὸν μεμολυσμένος αἵματι τῶν πολεμίων· οἱ μέν φασιν ὡς βέλει ἐβλήθη, οἱ δ' ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους κατηνέχθη. κατεαγεὶς οὖν τὸν μηρὸν ὑπέστρεφεν ἄπρακτος· διὸ ἐκρίνετο. τὸν δὲ πρύτανιν καλεῖ Δημοσθένης καὶ ἐπιστάτην.

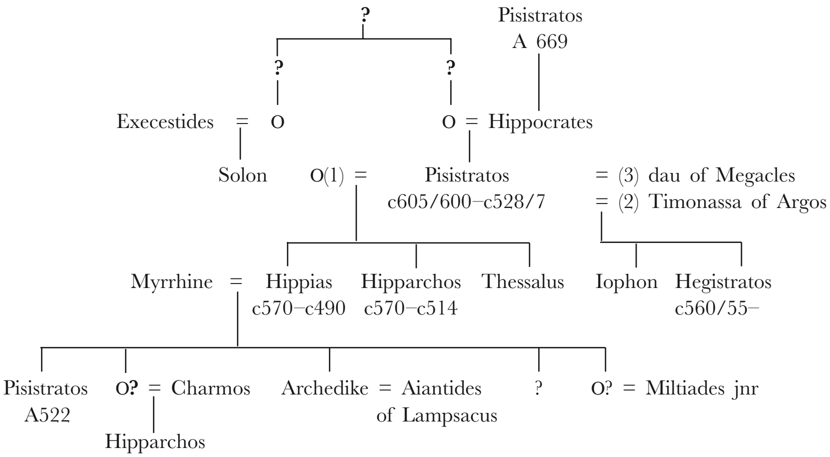
When he [Miltiades] was condemned over Paros, they wanted to throw him into the pit, but the *prytanis* intervened and gained his release. The charge over Paros was this: in order to enslave the islands to the Athenians, and going first to Paros, he was passing the temple when he was defiled with the blood of the enemy. Some say it was from an arrow, others that he fell over a wall. His thigh was fractured (κατεαγείς) and he returned with his mission unfulfilled; for this reason he was condemned. Demosthenes calls the *prytanis* chairman.

S4 ib 691 Dind *ad* 420 Behr [S4]: Μιλτιάδης δὲ Νάξον ἢ Πάρον δυνάμενος ἑλεῖν, ἐπεὶ πρὸς τὸν μηρὸν ἐξ ἀφανοῦς ἐτρώθη ἐν τῇ πολιορκίᾳ, δείσας μὴ ἄρα ὑπὸ τῆς Δήμητρος τοῦτ' ἐπέμφθη, (ἦν γὰρ πλησίον νεὼς τῆς θεοῦ) ἐκεῖθεν ἀνεχώρησε. κατεψηφίσαντο δὲ αὐτοῦ Ἀθηναῖοι διὰ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν εἰς δεσμωτήριον εἰσελθεῖν ζητοῦντες αὐτὸν τάλαντα τετταράκοντα· ἃ Κίμων μὲν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἐξέτισεν, αὐτὸς δὲ, πρὶν ἐκεῖθεν ἐξελθεῖν, ἡττηθεὶς τοῦ τραύματος ἐτελεύτησεν.

Miltiades, being able to capture Paros or Naxos, was wounded in the thigh from an unknown source during the siege. Fearing that it had been sent by Demeter, because he was near to her temple, he returned home. The Athenians condemned him to prison for doing that, and demanded 40 talents, which Cimon paid on his behalf. Before he could be released from prison he succumbed to his injury and died.

APPENDIX 19

PISISTRATIDS (APF 11793)



A = archon

Notes

(a) The above reflects the tradition that the mothers of Solon and Pisistratos were cousins (Plut *Sol* 1.3; *APF* 8792 I).

(b) It is not certain that Hippias was older than Hipparchos, though it is probable (*APF* 11793 IV).

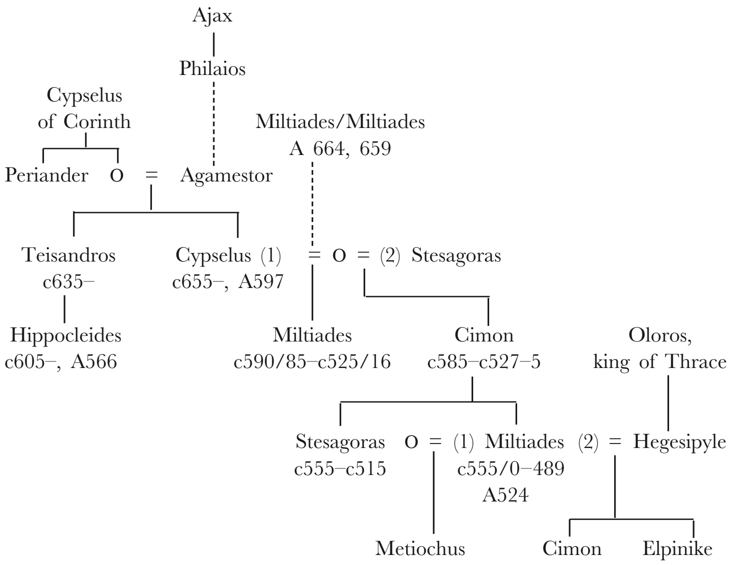
(c) There is some doubt as to whether Thessalos and Hegistratos was/were one man or two (*APF* 11793 V).

(d) Some traditions named Myrrhine as Pisistratos' first wife, not Hippias' (*APF* 11793 VII).

(e) Hippias had five children (Thuc 6.55.1). The sexes of the three whose names are unknown are not certain, but the above reflects the possibilities that two were girls, one married to Charmos (*APF* 11793 IX), the other the first wife of Miltiades junior (see on γαμέει, §39.2).

APPENDIX 20

PHILAIDS/CIMONIDS (APF 8429)



A = archon

Notes

(a) It is not certain if the C7 archons were (i) one man or two men and (ii) of Cypselus' family or that of his wife.

(b) It is not known whether Teisandros or Cypselus was the elder brother.

(c) Akestorides and son (same name), archons in 504 and 474, were members of the family (*APF* 8429 III).

(d) It is possible that Miltiades junior's first wife was a Pisistratid: see on γαμέει, §39.2, and cf Appx 19. A more distant connection is that Cypselus of Corinth's great-grandson Archinus was the first husband of Timonassa, second wife of Pisistratos.

(e) Cimon son of Miltiades junior married Isodike, an Alcmaeonid (cf Appx 21).

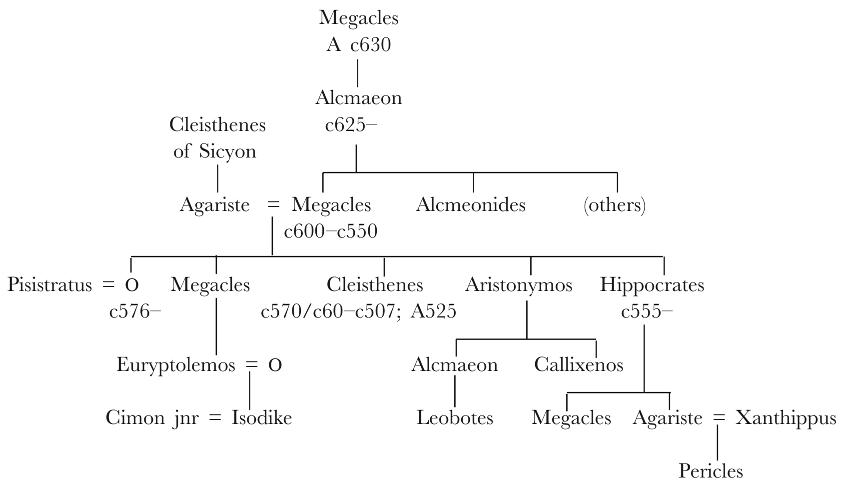
(f) His sister Elpinike married Callias (II), noted on Ἱππονίκου, §121.1.

(g) Nepos, *Milt* 7.5, attributes a further brother to Miltiades junior, "Sagoras"; probably a confusion with the real Stesagoras (see on ὑπεραπελογέοντο, §136.2).

(h) A female descendant of the family (possibly of Hippocleides) was to marry Xanthippos son of Pericles (*APF* 11811 III; 8429 IV).

APPENDIX 21

ALCMAEONIDS (APF 9688)



A = archon

Notes
(a) It is clear that the Alcmaeon born c625 had other children, but we lack clear evidence as to them, as we do on other branches of the family.
(b) There is some doubt as to whether Euryptolemus was the son or (as shown) the grandson of the Megacles who married Agariste of Sicyon (APF 9688 VIII).

APPENDIX 22

SPARTAN ROYAL HOUSES

Heracles
⋮
Aristodemus

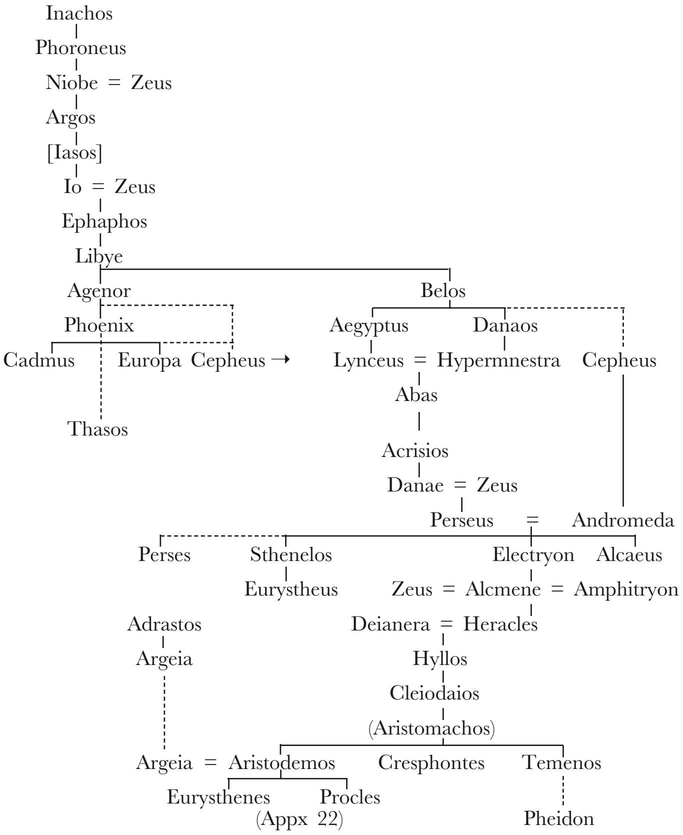
- Eurysthenes
  - Agis
  - Echestratos
  - Leobotes
  - Doryssos
  - Agesilaos
  - Archlaos
  - Teleclos
  - Alcamenes
  - Polydoros
  - Eurycrates
  - Anaxander
  - Eurycratidas
  - Leon
  - Anaxandridas
  - Cleomenes
- Procles
  - Soos (not in Hdt)
  - Euryp(h)on
  - Prytanis
  - Polydectes
  - Eunomos
  - Charillos
  - Nicander
  - Theopompos
    - Hdt 8.131
      - Anaxandridras ■
      - Archidamos ■
      - Anaxilaos ■
      - Leotychidas I ■
      - Hippocratidas ■
      - Agesilaos
      - Menares
      - Leotychidas II
    - Paus 3.7.5–7
      - Archidamos I (did not rule—predeceased father)
      - Zeuxidamos
      - Anaxidamos‡
      - Archidamos II
      - Agasciles†
      - Ariston††
      - Demaratos‡

■ king according to Hdt 8.131
‡ king according to Paus 3.7.6, 8
† king with Leon according to Hdt 1.65
†† king according to §61

APPENDIX 23

THE INACHOS STEMMA: THE MYTHOLOGY OF §§47, 53, 78, 80

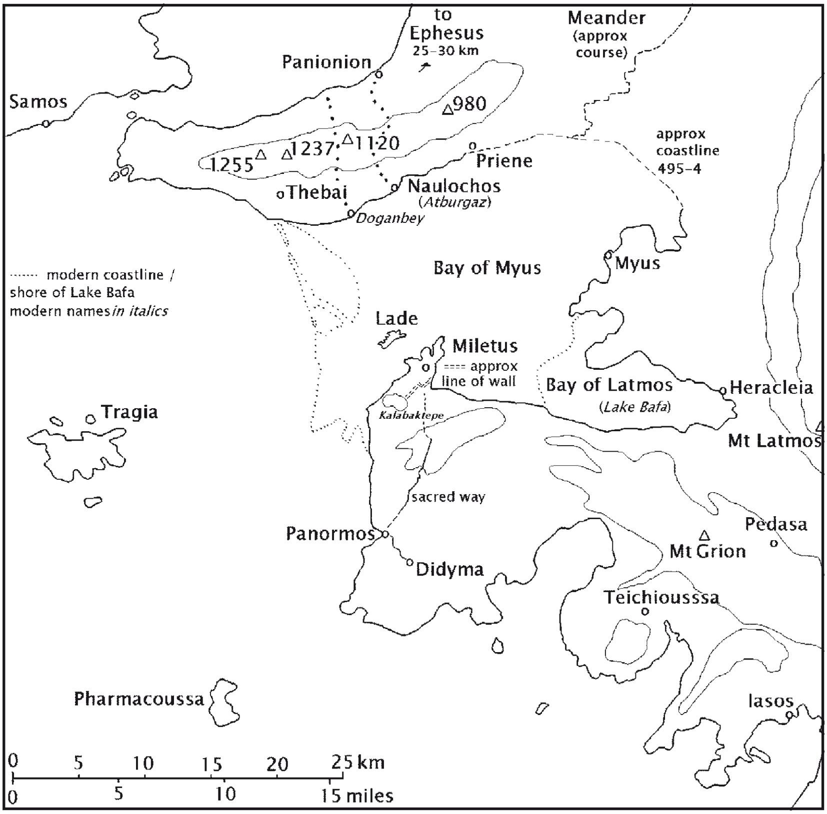
Even in the fifth century, the curious reader of book 6 with copies of the Hesiodic *Ehoiai* and Acusilaos or Pherecydes, and using what he had heard at his mother's knee, could probably have drawn up a stemma more or less on the following lines (except for Perses). Whether he would have thought through the connections that linked, say, Argos to Heracles and thence Cleomenes is another matter. See also the authorities cited *ad loc*, particularly Gantz.



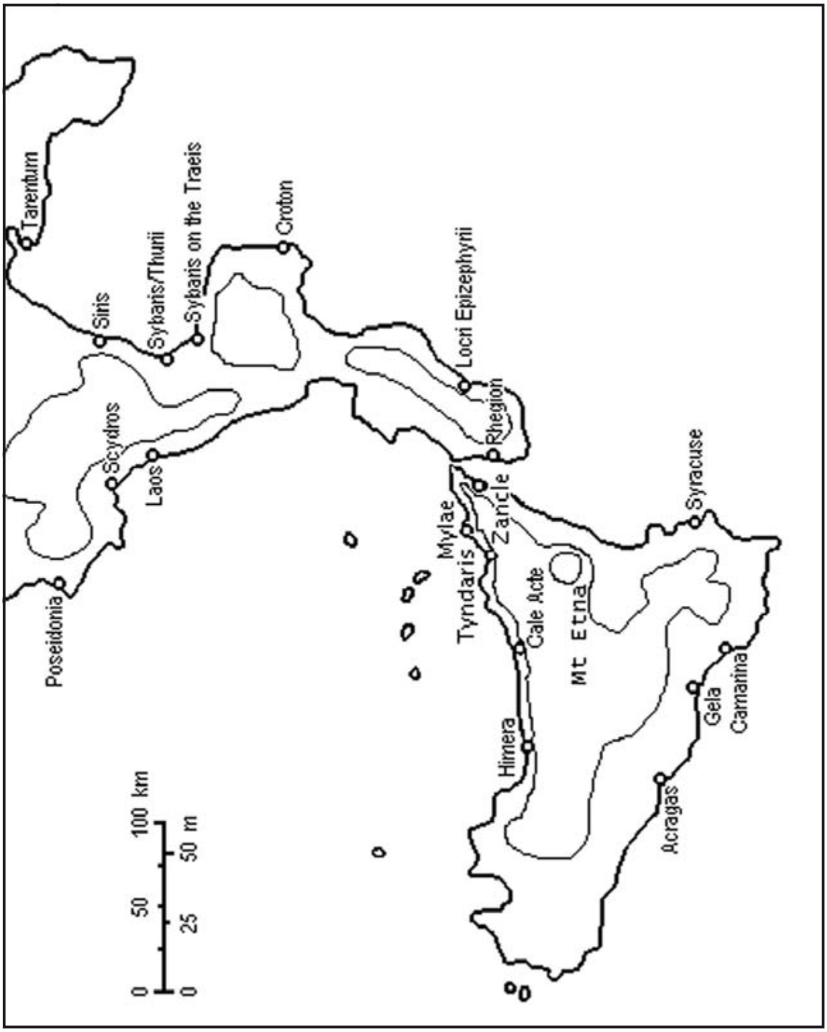
MAPS

THRACE
Black Sea
Hebros
Selymbria
Byzantium
Perinthos
Calchedon
Aenos
Propontis
Astacos
Samothrace
Cardia
Cios
Alope-
connesos
Imbros
Cyzicos
Dascylion
Lampsacus
Elaious
Sigeion
Scepsis
Tenedos
Lemnos
Scamander
Rhyndacos
MYSIA
TROAD
Cilla(?)
Methymna
Malene
Pergamum
Eresus
Mytilene
Caicos
T
Halisarna
T = Teuthrania
Lesbos
Atarneus
Elea
AEOLIS
Pitane
Gryneia
Myrina
Cyme
LYDIA
Phocaea
Oenussae
Hermos
Mt Sipylos
Chios
Chios
Sardis
Smyrna
Clazomenae
Pactolos
Mt
Tmolos
Erythrae
Teos
Cayster
Colophon
Lebedos
IONIA
Notion
Ephesus
Samos
Pygela
Magnesia
Meander
Samos
Icaria
Priene
Myus
Marsyas
Mt Latmos
White Pillars (?)
Miletus
Pedasa
Labraunda
Naxos
Iasos
Mylasa
CARIA
Leros
Myndos
Halicarnassus
Termera
Amorgos
Caunus
Cos
Cos
Cnidos
Triopion
Astypalaea
Camiros
Ialysos
SCALE
0
50
100 km
0
50 miles
Rhodes
Lindos
Carpathos

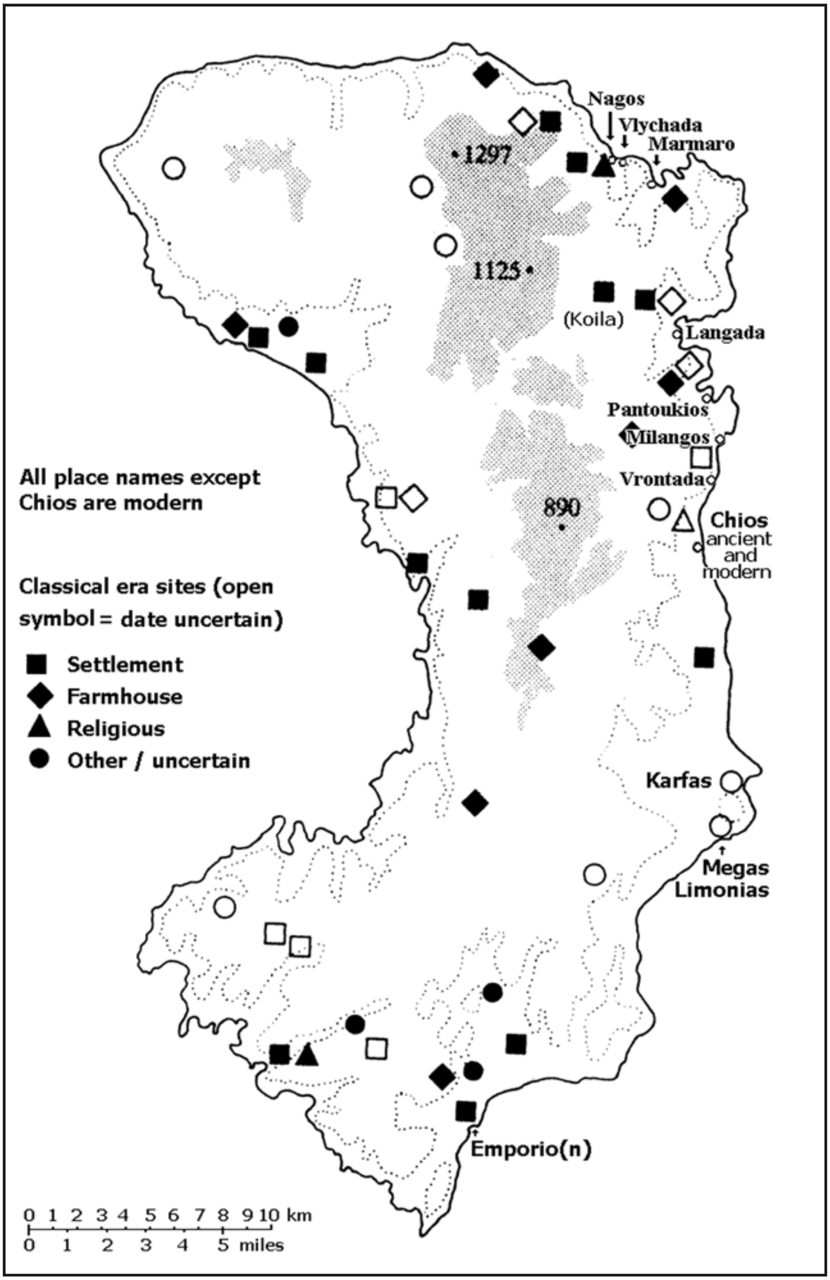
Map 1. Ionia



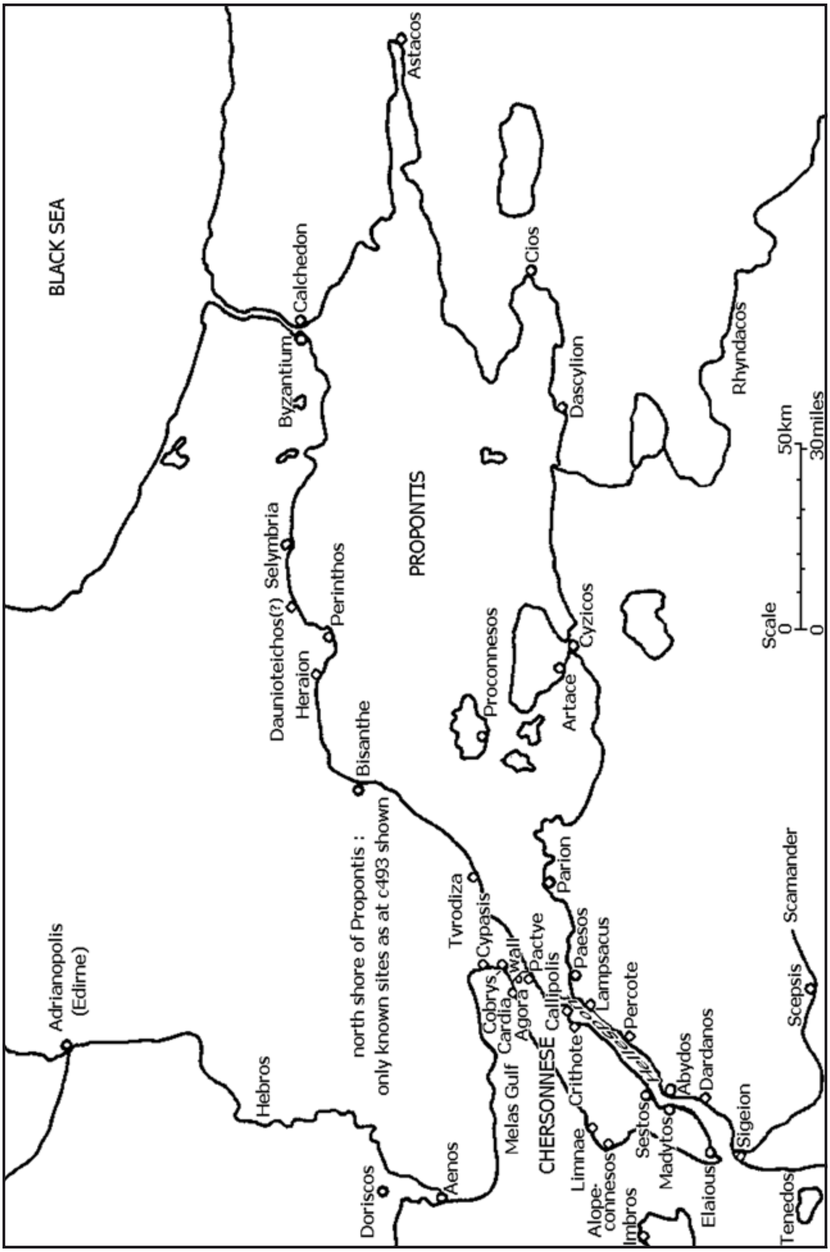
Map 2. Miletus area



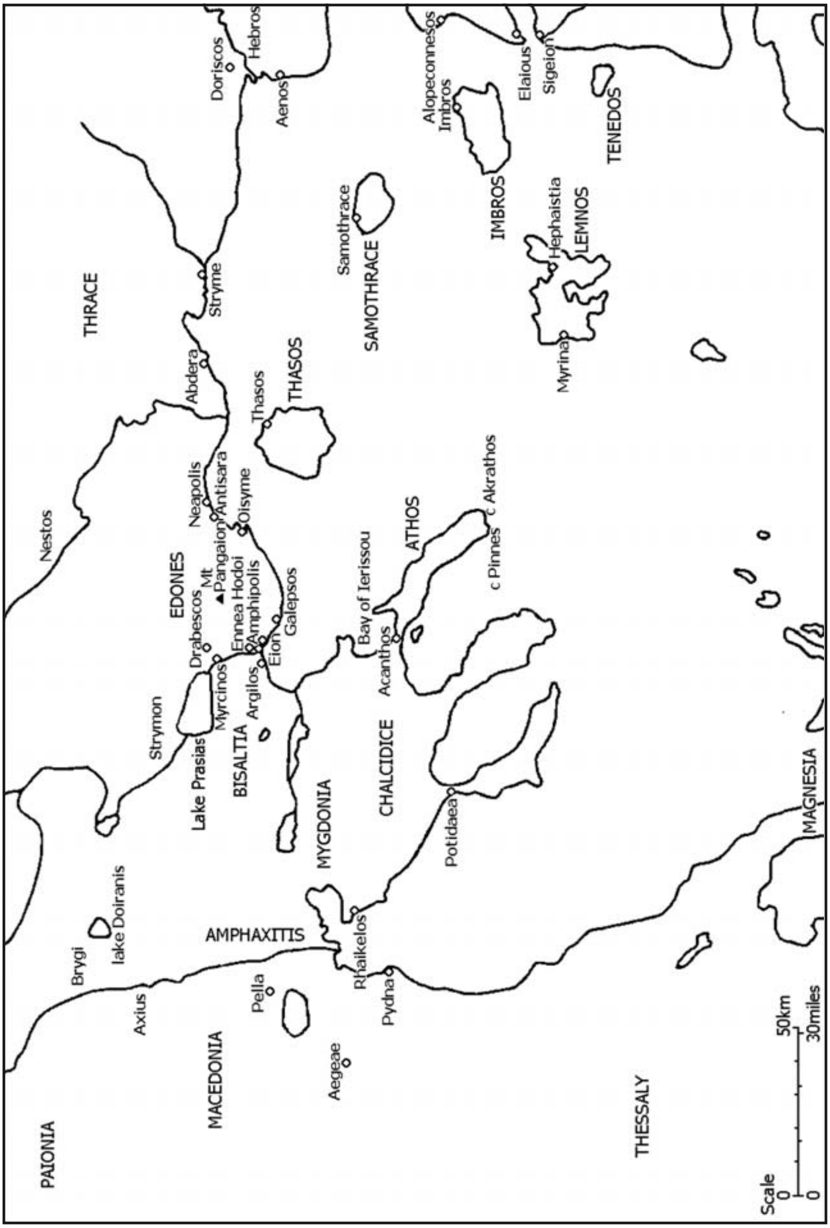
Map 3. Magna Graeca


Nagos
Vlychada
Marmaro
1297
1125
(Koila)
Langada
Pantoukios
Milangos
Vrontada
890
Chios
ancient
and
modern
All place names except
Chios are modern
Classical era sites (open
symbol = date uncertain)
Settlement
Farmhouse
Religious
Other / uncertain
Karfas
Megas
Limonias
Emporio(n)
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 km
0 1 2 3 4 5 miles

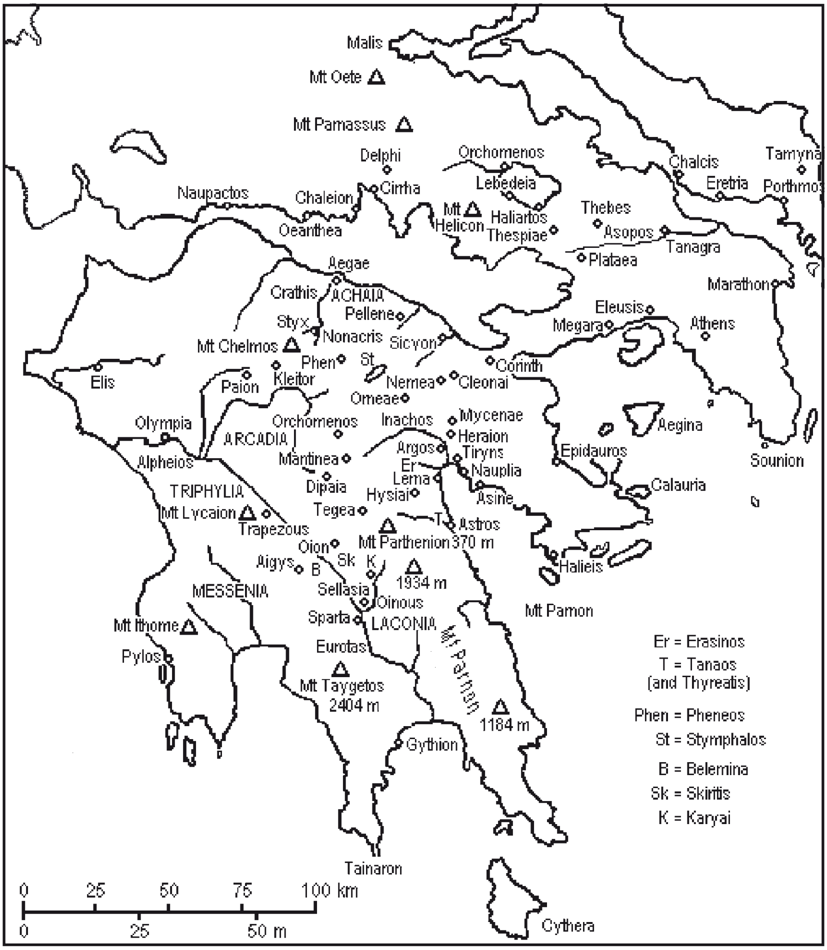
Map 4. Chios



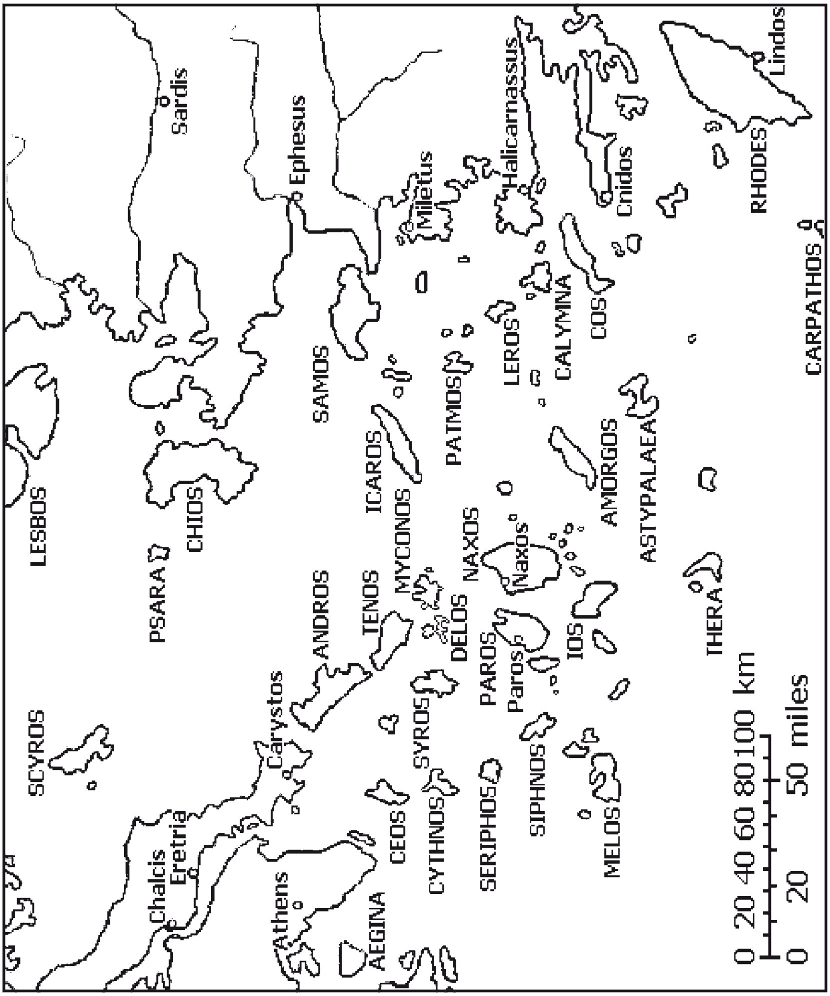
Map 5. Chersonese


THRACE
Doriscos
Hebros
Aenos
Alopeconnesos
Imbros
Elaious
Sigeion
TENEDOS
IMBROS
Hephaistia
LEMNOS
Myrina
Samothrace
SAMOTHRACE
Stryme
Abdera
Thasos
THASOS
Nestos
Neapolis
Antisara
Oisyme
EDONES
Mt
Pangaion
Drabescos
Ennea Hodoi
Amphipolis
Galepsos
Eion
Myrcinos
Argilos
Strymon
Lake Prasias
BISALTIA
MYGDONIA
CHALCIDICE
Bay of Ierissou
Acanthos
ATHOS
c Akrathos
c Pinnes
Potidaea
MAGNESIA
AMPHAXITIS
Rhaikelos
Pydna
Pella
Aegeae
Brygi
lake Doiranis
Axius
MACEDONIA
PAIONIA
THESSALY
Scale
0
50km
0
30miles

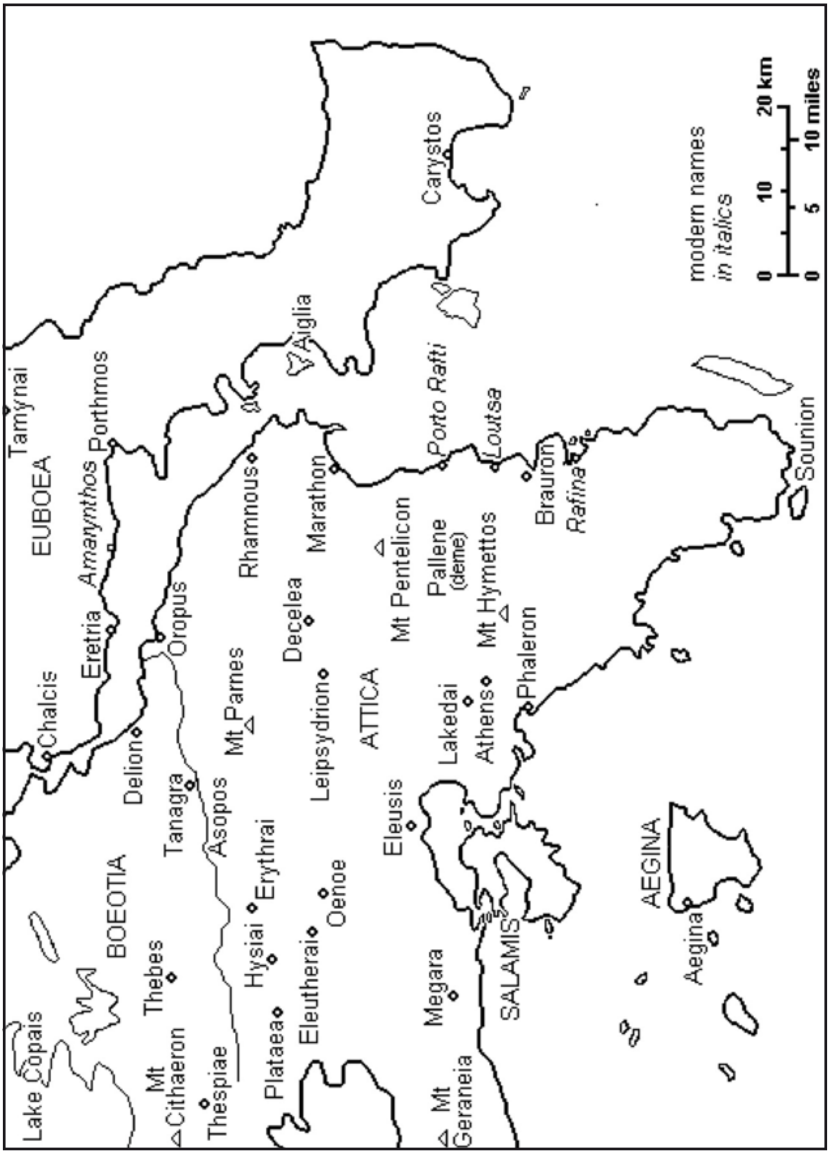
Map 6. Thrace



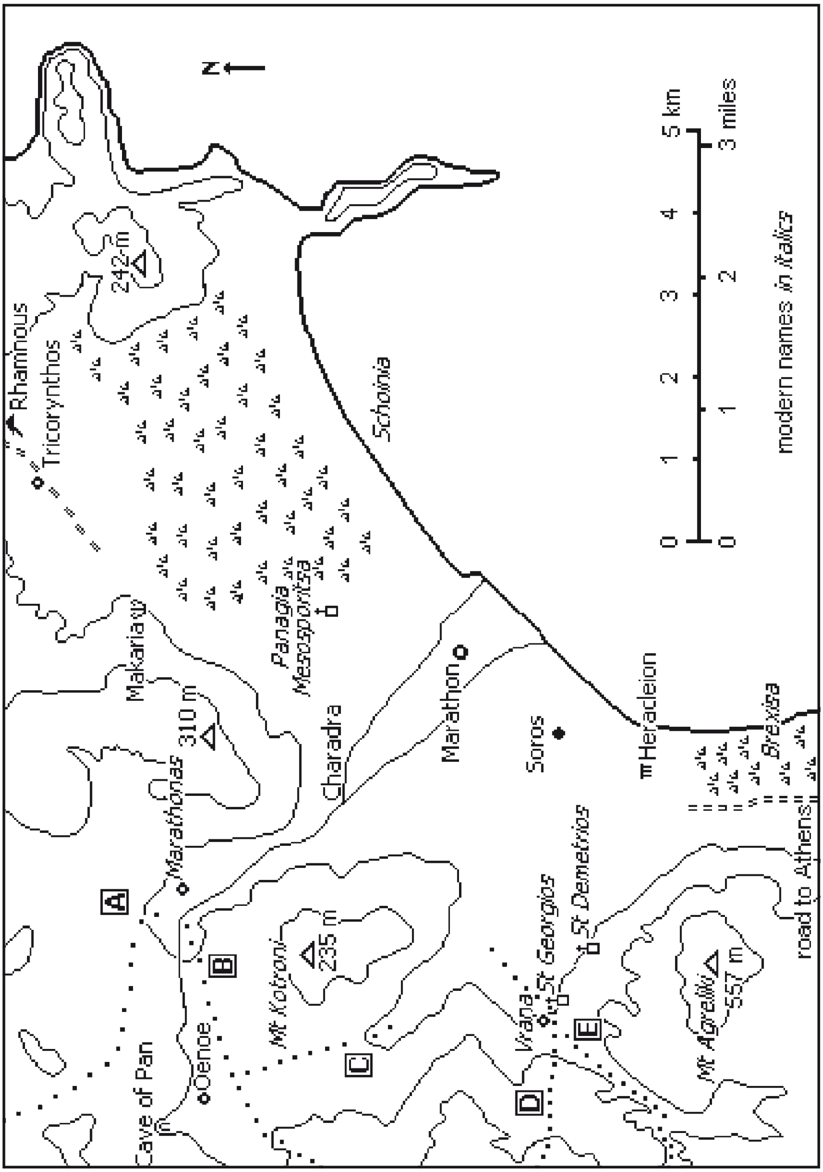
Map 7. Central Greece and Peloponnese



Map 8. Aegean Islands



Map 9. Attica and Euboea



Map 10. Marathon

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abbreviations

Editions and Translations of Herodotus

Abicht	Abicht, K.: Herodotos (Leipzig 1863–1869)
Abbott	Abbott, E.: Herodotus Books V and VI (Oxford 1893)
d'Accinni	d'Accinni, A.I., Erodoto, Storie, vol terzo (6th edn, Milano 1997; with Italian translation)
Burn, see De Sélincourt De Sélincourt	Herodotus, The Histories, tr A. de Sélincourt; introduction by A.R. Burn (London (Penguin) 1972); new ed, introduction by J. Marincola (id 1996, 2003)
Dewald	see Waterfield
H&W	How, W.W. and Wells, J.: A commentary on Herodotus (Oxford 1928)
Legrand	Legrand, P.E., Hérodote, Histoires Livre VI (Paris 1948)
Lloyd	Lloyd, A.B., Herodotus Book II, 2nd edn (3 vols, Leiden 1994)
Macan	Macan, R.W.: Herodotus, The Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Books (2 vols, London 1895)
Macan (1908)	Macan, R.W.: Herodotus, The Seventh, Eighth and Ninth Books (3 vols, London 1908)
Mandilaras	Mandilaras, B., ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΣ, ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ ΕΚΤΟΣ (Athens 1994: with modern Greek translation)
Marincola	see De Sélincourt
McQueen	McQueen, E.I.: Herodotus Book VI (London 2000)
Nenci	Nenci, G., Erodoto, Le Storie, Libro VI (ed Mondadori, 1998)
Powell	Powell, J.E.: A Lexicon to Herodotus (Cambridge 1938; repr Hildesheim 1966)
Powell (1949)	Powell, J.E.: Herodotus, tr J.E. Powell (Oxford 1949)
Rawlinson G.	The Histories of Herodotus (London 1858–60; rev 1964)
Rosén	Rosén, H.B., Herodoti Historiae II (Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1997)
Shuckburgh	Shuckburgh, E.S., Herodotus VI (Cambridge 1889)
Stein	Stein, H.: Herodotos (2nd edn, 5 vols, Berlin 1889–1902)
Waterfield	Herodotus, The Histories, tr R. Waterfield, introduction by C. Dewald (Oxford 1998)

Other works conventionally or conveniently cited in short form

ABSA	Annual of the British School at Athens (London 1895–)
APF	Davies, J.K.: Athenian Propertied Families (Oxford 1971)
AR	Archaeological Reports (London 1954–)
Arnott	Arnott, W.G.: Alexis, The Fragments: a Commentary (Cambridge 1996)
ARV^2	Beazley, J.D.: Attic Red Figure Vase Painters (Oxford 1963)
ATL	Meritt, B.D., Wade-Gery, H.T. and McGregor, M.F.: Athenian Tribute Lists (Cambridge, Mass, 1939–1953)

Austin	Austin, R.G.: P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Liber Secundus (Oxford 1964)
Barrington	Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World; Directory = the CD or printed gazetteer of locations (Princeton 2000)
Bernabé	Bernabé, A.: Poetarum Epicorum Fragmenta I (Leipzig 1987)
BM	Bury, J.B. and Meiggs, R.: A History of Greece (4th edn, Oxford 1975)
Bond	Bond, G.W.: Euripides Heracles (Oxford 1981)
Brunt	Brunt, P.A.: Arrian (Cambridge, Mass and London: vol 1, 1976, vol 2, 1983)
CAH	Cambridge Ancient History (no superscript, original edn; otherwise 3rd edn, vols 1–2, 2nd edn remainder)
CHI	Cambridge History of Iran, vol 2 (Cambridge 1985)
Chantraine	Chantraine, P: Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque (Paris 1968)
Cunliffe	Cunliffe, R.J.: A Lexicon of the Homeric Dialect (Norman, Oklahoma, 1963)
Denniston	Denniston, J.D.: The Greek Particles (2nd edn, Oxford 1959)
Dodds	Dodds, E.R.: Plato, Gorgias: a revised text, introduction and commentary (Oxford 1959)
Frazer [1]	Frazer, J.G.: Pausanias's Description of Greece (6 vols, London 1998)
Frazer [2]	Frazer, Sir J.G.: Publii Ovidii Nasonis Fastorum Libri Sex (London 1929)
Frisk	Frisk, H.: Griechisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch, Heidelberg 1960–1972
Ginzel	Ginzel, F.K.: Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie (3 vols, Leipzig: I, 1906; II 1911; III, 1914)
Goodwin	Goodwin, W.W.: Syntax of the Moods and Tenses of the Greek Verb (London 1897)
Grote	Grote, G.: A History of Greece (10 vols), London 1888
HCT	Gomme, A.W., Andrewes A., Dover K.J.: A Commentary on Thucydides (Oxford 1945–81)
HG	Hammond, N.G.L.: History of Greece to 322 B.C. (3rd edn, Oxford 1986)
Hornblower	Hornblower, S.: A commentary on Thucydides, 2 vols to date (Oxford: I 1991; II 1996)
Jacoby	Jacoby, F.: Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker (Berlin and Leiden, 1923–1958)
Jebb	Jebb, Sir R.: Sophocles, The Plays and Fragments, vol III, Antigone^{3}; vol VII, Ajax (Cambridge 1900, 1907)
Kamerbeek	Kamerbeek, J.C.: The Antigone (Leiden 1978)
Kirk	Kirk, G.S. *et al* (identified where cited): The Iliad: A commentary (6 vols, Cambridge 1985–1993)
ICD-10	International Classification of Mental and Behavioural Disorders (also in International Statistical Classification of Diseases and Related Health Problems, vol 1) (both WHO Geneva 1992)
Levi	Pausanias, Guide to Greece, tr Peter Levi SJ (Harmondsworth 1971)
LSJ	Greek-English Lexicon, ed H.G. Liddell *et al* (3rd edn, Oxford 1925–1996)
LGPN	A Lexicon of Greek Proper Names (Oxford; vols I IIIA and IIIB ed A. Fraser and E. Matthews, 1987, 1997, 2000; vol II ed M.J. Osborne and S.G. Byrne, 1994)
LIMC	Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae, vol 1 (Zurich München and Dusseldorf 1981)

Macdowell	MacDowell, D.M.: Aristophanes, Wasps (Oxford 1971)
Meiggs *AE*	Meiggs, R.: The Athenian Empire (Oxford 1972, repr 1973)
ML	A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions, ed R. Meiggs and D. Lewis (2nd ed, Oxford 1988)
Neue Pauly	Der Neue Pauly: Enzyklopädie der Antike (Stuttgart 1996–)
NID Greece	Naval Intelligence Division, Geographical Handbooks Series, Greece, vol 1 (London 1944)
OCD[3]	Oxford Classical Dictionary (3rd edn 1996)
PCG	Poetae Comicae Graeci, ed R. Kassel and C. Austin (1983–2001)
Platnauer	Platnauer, M.: Aristophanes, Peace (Oxford 1964)
Pritchett	Pritchett, W.K.: Dionysius of Halicarnassus, On Thucydides (Berkeley 1975)
Pritchett GSW	Pritchett, W.K.: The Greek State at War (Berkeley I (Ancient Greek Military Practices 1971, repr as The Greek State at War 1974; II 1974; III 1979; IV 1985; V 1991)
Pritchett SAGT	Pritchett, W.K.: Studies in Ancient Greek Topography (Berkeley: I 1965; II 1969; III 1980; IV 1982; V 1985; VI 1989)
PW + number	The number assigned to a Delphic oracle in Parke and Wormell (1956) II
RE	Real-Encyclopädie der Classichen Altertumswissenschaft (Stuttgart 1893–)
Rhodes [1]	Rhodes, P.J.: A Commentary on the Aristotelian *Athenaion Politeia* (rev ed, Oxford 1993)
Rhodes [2]	Rhodes, P.J.: Thucydides History IV.1–V.24 (Warminster 1998)
RO	Rhodes, P.J. and Osborne, R.: Greek Historical Inscriptions 404–323 BC (Oxford 2003)
Rogers	Rogers, B.B.: The Wasps of Aristophanes (London 1915)
Russo	Russo, J. *et al* (identified where cited): A Commentary on Homer's Odyssey (3 vols, Oxford 1988–1992)
Ste Croix *OPW*	Ste Croix G.E.M.: The Origins of the Peloponnesian War (London 1972)
Smyth	Smyth, H.W. (rev G.M. Messing): Greek Grammar (Cambridge, Mass, 1956)
TGrF	Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta (5 vols, Göttingen 1971–2004)
Tod	A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions, ed M.N. Tod (Oxford: I^2 1946; II 1948)
Ussher	Ussher, R.G.: Aristophanes, Ecclesiazusae (Oxford 1973)
Walbank	Walbank, F.W.: A Historical Commentary on Polybius (Oxford 1957–1979)
Warner	Warner, R.: Thucydides (translation) (Harmondworth 1954)
West	West, M.L.: Hesiod, Theogony (Oxford 1966); or
West	West, M.L.: Hesiod, Works and Days (Oxford 1978)

Bibliography

Adcock, Sir F. and Mosley, D.J. Diplomacy in Ancient Greece (London 1975)

Albrecht, M. von. A History of Roman Literature, tr with assistance of F. and K. Newman (London 1997)

Alexiou, M. The Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition (Cambridge 1974)

Allen, D.S. The World of Prometheus (Princeton 2000)

Anderson, G. Philostratus (London 1986)

Anderson, J.K. Ancient Greek Horsemanship (Berkeley 1961)

Andrewes, A. Athens and Aegina, 510–480 B.C., ABSA 37 (1936–7) 1–7

——. Sparta and Arcadia in the Early Fifth Century, Phoen 6 (1952) 1–5

——. The Greek Tyrants (London 1956)
——. The Government of Classical Sparta, in Badian (1966) 1–20
——. Argive Perioikoi, in Craik (1990) 171–8
Armayor, A.K. Herodotus, Hecataeus, and the Persian Wars, in Karageorghis and Taifacos (2004) 321–335
Arnott, W.G. First Notes on Menander's Samia, ZPE 121 (1998) 35–44
Austin, M.M. Greek Tyrants and the Persians, 546–479 B.C., CQ 40 (1990) 289–306
Austin, M.M., Harries, J. and Smith, C. (eds) Modus Operandi: Essays in Honour of Geoffrey Rickman (London 1998)
Avery, H.C. A Poetic Word in Herodotus, Hermes 107 (1979) 1–9
Badian, E. Archons and *Strategoi*, Antichthon 5 (1971) 1–34
——. The Name of the Runner, AJAH 4 (1979) 163–6
——. The Peace of Callias, JHS 107 (1987) 1–39
——. From Plataea to Potidaea (Baltimore 1993)
——. Herodotus on Alexander I of Macedon: A Study in Some Subtle Silences, in Hornblower (1994) 107–125
——. (ed) Ancient Society and Institutions (Oxford 1966)
Bakker, E.J., de Jong, I.J.F. and van Wees, H. (eds) Brill's Companion to Herodotus (Leiden, Boston, Köln, 2002)
Bakker, E.J. The making of History: Herodotus' *Historiēs Apodexis*, in Bakker *et al* (2002) 1–32
Balcer, J.M. Separatism and Anti-Separatism in the Athenian Empire, Historia 23 (1974) 21–39
——. Persian Occupied Thrace (Skudra), Historia 37 (1988) 1–21
——. The Persian Wars against Greece, Historia 38 (1989) 127–143
Ball, R. Generation Dating in Herodotos, CQ 29 (1979) 276–281
Balme, D.M. Aristotle History of Animals Books VII–X (Cambridge, Mass (Loeb edn) 1991)
Balmuth, M.S. The Nuraghi of Sardinia, in Balmuth and Rowland (1984) 33–52
Balmuth, M.S. and Rowland, R.J. jnr Studies in Sardinian Archaeology (Ann Arbor, 1984)
Barber, G.L. The Historian Ephorus (Cambridge 1934)
Barker, A. Greek Musical Writings, 2 vols (Cambridge 1984, 1989)
Barrett, W.S. Bacchylides, Asine and Apollo Pythaieus, Hermes 82 (1954) 421–444
Bean, G.E. Aegean Turkey, 2nd edn (London 1979)
Beazley, J.D. Excavations at Al-Mina, JHS 59 (1939) 1–44
Berchem, D. van Sanctuaires d'Hercule-Melqart, contribution à l'étude de l'expansion phénicienee en Méditerranée, Syria 44 (1967) 73–109, 307–36
Bertelli, L. Hecataeus: From Genealogy to Historiography, in Luraghi (2001) 67–94
Berthold, R.M. The Athenian Embassies to Sardis and Cleoomenes' Invasion of Attica, Hist 51 (2002) 259–267
Bickermann, E.J. Chronology of the Ancient World (London 1968)
Bichler, R. Herodotus: Ethnography, Examples and Principles, in Karageorghis and Taifacos (2004) 91–112
Bicknell, P.J. The Command Structure and Generals of the Marathon Campaign, AC 39 (1970) 427–442
——. Herodotos, Kallimachos and the Bean, AClass 14 (1971) 147–149
——. Studies in Athenian Politics and Genealogy (Hist Einz 19, Wiesbaden 1972)
——. The Date of Miltiades' Paros Expedition, AC 41 (1972) 225–227
——. Athenian Politics and Genealogy—some Pendants, Historia 23 (1974) 146–163
Binns, A.L. East Yorkshire in the Sagas (East Yorks Local History Society, 1966)
Blamire, A. Herodotus and Histiaeus, CQ 9 (1959) 142–154
Blundell, S. and Williamson, M. (eds) The Sacred and the Feminine in Ancient Greece (London 1998)

Boardman, J. Delphinion in Chios, ABSA 51 (1956) 41–54
Boardman, J. and Vaphopoulou-Richardson, C.E. (eds) Chios (Oxford 1986)
Boardman, J. Herakles, Pisistratus and the Unconvinced, JHS 109 (1989) 158–9
Boedeker, D. The Two Faces of Demaratus, Arethusa 20 (1987) 185–201
——. Epic Heritage and Mytthical Patterns in Herodotus, in Bakker *et al* (2002) 97–116
Bonner, R.J. and Smith, G. The Administration of Justice from Homer to Aristotle (Chicago; I 1930, II 1938)
Bosworth, A.B. Conquest and Empire (Cambridge 1988)
Bourriot, F. Kalos kagathos—kalokagathia (2 vols, Hildesheim 1995)
Bowersock, G.W., Burkert, W. and Putnam, M.C.J. Arktouros (Berlin-NY 1979)
Bowie, A.M. Greek Sacrifice, in Powell (1995) 463–482
Bowie, E. Philostratus: Writer of Fiction, in Morgan and Stoneman (1994) 181–199
——. Ancestors of Historiography in Early Greek Elegaic and Iambic Poetry, in Luraghi (2001) 45–66
Bradford, A.S. The Duplicitous Spartan, in Powell and Hodkinson (1994) 59–85
Bradley, J.R. The Sources of Cornelius Nepos (New York and London 1991)
Braun, T.F.R.G. Χρηστοὺς ποιεῖν, CQ 44 (1994) 40–5
Briant, P. Rois Tributs et Paysans (Paris 1982)
——. Histoire de l'Empire Perse (Paris 1996; also available as From Cyrus to Alexander: A History of the Persian Empire, tr P.T. Daniels, Winona Lake, Ind (2002))
Brock, R.W. The Emergence of Democratic Ideology, Historia 40 (1991) 160–169
——. Tribute of Carystos, EMC/CV 40 (1996) 357–370
——. Sickness in the Body Politic: medical imagery in the Greek polis, in Hope and Marshall (2000) 24–34
——. Authorial Voice and Narrative Management in Herodotus, in Derow and Parker (2003) 3–16
——. Political Imagery in Herodotus, in Karageorghis and Taifacos (2004) 169–177
Brock R.W. and Hodkinson, S.J. (eds). Alternatives to Athens (Oxford 2000)
Brown P.J. Malaria in Nuragic, Punic and Roman Sardinia, in Balmuth and Rowland (1984) 209–235
Brown, T.S. The Greek Historians (Lexington 1973)
——. Aeneas Tacticus and the Ionian Revolt, Historia 30 (1981) 385–393
Buck, C.D. The Greek Dialects (2nd edn, Chicago 1955)
Buck, C.D. and Petersen, W. A Reverse Index of Greek Nouns and Adjectives (Chicago 1945)
Bugh, G.R. The Horsemen of Athens (Princeton 1988)
Bultrighini, U. Cleomene, Erodoto e gli altri, in Manes (2003) 51–119
Burford, A.M. The Economics of Greek Temple Building, PCPS 10 (1965) 21–34
Burford Cooper, A. The Family Farm in Greece, CJ 73 (1977/8) 162–175
Burkert, W. Demaratos, Astrabakos und Herakles Mus Helv 22 (1965) 166–177
——. Greek Religion, tr J. Raffan (London 1985)
Burn, A.R. Persia and the Greeks (2nd edn, Stanford/London 1984)
Bury, J.B. The Epicene Oracle Concerning Argos and Miletus, Klio 2 (1902) 14–25
Cagnazzi, S. Tavola dei 28 Logoi dei Erodoto, Hermes 103 (1975) 385–423
——. Tradizioni su Dati, comandante persiano a Maratona, Chiron 29 (1999) 371–393
Cairns, D.L. Aidos (Oxford, 1993)
——. Veiling, αἰδώς, and a red-figure amphora by Phintias, JHS 118 (1996) 152–158
——. Anger and the Veil in Ancient Greek Culture, G&R 48 (2001) 18–32
Calabi, I. Richerche sui rapporti fra le poleis (Florence 1953)
Camp, J.M. The Archaeology of Athens (New Haven and London 2001)
Campbell, A.C. The Hamlyn Guide to the Flora and Fauna of the Mediterranean Sea (London 1982)

Carlier, P. La vie politique à Sparta sous le règne de Cleomène Ier, Ktema 2 (1977) 65–84
——. La Royauté en Grèce avant Alexandre (Strasbourg 1984)
Cartledge, P. A New 5th-century Spartan Treaty, LCM 1(1976) 87–92
——. Literacy in the Spartan Oligarchy, JHS 98 (1978) 25–37
——. Sparta and Laconia (London 1979)
——. Spartan Wives, CQ 31 (1981) 84–105
——. Sparta and Samos, CQ 32 (1982) 243–265
——. Agesilaos (London 1987)
——. Herodotus and "the Other", EMC 34 (1990) 27–40
——. Raising hell? The Helot Mirage—a personal view, in Luraghi and Alcock (2003) 12–30
Caspari, M.O.B. The Ionian Confederacy, JHS 35 (1915) 173–188
Casson, L. Travel in the Ancient World (2nd edn, Baltimore 1994)
——. Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World (2nd edn, Baltimore 1995)
Casson, S. The Vita Miltiades of Cornelius Nepos, Klio 14 (1914) 69–90
——. Cornelius Nepos: Some Further Notes, JHS 40 (1920) 43–46
Cavanagh, W. and Crouwel J., The Laconia Survey, vol II (London 1996)
Catling, R.W.V. and Shipley G. Cawkwell, G.L. Sparta and Her Allies in the Sixth Century, CQ 43 (1993) 364–76
——. Cleomenes, Mnem 46 (1993) 506–517
Chadwick, J., Ventris, M. and Bennett, E.L. The Knossos Tablets (Cambridge 1971)
Chapman, G.A.H. Herodotus and Histiaeus' Role in the Ionian Revolt, Historia 21(1972) 546–568
Clarke, M.J., Currie, B.G.F. and Lyne, R.O.A.M. Epic Interactions: Literary and Cultural Perspectives on Homer, Virgil, and Others (Oxford 2006 (forthcoming)).
Cohen, D. Law, Violence and Community in Classical Athens (Cambridge 1995)
Cohen, E.E. Ancient Athenian Maritime Courts (Baltimore 1973)
Coldstream, J.N. Geometric Greece (2nd edn, London and New York 2003)
Cole, S.G. Domesticating Artemis, in Blundell and Williamson (1998) 27–44
Compernolle, R. van La Date de la Bataille de Lade, AC 27 (1958) 383–9
Connolly, A. Was Sophocles Heroised as Dexion?, JHS 118 (1998) 1–21
Connolly, P. Greece and Rome at War (London 1981)
Connor, W.R. The Razing of the House in Greek Society, TAPA 115 (1985) 79–102
Cook, A.B. The Gong at Dodona, JHS 22 (1902) 5–28
——. Nomen Omen, CR 21 (1907) 169
——. Zeus (Cambridge, I 1914, II 1925, III 1940)
Cook, J.M. Greek Archaeology in Western Asia Minor, ABSA 55 (1960) 27–57
——. Some Sites of the Milesian Territory, ABSA 56 (1961) 90–101
——. The Problem of Classical Ionia, PCPS 7 (1961) 9–18
——. The Greeks in Ionia and the East (London 1962)
——. The Persian Empire (London 1983)
Cook, R.M. Greek Painted Pottery (3rd edn, London 1997)
Crahay, R. La Littérature Oraculaire Chez Hérodote (Paris 1956)
Craik, E.M. (ed) Owls to Athens (Oxford 1990)
Crosby, M. The Altar of the Twelve Gods in Athens, Hesperia Supp 8 (1949) 82–103
Csapo, E. and Miller, M.C. Poetry, Theory, Praxis: the Social Life of Myth, Word and Image in Ancient Greece; Essays in Honour of William, J. Slater (Oxford 2003)
Dalby, A. Siren Feasts (London 1996)
Daly, L.W. Miltiades, Aratus and Compound Fractures, AJPh 101 (1980) 59–60
Davies, J.K. The Tradition about the First Sacred War, in Hornblower (1994) 193–232

Davison, J.M. Greeks in Sardinia: The Confrontation of Archaeological Evidence and Literary Testimonia, in Balmuth and Rowland (1984) 67–82
Demand, N. Herodotus and Metoikismos in the Persian Wars, AJPh 109 (1988) 416–423
Derow, P. Historical Explanation: Polybius and his Predecessors, in Hornblower (1994) 73–90
Derow, P. and Parker, R. Herodotus and His World (Oxford 2003)
Detienne, M. and Vernant, J.-P. Cunning Intelligence in Greek Culture and Society, tr J. Lloyd (Hassocks, Sussex, 1978)
Develin, R. Miltiades and the Paros Expedition, Ant Class 46 (1977) 571–577
——. Athenian Officials (Cambridge 1989)
Devereux, G. (avec la Cléomène le roi fou (Paris 1995) collaboration de W.G. Forrest)
Dewald, C. and Marincola, J. A Selective Introduction to Herodotean Studies, Arethusa 20 (1987) 9–40
Dewald, C. Narrative Surface and Authorial Voice in Herodotus' Histories, Arethusa 20 (1987) 147–170
——. "I didn't give my own genealogy": Herodotus and the authorial persona, in Bakker *et al* (2002) 267–289
——. Form and Content: The Question of Tyranny in Herodotus, in Morgan (2002) 25–58
Dickins, G. The Growth of Spartan Policy, JHS 32 (1912) 1–42
Diels, H. Chronologische Untersuchungen über Apollodors Chronika, Rh Mus 31 (1876) 1–54
Dillon, M. Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in Ancient Greece (London 1997)
Doenges, N.A. The Campaign and Battle of Marathon, Hist 45 (1996) 1–17
Donlan, W. The Aristocratic Ideal in Ancient Greece (Lawrence, Kansas, 1980)
Donlan, W. and Thompson, J. The Charge at Marathon, CJ 71 (1976) 339–43
——. The Charge at Marathon Again, CW 72 (1979) 419–20
Dontas, G. The True Aglaureion, Hesp 52 (1983) 48–63
Dover, K.J. ΔΕΚΑΤΟΣ ΑΥΤΟΣ, JHS 80 (1960) 61–77
——: Aristophanes, Clouds (Oxford 1968)
——. Herodotean Plausibilities, in Austin *et al* (1998) 219–226
Drees, L. Olympia (London 1968)
Drews, R. The Greek Accounts of Early History (Cambridge, Mass, 1973)
Ducat, J. Les Hilotes (BCH Supp 20, Athens 1990)
——. Perspectives on Spartan education in the classical period, in Hodkinson and Powell (1999) 43–66
Dunbabin, T.J. Ἔχθρη Παλαίη, ABSA 37 (1936–7) 83–91
——. The Western Greeks (Oxford 1948)
Dyson, G.W. ΛΕΟΝΤΑ ΤΕΚΕΙΝ, CQ 23 (1929) 186–195
Ehrenberg, V. Sophocles and Pericles (Oxford 1954)
——. Polis und Imperium (Zurich and Stuttgart 1965)
Ehrhardt, C. Athens, Egypt, Phoenicia, c459–44 BC, AJAH 15 (1990) [2001] 177–196
Ehrhardt, N. Didyma und Milet in archaischer Zeit, Chiron 28 (1998) 11–20
Elsner, J. Hagiographic Geography: travel and allegory in the *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* (JHS 117 (1997) 22–37
Emlyn-Jones, C.J. The Ionians and Hellenism (London 1980)
Engels, D.W. Alexander the Great and the Logistics of the Macedonian Army (Berkeley 1978)
Eremin, A. Settlements of Spartan *perioikoi: poleis* or *komai*?, in Powell and Hodkinson (2002) 267–283
Evans. J.A.S. Histiaeus and Aristagoras, AJPh 84 (1963) 113–128

——. Herodotus and the Ionian Revolt, Hist 25 (1976) 31–37
——. The Settlement of Artaphrenes, CPh 71 (1976) 344–348
——. Herodotus, Explorer of the Past (New Jersey 1991)
——. Herodotus and the Battle of Marathon, Historia 42 (1993) 279–307
Farnell, L.R. The Cults of the Greek States (Oxford I 1896, II III and IV 1907)
Fehling. D. Herodotus and his "Sources" (tr G. Howie, Leeds 1989)
Figueira. T.J. Aegina: Society and Politics (New York, 1981)
——. Aeginetan Membership of the Peloponnesian League CP76 (1981) 1–24
——. Herodotus and the Early Hostilities Between Aegina and Athens, AJPh 106 (1985) 49–74
——. Xanthippus and the *Prutaneis* of the Naucraroi, Hist 35 (1986) 257–79
——. The Chronology of the Conflict between Athens and Aegina, QUCC 28 (1988) 49–90
——. Athens and Aegina (Baltimore 1991)
Finley, M.I. The Servile Status of Ancient Greece, Rev Int Dr Ant 7 (1960) 165–189
——. The Use and Abuse of History (London 1975)
——. Ancient Sicily (2nd edn, London 1979)
——. *et al* The Trojan War, JHS 84 (1964) 1–20
Fisher, N.R.E. Social Values in Classical Athens (London 1976)
——. Drink, Hybris and the Promotion of Harmony, in Powell (1989) 26–50
——. Popular Morality in Herodotus, in Bakker et al (2002) 199–224
Fisher, N.R.E. and van Wees, H. (eds) Archaic Greece (London 1998)
Flensted-Jensen, P. The Bottiaians and their *Polis*, in Hansen and Raaflaub (1995) 103–132
Flory, S. Who Read Herodotus' Histories?, AJPh 101 (1980) 12–28
Flower, M.A. The Invention of Tradition in Classical and Hellenistic Sparta, in Powell and Hodkinson (2002) 191–217
Fontenrose, J. Python: A Study of the Delphic Myth and its origins (Berkeley 1959)
——. The Delphic Oracle (Berkeley 1978)
——. Didyma (Berkeley 1988)
——. The Cult of Apollo and the Games at Delphi, in Raschke (1988) 121–140
Forbes, R.J. Studies in Ancient Technology (3rd edn, Leiden, vol I 1964, III 1965; repr 1994)
Fornara, C.W. Herodotus, An Interpretative Essay (Oxford 1971)
——. Evidence for the date of Herodotus' Publication, JHS 91 (1971) 25–34
——. Herodotus' Knowledge of the Archidamian War, Hermes 109 (1981) 149–156
——. The Nature of History in Ancient Greece and Rome (Berkeley 1983)
Forrest, W.G. The First Sacred War, BCH 80 (1956) 33–52
——. Themistocles and Argos, CQ 10 (1960) 221–241
——. The Tradition of Hippias' Expulsion from Athens, GRBS 10 (1969) 277–286
——. Motivation in Herodotus: The Case of the Ionian Revolt, IHR 1 (1979) 311–322
——. A History of Sparta 950–192 BC (2nd edn, London 1980)
——. The Pre-Polis Polis, in Brock and Hodkinson (2000) 280–292
Forsdyke, S. Athenian Democratic Ideology and Herodotus' *Histories*, AJPh 122 (2001) 329–358
——. Greek History, in Bakker *et al* (2002) 521–549
Fowler, R.L. Herodotus and his Contemporaries, JHS 116 (1996) 62–87
——. Early *Historiē* and Literacy, in Luraghi (2001) 95–115
——. Pelasgians, in Caspo and Miller (2003) 2–18
Foxhall, L. and Forbes, H.A. Sitometreia, Chiron 12 (1982) 41–90
Frost, F.J. The Dubious Origins of the "Marathon", AJAH 4 (1979) 159–63
Gabrielsen, V. Financing the Athenian Fleet (Baltimore 1994)
Gagarin, M. Letters of the Law: Written Texts in Archaic Greece, in Yunis (2003) 59–77

Gallant, T.W. Risk and Survival in Ancient Greece (Cambridge 1991)
Gantz, T. Early Greek Myths (2 vols, Baltimore 1996)
Gardner, P. A History of Ancient Coinage (Oxford 1918)
Garland, R. The Well-Ordered Corpse: an Investigation into the Motives behind Greek Funerary Legislation, BICS 36 (1989) 1–15
——. Introducing New Gods (London 1992)
Garnsey, P. Famine and Food Supply in the Graeco-Roman World (Cambridge 1988)
Garnsey, P. Hopkins, K. and Whittaker, C.R., eds Trade in the Ancient Economy (Berkeley 1983)
Gauthier, P. Symbola: Les Etrangers et la justice dans les cités grecques (Nancy 1972)
Gelzer, M. Kleine Schriften I (Wiesbaden 1962)
Georges, P. Darius in Scythia AJAH 12 (1987–1995) 97–147
——. Persian Ionia Under Darius: The Revolt Reconsidered Hist 49 (2000) 1–39
Gilula, D. Who was actually buried on the first of the three Spartan graves (Hdt 9.85.1)? Textual and Historical Problems, in Derow and Parker (2003) 73–87
Ginzel, F.K. Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie (3 vols, Leipzig: I, 1906; II 1911; III, 1914)
Glotz. G. The Greek City and its Institutions (London 1929)
Gomme. A.W. A Forgotten Factor in Greek Naval Strategy, JHS 53 (1933) 16–24
——. More Essays in Greek History and Literature (Oxford 1962)
Goldhill, S. Representing Democracy: Women at the Great Dionysia, in Osborne and Hornblower (1994) 347–369
Goldstein, M., Simonetti, G. and Watschinger, M. The MacDonald Guide to Trees (London 1984)
Goodman, M.D. and Holladay, A.J. Religious Scruples in Ancient Warfare, CQ 36 (1986) 151–171
Gorman, V.B. Miletos, the Ornament of Ionia (Ann Arbor 2001)
Gould, J. Herodotus (London 1989)
——. Herodotus and Religion, in Hornblower (1994) 91–106
Gould, J.P. Hiketeia, JHS 93 (1973) 74–103
Graf, D.F. Medism: the origin and significance of the term, JHS 104 (1984) 15–30
——. War, Women, and Warlike Divinities, ZPE 55 (1984) 245–254
Graham, A.J. The Foundation of Thasos, ABSA 73 (1978) 61–97
——. The Woman at the Window, JHS 118 (1998) 22–40
Gras, M. Trafics Tyrrhéniens Archaïques (Rome 1985)
Graves, R. The Greek Myths (2 vols London 1955; repr 1 vol 1992)
Greaves, A.M. Miletos: A History (London and New York 2002)
Griffin, A. Sikyon (Oxford 1982)
Griffiths, A. Was Kleomenes Mad? in Powell (1989) 51–78
Grosso, F. Gli Eretriesi Deportati in Persia, RIFC 36 (1958) 350–375
Guthrie, W.K.C. A History of Greek Philosophy (Cambridge; I 1962; II 1965; III 1969, repr in two parts, 1971 (other vols not cited))
Haas, C.J. Athenian Naval Power before Themistocles, Historia 34 (1985) 29–44
Habicht, C. Falsche Urkunden zur Geschichte Athens im Zeitalter der Perserkriege, Hermes 89 (1961) 1–35
Hall, E. Inventing the Barbarian (Oxford 1989)
——. Drowning by Nomes, in Khan (1993) 44–80
Hall, J.M. How Argive was the "Argive Heraion"?, AJA 99 (1995) 577–613
Hamel, D. Athenian Generals (Leiden 1998)
Hammond, N.G.L. Studies in Greek Chronology of the C6–C5, Historia 4 (1955) 371–411
——. Philaids and the Chersonese, CQ 6 (1956) 113–129
——. Studies in Greek History (Oxford 1973)

——. The Extent of Persian Occupation in Thrace, Chiron 10 (1980) 53–61
——. Sparta at Thermopylae, Historia 45 (1996) 1–20
——. The Branchidae at Didyma and in Sogdiana, CQ 48 (1998) 339–344
Hammond, N.G.L. and Griffith, G.T. A History of Macedonia vol 2 (Oxford 1979)
Hansen, M.H. Eisangelia (Odense 1975)
——. Eisangelia in Athens, JHS 100 (1980) 89–95
——. Polis and City-State, Acts of the Copenhagen Polis Centre 5 (Copenhagen 1998)
Hansen, M.H. (ed) The Polis as an Urban Centre, Acts of the Copenhagen Polis Centre 4 (Copenhagen 1997)
Hansen, M.H. and Fischer-Hansen, T. Monumental Architecture in Archaic and Classical Greek Poleis, in Whitehead (1987) 23–90
Hansen, M.H. and Nielsen, T.H. (eds) An Inventory of Archaic and Classical *Poleis* (Oxford 2004)
Hansen, M.H. and Raaflaub, K. (eds) Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis (Hist Einz 95, Stuttgart 1995)
——. (eds) More Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis (Hist Einz 108, Stuttgart 1996)
Harris, E.M. The Liability of Business Partners in Athenian Law: The Dispute Between Lycon and Megacleides ([Dem] 52.20–1), CQ 39 (1989) 339–343
Harrison, A.R.W. The Law of Athens (2 vols, Oxford, 1 1968, 2 1971)
Harrison, E.B. The South Frieze of the Nike Temple, AJA 76 (1972) 353–378
Harrison, C.M. Triremes at Rest: On the Beach or In the Water?, JHS 119 (1999) 168–171
Harrison, T. Herodotus' Conception of Foreign Languages (Histos II, 1998)
——. Divinity and History: the Religion of Herodotus (Oxford 2000)
Hart, J. Herodotus and Greek History (London 1982)
Hartog, F. The Mirror of Herodotus, tr J. Lloyd (Berkeley and London 1988) [Le Miroir d'Hérodote (Paris 1980)]
Harvey, F.D. The Political Sympathies of Herodotus, Historia 15 (1966) 254–255
——. Leonidas the Regicide?, in Bowersock *et al* (1979) 253–260
Healey, J.F. Mining and Metallurgy in the Ancient World (London 1978)
Heath, M.F. Euripides' Telephus, CQ 37 (1987) 272–280
Heiskell, R. Greek Waters Pilot (4th edn, London 1990)
Hereward, D. Herodotus vi.74, CR 1 (1951) 146
——. The Flight of Demaratus, Rh Mus 101 (1958) 238–249
Herman, G. Ritualised Friendship and the Greek City State (Cambridge 1987)
Hignett, C. A History of the Athenian Constitution (Oxford 1952)
——. Xerxes' Invasion of Greece (Oxford 1963)
Hill, G.F. Historical Greek Coins (London 1906)
——. Sources for Greek History (2nd edn ed R Meiggs and A Andrewes, Oxford 1951)
Hind, J. Megarian Colonisation in the Western Half of the Black Sea, in Tstetskhladze (1998) 131–152
Hodge, A.T. Marathon: The Persians' Voyage, TAPA 105 (1975) 155–173
——. Marathon to Phaleron, JHS 95 (1975) 169–171
Hodge, A.T. and Losada, L.A. The Time of the Shield Signal at Marathon, AJA 74 (1970) 31–36
Hodkinson, S. Social Order and the Conflict of Values in Classical Sparta, Chiron 13 (1983) 239–281
——. Spartan Land Tenure, CQ 36 (1986) 378–406
——. Inheritance, Marriage and Demography: Perspectives upon the Success and Decline of Classical Sparta, in Powell (1989), 79–121
——. The Development of Spartan Society and Institutions in the Archaic Period, in Mitchell and Rhodes (1997) 83–102

——. Property and Wealth in Sparta (London, 2000)
——. Spartans, helots and the direction of the agrarian economy, in Luraghi and Alcock (2003) 248–285
Hodkinson, S. and Powell, A. (eds) Sparta: New Perspectives (London 1999)
Hoepfner, W. and Schwander E.-L. Haus und Stadt im klassischen Griechenland (München, 1986; 2nd edn 1994)
Holladay, J. Medism in Athens 508–480 BC, G&R 25 (1978) 174–191
Holoka, J.P. Marathon and the Myth of the Same-Day March, GRBS 38 (1997) 329–353
Hooker, J.T. Spartan Propaganda, in Powell (1989) 122–141
Hope, V.M. and Marshall, E. (eds) Death and Disease in the Ancient City (London and New York 2000)
Hornblower, S. Mausolus (Oxford 1982)
——. Herodotus and his Sources of Information, in Bakker *et al* (2002) 373–387
——. Panionios of Chios and Hermotimos of Pedasa (Hdt 8.104–6), in Derow and Parker (2003) 37–57
——. (ed) Greek Historiography (Oxford 1994)
How, W.W. Cornelius Nepos on Marathon and Paros, JHS 39 (1919) 48–61
Hunt, D.W.S. Feudal Survivals in Ionia, JHS 67 (1947) 68–76
Hunt, P. Slaves, Warfare, and Ideology in the Greek Historians (Cambridge 1998)
Hunter, V.J. Policing Athens (Princeton 1994)
Hurwit, J.M. The Athenian Acropolis (Cambridge 1999)
Huxley, G.L. Early Sparta (London 1962)
——. The Early Ionians (London 1966)
——. Herodotus on Myth and Politics in Early Sparta, PRIA 83 (1983) 1–16
Immerwahr, H. Aspects of Historical Causation in Herodotus, TAPA 87 (1956) 241–280
——. Form and Thought in Herodotus (Cleveland 1966)
Isaac, B. The Greek Settlements in Thrace (Leiden 1986)
Isager, S. The Pride of Halicarnassus, ZPE 123 (1998) 1–23
Jackson, A. The Original Purpose of the Delian League, Historia 18 (1969) 12–16
Jacoby, F. Atthis (Oxford 1949)
Jeffery, L.H. Boustrophedon Inscriptions from the Agora, Hesperia 17 (1948) 86–111
——. The Campaign Between Athens and Aegina in the Years Before Salamis, AJPh 83 (1962) 44–52
——. Archaic Greece (London 1976)
——. The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece (2nd edn, Oxford 1990)
Jenkins, G.K. Ancient Greek Coins (2nd edn, London 1990)
Jenkins, I. The Parthenon Frieze (London 1994)
Johnson, D.M. Herodotus' Story-Telling Speeches: Socles (5.92) and Leotychidas (6.86), CJ 97 (2001) 1–26
Johnson, W.A. Oral Performance and the Composition of Herodotus' *Histories*, GRBS 35 (1994) 229–254
Johnston, J. Chronological Note on the Expedition of Leotychidas to Thessaly, Hermathena 46 (1931) 106–111
Joly, R. Hippocrate, Tome XI (Paris 1970)
Jones, A.H.M. Sparta (Oxford 1967)
——. Taxation in Antiquity, in Brunt (1974) 151–185
Jones, J.E., Graham, A. and Sackett, L.H. An Attic Country House below the Cave of Pan at Vari, ABSA 68 (1973) 355–452
——. Town and Country Houses of Attica in Classical Times, in Mussche *et al* (1975) 63–140
Jouanna, J. Hippocrates, tr M.D. DeBevoise (Baltimore and London 1999)
Joyce, C. Was Hellanikos the First Chronicler of Athens? Histos iii (1999)

Kahn, C.H. Writing Philosophy, in Yunis (2003) 139–161
Karageorghis, V. and Taifacos, I. The World of Herodotus (Nicosia 2004)
Karamoutsou-Teza, S. The Chronology of the Pentecontaetia, Part I (in Greek) (Ioannina 1994)
Karavites, P. Realities and Appearances, Historia 26 (1977) 129–147
Keaveney, A. The Attack on Naxos: A "Forgotten Cause" of the Ionian Revolt, CQ 38 (1988) 76–81
Keinast, D. Die Auslösung des Jonischen Aufstandes und das Schiksal des Histiaios, Hist 43 (1994) 387–401
——. Bemerkungen zum Jonischen Aufstand und zur Rolle des Artaphernes, Hist 51 (2002) 1–31
Kelly, T. The Calaurian Amphictiony, AJA 70 (1966) 113–121
——. A History of Argos to 500 BC (Minneapolis 1976)
Kennell, N.M. The Gymnasium of Virtue (Chapel Hill and London 1995)
Kent, R.G. Old Persian (New Haven 1950)
Kern, P.B. Ancient Siege Warfare (Bloomington and London 1999)
Khan, H.A. (ed) The Birth of the European Identity (Nottingham 1993)
Kinzl, K.H. Miltiades' Parosexpedition in der Geschichtsschreibung, Hermes 104 (1976) 280–307
——. Athens: Between Tyranny and Democracy, in Kinzl (ed) (1977) 199–233
——. (ed) Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean in Ancient History and Prehistory (Studies . . . Schachermeyer) (Berlin and NY 1977)
Kirk, G.S., Raven, J.E. and Schofield, M. The Presocratic Philosophers (2nd edn, Cambridge 1983)
Kleiner, G. Hommell, P. and Müller-Wiener, W. Panionion und Melie (JDAI Supp 23, Berlin 1967)
Knoepfler, D. Le territoire d'Erétrie et l'organisation politique de la cité, in Hansen (1997) 352–449
Koehler, C.G. Handling of Greek Transport Amphorae, BCH Supp 13 (1986) 49–617
Kontoleon, N. Νέαι Ἐπιγραφαί, Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς 91 (1952) 32–95
Kraay, C.M. Archaic and Classical Greek Coins (London 1976)
Kuhrt, A. Earth and Water (Achaemenid History III, Leiden 1988, 87–99)
——. The Ancient Near East c3000–330 BC (2 vols, London 1995)
Lacey, W.K. The Family in Classical Greece (London 1968; repr Auckland 1980)
Lane, Fox R. Alexander the Great (London 1973)
Lang, M.L. Herodotus and the Ionian Revolt, Historia 19 (1968) 24–36
——. Herodotean Narrative and Discourse (Cambridge, Mass 1984)
——. The Athenian Agora, vol XXV: Ostraka (Princeton 1990)
Lasserre, F. Hérodote et Protagoras: le début sur les constitutions, Mus Helv 33 (1976) 65–84
Lateiner, D. A Note on ΔΙΚΑΣ ΔΙΔΟΝΑΙ, CQ 30 (1980) 30–32
——. The Failure of the Ionian Revolt, Historia 31 (1982) 129–160
——. A Note on Perils of Prosperity in Herodotus, RhM 125 (1982) 97–101
——. Non-verbal communication in the *Histories* of Herodotus, Arethusa 20 (1987) 83–119
——. The Historical Method of Herodotus (Toronto 1989)
Lattimore, R.C.P. The Wise Adviser in Herodotus, CP 34 (1939) 24–35
——. The Composition of the History of Herodotus, CP 53 (1958) 9–21
Lavency, M. Aspects de la logographie judiciare (Louvain 1964)
Lawler, L.B. *Phora, Schêmata, Deixis* in the Greek Dance, TAPA 85 (1954) 148–158
——. The Dance in Ancient Greece (London 1964)
Lazenby, J.F. The Spartan Army (Warminster 1985)
——. The Diekplous, G&R 34 (1987) 169–177

——. Review of Morrison and Coates, The Athenian Trireme, JHS 108 (1988) 250
——. The Defence of Greece 490–479 (Warminster 1993)
Lehmann, C.F. Zur Geschichte und Überlieferung des ionischen Aufstandes, Klio 2 (1902) 334–340
Lewis, D.M. Apollo Delios, ABSA 55 (1960) 190–194
——. Cleisthenes and Attica, Hist 12 (1963) 22–40
——. Datis the Mede, JHS 100 (1980) 194–5
Linforth, I.M. Solon the Athenian (Berkeley 1919)
Lipka, M. Notes on the Influence of the Spartan Great Rhetra on Tyrtaeus Herodotus and Xenophon, in Powell and Hodkinson (2002) 219–225
Lipsius, J.H. Das Attische Recht und Rechtsverfahren (3 vols, Leipzig, I 1905; II 1908; III 1915)
Littman, R.J. Dor and the Athenian Empire, AJAH 15 (1990) [2001] 155–176
Lloyd, G.E.R. Experiment in Early Greek Philosophy and Medicine, PCPS 10 (1964) 50–72
——. Early Greek Science: Thales to Aristotle (London 1982)
Lloyd-Jones, H. The Pride of Halicarnassus, ZPE 124 (1999) 1–14
Lloyd-Jones, P.H.J. Artemis and Iphigenia, JHS 103 (1983) 87–102
Loraux, N. The Invention of Athens, tr A Sheridan (Cambridge, Mass, 1986)
Lotze, D. ΜΕΤΑΞΥ ΕΛΕΥΘΗΡΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΔΟΥΛΩΝ (Berlin 1959)
Loukopoulou, L.D. Contribution à L'Histoire de la Thrace Propontique (Athens 1989)
Luraghi, N. Local Knowledge in Herodotus' *Histories*, in Luraghi (2001) 138–160
——. Helotic slavery reconsidered, in Powell and Hodkinson (2002) 227–248
——. The imaginary conquest of the Helots, in Luraghi and Alcock (2003) 109–141
——. (ed) The Historian's Craft in the Age of Herodotus (Oxford 2001)
Luraghi, N. and Alcock, S.E. (eds) Helots and Their Masters in Laconia and Messenia (Cambridge, Mass, 2003)
MacDowell, D.M. Spartan Law (Edinburgh 1986)
Marg, W. (ed) Herodot (München 1962)
Malkin, I. Religion and Colonization in Ancient Greece (Leiden 1987)
Manes, E.L. (ed) Storiografia e regalità nel mondo greco (Torino 2003)
Manville, P.B. Aristagoras and Histiaeus—The Leadership Struggle in the Ionian Revolt, CQ 27 (1977) 80–91
Marincola, J. Herodotean Narrative and the Narrator's Presence, Arethusa 20 (1987) 121–137
Mason, N.P. and Wallace, M.B. Appius Claudius and the Hollows of Euboia, Hesperia 41 (1972) 128–140
Matthaiou, A.P. Ἀθηναίοισι τεταγμένοισι ἐν τεμένεϊ Ἡρακλέος (Hdt 6.108.1), in Derow and Parker (2003) 190–202
Matthews, V.J. The *Hemerodromoi*: Ultra Long-Distance Running in Antiquity, CW 68 (1974–5) 161–169
McNeal, R.A. On Editing Herodotus, Ant Class 52 (1983) 110–129
McNeillie, A. Guide to the Pigeons of the World (Elsevier-Phaedon, London 1976)
Mehl, A. Herodotus and Xanthus of Sardis Compared, in Karageorghis and Taifacos (2004) 337–349
Meiggs, R. Trees and Timber in the Ancient Mediterranean World (Oxford 1982)
Mertens, N. οὐκ ὁμοῖοι, ἀγαθοί δέ: the *perioikoi* in the classical Lacedaimonian *polis*, in Powell and Hodkinson (2002) 285–303
Michell, H. Sparta (Cambridge 1952; repr 1964)
Mikalson, J.D. The Sacred and Civil Calendar of the Athenian Year (Princeton 1975)
——. Religion in Herodotus, in Bakker *et al* (2002) 187–198
Millender, E. Spartan Literacy Revisited, Cl Ant 20 (2001) 121–164

——. Herodotus and Spartan Despotism, in Powell and Hodkinson (2002) 1–61
Missiou, A. ΔΟΥΛΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ—The Politics of Translation, CQ 43 (1993) 377–391
Mitchel, F.W. Herodotus' Use of Genealogical Chronology Phoen 10 (1956) 48–69
Mitchell, B.M. Herodotus and Samos, JHS 95 (1975) 75–91
Mitchell, L.G. Greeks Bearing Gifts (Cambridge 1997)
—— and Rhodes, P.J. (eds) The Development of the *Polis* in Archaic Greece (London 1997)
Moles, J. Herodotus warns the Athenians, ARCA 34 (1996) 259–284
——. Herodotus and Athens, in Bakker *et al* (2002) 33–52
Möller, A. The Beginnings of Chronography: Hellanicus' *Hiereiai*, in Luraghi (2001) 241–262
Momigliano, A. Alien Wisdom (Cambridge 1975)
Moretti, L. Olympionikai, Atti dell' Acad Naz Linc, 8a ser, vol 8 (1957) 59–198
Morgan, C. Athletes and Oracles (Cambridge 1990)
——. Divination and Society at Delphi and Didyma, Hermathena 147 (1990) 17–42
——. Ethnicity and Early Greek States, PCPS 37 (1991) 131–163
——. Cultural Subzones in Early Iron Age and Archaic Arkadia?, in Nielsen and roy (1999) 382–456
Morgan, J.R. and Stoneman, R. (eds) Greek Fiction (London 1994)
Morgan, K. Popular Tyranny: Sovereignty and Its Discontents in Classical Athens (Austin 2002)
Morris, I. Burial and Ancient Society (Cambridge 1987)
——. Archaeology and Archaic Greek Society, in Fisher and van Wees (1998) 1–91
Morrison, J.S., Coates, J.F. and Rankin, B. The Athenian Trireme (2nd edn, Cambridge 2000)
Morrison, J.S. and Williams, R.T. Greek Oared Ships (Cambridge 1968)
Morton, J. The Role of the Physical Environment in Ancient Greek Seafaring (Leiden 2001)
Mosley, D.J. Spartan Kings and Proxeny, Athen 49 (1970) 433–5
——. Greeks, Barbarians, Language and Contact, Anc Soc 2 (1971) 1–6
Müller, D. Topographischer Bildkommentar zu den Historien Herodots: I, Griechenland, II Kleinasien (Tübingen 1987, 1997)
Murray, O. Ο ΑΡΧΑΙΟΣ ΔΑΣΜΟΣ, Historia 15 (1966) 142–156
——. Herodotus and Oral History, in Sancisi-Weerdenburg and Kurht (1987) 93–115
——. Herodotus and Oral History, in Luraghi (2001) 16–44
——. Herodotus and Oral History Reconsidered, in Luraghi (2001) 314–325
——. (ed) Sympotica, (Oxford 1990)
Mussche, H. Spitaels, P. and Goemarre-de Poerck, F. Thorikos and Laurion in Archaic and Classical Times (Ghent 1975)
Myres, J.L. ΑΚΗΡΥΚΤΟΣ ΠΟΛΕΜΟΣ (Herodotus, v. 81), CR 57 (1943) 66–67
Nagy, G. Herodotus the Logios, Arethusa 20 (1987) 175–184
Nakategawa, Y. Isagoria in Herodotus, Historia 37 (1988) 257–275
Neils, J. The Parthenon Frieze (Cambridge 2001)
Nenci, G. and Reverdin, D. (eds) Hérodote et les peuples non-grecs (Fondation Hardt XXXV, Genève 1988)
Neville, J. Was there an Ionian Revolt? CQ 29 (1979) 268–275
Nielsen, T.H. Was There an Arcadian Confederacy in the Fifth Century?, in Hansen and Raaflaub (1996) 39–61
——. A Survey of Dependent Poleis on Classical Arcadia, in Hansen and Raaflaub (1996) 63–105
——. The concept of Arcadia—the People, Their Land and Their Organisation, in Nielsen and Roy (1999) 16–79

——. *Phrourion*, A Note on the Term in Classical Sources and in Diodorus Siculus, in Neilsen (2002) 49–64
——. (ed) Even More Studies in the Ancient Greek *Polis* (Hist Einz 162, Stuttgart 2002)
Nielsen, T.H. and Roy, J. (eds) Defining Ancient Arcadia, Acts of the Copenhagen Polis Centre 6 (Copenhagen 1999)
Nilsson, M.P. A History of Greek Religion (Oxford 1949)
Nouhaud, M. L'Utilisation de L'Histoire par les Orateurs Attiques (Paris 1982)
Ober, J. Mass and Elite in Democratic Athens (Princeton 1989)
Ogden, D. Cleisthenes of Sicyon: ΛΕΥΣΤΗΡ, CQ 43 (1993) 353–363
Olmstead, A.T. History of the Persian Empire (Chicago 1948)
Osborne, R. Law in Action in Classical Athens, JHS 105 (1985) 40–58
——. Greece in the Making (London1996)
——. Archaeology and the Athenian Empire, TAPA 129 (1999) 319–332
——. Archaic Greek History, in Bakker *et al* (2002) 497–520
Osborne, R. and Hornblower, S. Ritual, Finance, Politics (Oxford 1994)
Ostwald, M. The Athenian Legislatiom against Tyranny, TAPA 86 (1955) 103–128
——. Herodotus and Athens, Ill Class Studies 16 (1991) 137–148
——. Athens and Chalkis: a study in imperial control, JHS 122 (2002) 134–143
Page, D.L. An Early Tragedy on the Fall of Croesus? PCPS 8 (1962) 47–49
——. Further Greek Epigrams (Cambridge 1981)
Parke, H.W. Polycrates and Delos, CQ 40 (1946) 105–108
——. Festivals of the Athenians, London 1977
——. The Oracles of Apollo in Asia Minor (London 1985)
——. The Massacre of the Branchidae, JHS 105 (1985) 59–68
Parke, H.W. and Wormell, D.E.W. The Delphic Oracle (2 vols, Oxford 1956)
Parker, A.J. Ancient Shipwrecks of the Mediterranean and Roman Provinces (Oxford 1992)
Parker, R. Miasma (Oxford 1983, rev 1996)
——. Spartan Religion, in Powell (1989), 142–172
——. Athenian Religion (Oxford 1996)
Parkins, H. and Smith, E. (eds) Trade, Traders and the Ancient City (London 1998)
Parsons, A.W. Klepsydra and the Paved Court of the Pythion, Hesp 12 (1943) 191–267
Patterson, C. Pericles' Citizenship Law of 451–50 B.C. (Salem NH 1988)
Pearson, L. Early Ionian Historians (Oxford 1939)
Pease, A.S. The Omen of Sneezing, CP6 (1911) 429–443
Peek, W. Ein neuer spartanischer Staatsvertrag, ASAW 65.3 (1974) 3–15
Pelling, C. Homer and Herodotus, in Clarke *et al* (forthcoming)
Perlman, S. Panhellenism, The Polis, and Imperialism, Historia 25 (1976) 1–30
Piccirilli, L. Gli Arbitrati Interstatali Greci (Pisa 1973)
——. Aristide di Egina?, ZPE 51 (1983) 169–176
Piérart, M. L'attitude d'Argos à l'égard des autres cités d'Argolide, in Hansen (1997) 321–351
——. The Common Oracle of the Milesians and the Argives (Hdt 6.19 and 77), in Derow and Parker (2003) 275–296
Pikoulas, Y.A. The Road-Network of Arcadia, in Nielsen and Roy (1999) 248–31
——. Λακεδαιμονίων συνθεκαι Αἰτολοῖς, ΗΟΡΟΣ 14–16 (2000–3) 455–467
Podlecki, A.J. The Political Significance of the Athenian Tyrannicide Cult, Historia 15 (1966) 129–141
——. Athens and Aegina, Historia 25 (1976) 396–413
——. Herodotus in Athens?, in Kinzl (1977) 246–265
Pomeroy, S.B. Goddesses Whores Wives and Slaves (2nd ed, New York 1995)

Pope, M. Thucydides and Democracy, Hist 37 (1988) 276–296
Pouilloux, J. Recherches sur l'histoire et les cultes de Thasos, vol 1 (Paris 1954)
Powell, A. (ed) Classical Sparta, Techniques behind her Success (London 1989)
——. (ed) The Greek World (London, 1995)
Powell, A. and Hodkinson, S. (eds) The Shadow of Sparta (London 1994)
——. (eds) Sparta: Beyond the Mirage (London 2002)
Powell, J.E. Puns in Herodotus CR 51 (1937) 103–5
——. The History of Herodotus (Cambridge 1939)
Pritchett, W.K. Months in Dorian Calendars, AJA 50 (1946) 358–360
——. The Liar School of Herodotus (Amsterdam 1993)
Prontera, F. Per L'Interpretazione di Erodoto VI 40
Raaflaub, K.A. Political Thought and the Meaning of History, Arethusa 20 (1987) 221–248
——. Philosophy, Science, Politics: Herodotus and the Intellecual Trends of his Time, in Bakker *et al* (2002) 149–186
——. The Discovery of Freedom in Ancient Greece (Chicago and London 2004)
Rapke, T.T. Agora Ostrakon P9945—Two Possibilities, AClass 24 (1981) 153–5
Raschke, W.J. (ed) The Archaeology of the Olympics (Madison, Wisc, 1988)
Raubitschek, A.E. Das Datislied, in Schauenburg (1957) 234–42
Rausch, N. Miltiades, Athen und die "Rhamnusier auf Lemnos", Hermes 81 (1999) 1–17
Rawlinson, Maj H.C. Notes on a March from Zoháb . . . to Kirmánsháh in the year 1836, Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London 9 (1839) 26–116
Rebenich, S. Fremdenfeindlichkeit in Sparta? Überlegungen zur Tradition der spartanischen Xenelasie, Klio 80 (1998) 336–359
Reger, G. Islands with one *Polis* versus islands with several *Poleis*, in Hansen (1997) 450–492
Renehan, R. Herodotus Philanathropos, Hermes 129 (2001) 173–187
Rhodes, P.J. ΕΙΣΑΓΓΕΛΙΑ in Athens, JHS 99 (1979) 103–114
——. The Greek City States (London 1986)
——. On Not Overinterpreting Thucydides, Histos ii (1998) 1–10
——. Oligarchs in Athens, in Brock and Hodkinson (2000) 119–136
——. Herodotean Chronology Revisited, in Derow and Fowler (2003) 59–72
Richer, N. Les Éphores (Paris 1998)
——. *Aidōs* at Sparta, in Hodkinson and Powell (1999) 91–115
Robinson, E.S.G. Rhegion, Zankle-Messina and the Samians, JHS 66 (1946) 13–20
Robinson, E.W. Reexamining the Alcmaeonid Role in the Liberation of Athens, Historia 43 (1994) 363–369
Roebuck, C. The Early Ionian League, CP 50 (1955) 26–40
——. Ionian Trade and Colonization (New York 1959)
——. Review of Sakellariou (1958), Gnomon 31 (1959) 702–703
——. Chios in the Sixth Century BC, in Boardman and Vaphopoulou-Richardson (1986) 81–88
Roisman, J. Maiandrios of Samos, Historia 34 (1985) 257–277
——. On Phrynichus' *Sack of Miletus* and *Phoinissae*, Eranos 86 (1988) 15–23
Romm, J. Herodotus (New Haven and London 1998)
Rood, T. Thucydides and his Predecessors, Histos ii (1998)
Rosivach, V.J. Autochthony and the Athenians, CQ 37 (1987) 294–306
Rösler, W. The *Histories* and Writing, in Bakker *et al* (2002) 79–94
Roy, J. An Arcadian League in the Earlier Fifth Century B.C.?, Phoenix 26 (1972) 334–371
——. The Economies of Arcadia, in Nielsen and Roy (1999) 320–381
——. The Pattern of Settlement in Pisatis, in Nielsen (2002) 229–247
Roscalla, F. Presenze Simboloche dell'Ape nella Grecia Antica (Pavia 1998)

Rubensohn, O. Paros II, MDAI(A) 26 (1901) 157–222
Rutter, N.K. Diodorus and the Foundation of Thurii, Historia 22 (1973) 155–176
Saïd, S. Herodotus and Tragedy, in Bakker *et al* (2002) 117–147
Ste Croix, G.E.M. Notes on Jurisdiction in the Athenian Empire I, CQ 11 (1961) 94–112
Sakellariou, M.B. La Migration Grècque en Ionie (Athens 1958)
Sallares, R. The Ecology of the Ancient Greek World (London 1991)
Salmon, J. Wealthy Corinth (Oxford 1984)
Salviat, F. and Servais, J. Stèle indicatrice thasienne trouvée au sanctuaire d'Aliki, BCH 88 (1964) 264–287
Samuel, A.E. Greek and Roman Chronology (Munich 1972)
Sancisi-Weerdenburg, H. A Typically Persian Gift, Historia 37 (1988) 372–374
Sancisi-Weerdenburg, H. and Kuhrt, A., eds Achaemenid History I (Leiden 1987)
Sansone, D. The Date of Herodotus' Publication, Ill Class Stud 10 (1985) 1–9
Schaps, D.M. Economic Rights of Women in Ancient Greece (Edinburgh 1979)
Schauenburg, K., ed Charites: Studien zur Altertums-wissenschaft (Bonn 1957)
Schmid, W. and Stählin, O. Geschichte der Griechischen Literatur (Handbuch der altertums Literatur) vol 1.2, (W. Schmid; Munich 1934)
Schmitt, R. Medisches und Persisches Sprachgut bei Herodot, ZDMF 117 (1967) 119–145
——. Die Verfassungdebatte bei Herodot 3.80–82 und die Etymologie des Dareios-Namens, Historia 26 (1977) 243–244
Schmitt-Pantel, P. Sacrificial meal and *Symposion*, in Murray (1990) 14–33
——. La cité au banquet (Rome 1992)
Scott, L. Were there polis navies in Archaic Greece?, BAR International Series 899 (2000) 93–115
——. Miltiades' Expedition to Paros and 'Other Islands'?, AHB 16 (2002) 111–126
Sealey, R. A History of The Greek City States (Berkeley 1976)
Seyrig, H. Quatre Cultes de Thasos, BCH 51 (1927) 178–233
Shaw, J.T. (ed) The Trireme Project (Oxford 1993)
Shaw, P.-J. Discrepancies in Olympiad Dating and Chronological Problems of Ancient Peloponnesian History (Stuttgart 2003)
Shimron, B. Miltiades an der Donaubrücke und in der Chersonesos, WSt 100 (1987) 23–34
——. Politics and Belief in Herodotus (Hist Einz 58, Stuttgart 1989)
Shipley, G. A History of Samos (Oxford 1987)
——. Archaeological Sites in Laconia and the Thyreatis, in Cavanagh *et al* (1996) 263–313
——. "The Other Lacedaimonians": The Dependent Perioikic *Poleis* of Laconia and Messenia, in Hansen (1997) 189–281
Sickinger, J.P. Public Records and Archives in Classical Athens (Chapel Hill, NC, 1999)
Siewert, P. Die Trittyes Attikas und die Heeresreform des Kleisthenes (München 1982)
Simon, B. Mind and Madness in Ancient Greece (New Haven and London 1978)
Simon, E. Die Griechischen Vasen (Munich 1981)
Singor, H.W. Admission to the *syssitia* in fifth-century Sparta, in Hodkinson and Powell (1999) 67–89
Skinner, F.G. Weights and Measures (London 1967)
Slings, S.R. Oral Strategies in the Language of Herodotus, in Bakker *et al* (2002) 53–77
Smart, J.D. Athens and Egesta, JHS 92 (1972) 128–146
Smyth, H.W. The Sounds and Inflections of Greek Dialects: Ionic (Oxford 1894)
Snodgrass, A. Arms and Armour of the Greeks (London 1967)

——. Heavy Freight in Ancient Greece, in Garnsey *et al* (1983) 16–26
——. The Dark Age of Greece (2nd edn, Edinburgh 2000)
Sokolowski, F. Lois Sacrées des Cités Grecques, Supplément (Paris 1962)
——. Lois Sacrées des Cités Grecques (Paris 1969)
Solmsen, L. Speeches in Herodotus' account of the Ionian Revolt, AJPh 64 (1943) 194–207
Sourvinou-Inwood, C. Herodotos (and others) on Pelasgians: Some Perceptions of Ethnicity, in Derow and Parker (2003) 103–144
Sophocles, E.A. Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods (New York 1900)
Souza, P. de Greek Piracy, in Powell (1995) 179–198
——. de Towards Thalassocracy, in Fisher and van Wees (1998) 271–293
——. de Piracy in the Graeco-Romano World (Cambridge 1999)
Spence, I.G. The Cavalry of Classical Greece (Oxford 1993)
Stadter, P. Plutarch's Historical Methods (Cambridge, Mass, 1965)
Starr, C.G. The Credibility of Early Spartan History, Hist 14 (1965) 257–272
——. The Awakening of the Greek Historical Spirit (New York 1968)
——. Greeks and Persians in the Fourth Century BC, Iran Ant 11 (1975) 39–99
Stears, K. Death Becomes Her, in Blundell and Williamson (1998) 113–127
Stewart, A. Greek Sculpture (New Haven and London 1990)
Strasburger, H. Herodot und das Perikleische Athen, Hist 4 (1955) 1–25 = Marg (1962) 574–608
——. Herodotos' Zeitrechnung, Hist 5 (1956) 129–161 = Marg (1962) 677–725
Szemerényi, O. The Origins of the Greek Lexicon: *Ex Oriente Lux*, JHS 94 (1974) 144–157
Tandy, D.W. Warriors into Traders (Berkeley 1997)
Tausend, K. Amphictyonie und Symmachie (Hist Einz 73, Stuttgart 1992)
Tecuşan, M. Logos Sympotikos, in Murray (1990) 238–260
Thomas, R. Oral Tradition and Written Record in Classical Athens (Cambridge 1989)
——. Literacy and Orality in Ancient Greece (Cambridge 1992)
——. Herodotus in Context: Ethnography, Science, and the Art of Persuasion (Cambridge 2000)
——. Herodotus' *Histories* and the Floating Gap, in Luraghi (2001) 108–210
——. Prose Performance Texts, in Yunis (2003) 162–188
——. Herodotus, Ionia and the Athenian Empire, in Karageorghis and Taifacos (2004) 27–42
Tod, M.N. Greek International Arbitrations (Oxford 1913)
Todd, S.C. The Shape of Athenian Law (Oxford 1993)
Tomlinson, R.A. Argos and the Argolid (London 1972)
Tozzi, P. Studi su Ecateo di Mileto II, Athenaeum 41 (1963) 318–326
——. Erodoto V 106: nota preliminare sull' insurrenzione ionica, Athenaeum 53 (1975) 136–143
——. Politica religiosa di Achemenidi, Riv Stor Ital 89 (1977) 18–32
——. La Rivolta Ionica (Pisa 1978)
Travlos, J. Pictorial Dictionnary of Ancient Athens (London 1971)
Tritle, L.A. Kleomenes at Eleusis, Historia 37 (1988) 457–460
Tsetskhladze, G.R. Trade on the Black Sea in the Archaic and Classical Periods, in Parkins and Smith (1998) 52–74
——. (ed) The Greek Colonisation of the Black Sea Area (Hist Einz 121, Stuttgart 1998)
——. (ed) Ancient Greeks East and West (Leiden 1999)
Tuplin, C. Kyniskos of Mantineia, LCM 2 (1977) 5–10
——. Xenophon and the Garrisons of the Achaemenid Empire, AMI 20 (1987) 167–245

——. Greek Racism? Observations on the Character and Limits of Greek Ethnic Prejudice, in Tsetskhladze (1999) 47–75
Vallet, G. Rhégion et Zancle (Paris 1958)
Vanderpool, E. The Deme of Marathon and the Herakleion, AJA 70 (1966) 319–323
——. A Monument to the Battle of Marathon, Hesperia 35 (1966) 93–106
Vansina, J. Oral Tradition, tr H.M. Wright (London 1965, Harmondsworth 1973)
Vérilhac, A.-M. and Vial, C. Le mariage grec (BCH Supp 32, Paris 1998)
Vélissaropoulos, J. Les Nauclères Grecs (Geneva-Paris 1980)
Vidal-Naquet, P. Le Chasseur Noir (Paris 1983)
Viviers D. La Chronologie du Règne de Miltiade le Jeune en Chersonèse de Thrace, à propos d'Hérodote VI 40, RhM 136 (1993) 222–238
Vlastos, G. Isonomia, AJP 74 (1953) 337–366
Vollgraf, W. Fouilles d'Argos, BCH 31 (1907) 139–184
Wade-Gery, H.T. Essays in Greek History (Oxford 1958)
Wallace, W. The Demes of Eretria, Hesp 16 (1947) 115–146
Wallace, W.P. Kleomenes, Marathon, The Helots and Arcadia, JHS 74 (1954) 32–35
Wallinga, H.T. Nautika (I): The Unit of Capacity for Ancient Ships, Mnem 17 (1964) 1–41
——. The Ionian Revolt, Mnem 37 (1984) 401–437
——. The Ancient Persian Navy and Its Predecessors, in Sancisi-Weerdenberg and Kuhrt (1987) 47–78
——. Ships and Sea-Power Before the Great Persian War (Leiden 1993)
Walter, U. Herodot und die Ursache des Ionischen Aufstandes, Historia 42 (1993) 257–278
Waters, K.H. Herodotus on Tyrants and Despots (Hist Einz 15, Wiesbaden 1971)
——. Herodotus the Historian: his problems, methods and originality (London 1985)
Wees, H. van Status Warriors (Amsterdam 1992)
——. Going Beserk in the Iliad, Ad Familiares XIV (1998) 5–6
——. Conquerors and serfs: wars of conquest and forced labour in Archaic Greece, in Luraghi and Alcock (2003) 33–80
——. Greek Warfare (London 2004)
Wells, J.J. Studies in Herodotus (Oxford 1923)
Welter, G. Aeginetica, Arch Anz 1938 1–33
——. Aigina (in Greek) (Athens 1962)
West, M.L. Immortal Helen (London 1975)
——. Ancient Greek Music (Oxford 1992)
——. Alcman and the Spartan Royalty, ZPE 91 (1992) 1–7
West, S. Herodotus' Epigraphical Interests, CQ 35 (1985) 278–305
——. Herodotus' Portrait of Hecataeus, JHS 111 (1991) 144–160
——. Scythians, in Bakker *et al* (2002) 437–456
——. Herodotus and Scythia, in Karageorghis and Taifacos (2004) 91–112
Whatley, N. On the Possibility of Reconstructing Marathon and Other Ancient Battles, JHS 84 (1964) 121–139
Whitby, M. Two Shadows: Images of Spartans and Helots, in Powell and Hodkinson (1994), 87–126
——. The Grain Trade of Athens in the Fourth Century BC, in Parkins and Smith (1998) 102–128
——. An International Symposium? Ion of Chios fr 27 and the margins of the Delian League, in Electrum 2 (1998) 207–222
Whitehead, D. (ed) From Political Architecture to Stephanus Byzantius (Hist Einz 87, Stuttgart 1987)
Whitehead, I. The Periplous, Greece and Rome 34 (1987) 178–185
Wide, S.K.A. Lakonische Kulte (1893; rep Darmstadt 1973)

Wiesehöfer, J. Herodotus and Persian Foreign Policy, in Karageorghis and Taifacos (2004) 209–221
Willetts, R.F. Marriage and Kinship at Gortyn, PCPS 11 (1965) 50–61
Winter, F.E. Greek Fortifications (London 1971)
Wyatt, W.W. Persian Dead at Marathon, Historia 25 (1976) 483–4
Wycherley, R.E. The Stones of Athens (Princeton 1978)
Vérilhac, A.-M. and Vial, C. Le Mariage Grèc (Paris 1998)
Yalouris, E. Notes on the Topography of Chios, in Boardman and Vaphopoulou-Richardson (1986) 141–168
Yunis, H. (ed) Written Texts and The Rise of Literate Culture in Ancient Greece (Cambridge 2003)

INDEX ONE

HERODOTEAN WORDS AND PHRASES

Words or phrases which are particularly Herodotean, or unusual or rare in fifth and fourth century Attic usage: see p. 74.

ἀγνωμοσύνῃ 98
ἀεικές 348
ἁμαρτάδα 150
ἀντίξοοι 221
ἀντυποκρινόμενος 318
δρηπέτῃσι 100
ἔγκοτον 285
ἐδειμάτου 83
ἐθελοκακέοντες 108
ἔκνιζε 257
ἐνέχραυε 291
ἐνιππεῦσαι 358
ἐξαργυρώσαντα 316
ἐξώγκωτο 416
ἐπαρθέντες 433
ἐπὶ γέλωτι 271
ἐπιτιμέων 179
ἐποκείλαντες 109
ἐχηρώθη 306
ζωγρίῃ 149
καλλιστευούσας 156
καταβωσομένους 311
καταγινέων 293
καταμιαίνεσθαι 248
καταφυγγάνουσι 109
κατέσυραν 162
κατικέτευε 272
λάσθῃ 271
μεμετιμένος 79
μνηστῆρες 420
παρακληίουσι 252
παρενθήκην 114
περιέφθησαν 108
πρόκατε 438
προλελεσχηνευμένων 84
προναυμαχήσοντας 90
σαγηνεύουσι 155
ὑπείσαντες 361
ὑπεπλήσθησαν 450
ὑπεραιωρηθέντες 394
ὑπεράκρια 122
ὑπεραπελογέοντο 441
ὑποθερμοτέρου 177
ὑποκυψάσας 140
χειμερίσας 154
ὠδώθη 284

INDEX TWO

CITATIONS

Citations for purely literary or linguistic usage (except for Homeric echoes) and similar, are, with few exceptions, not noted. Nor are cross-references to other passages in book 6.

Greek

Achaeus *TGrF* 20 F9 **310**
Acusilaos *FGrH* 2 F25 **445**
Aelian
NA 2.50 **200**; 7.38 **395**; 8.26 **200**; 12.40 **361**; 14.23 **200**; 16.18 **201**
VH 1.15 **199**; 2.25 **613 n. 45**; 3.1 **510**; 6.1 **352**; 9.24 **421;** 9.32 **361**; 12.24 **421**; 13.17 **140**
fr 54 **120**; fr 74 **374**, **599 n. 9**
Aeneas Tacticus 40.2 **578 n. 17**
Aeschines *Tim* 6, 9–11 **145**; 26 **272**; 114 **272**; *Fals Leg* 14 **441**; 37 **547 n. 6**; 173, 174 **513 n. 2**; *Ctes* 65 **160**; 109 **580 n. 23**; 181 **599 n. 8**; 186 **598 n. 5**; **599 n. 8**; 209 **318**; 251 **566**
Aeschylus
Ag 64 **146**; 312–13 **370**; 315 **317**; 401–2 **426**; 717–36 **431**; 1351, 1529 **177**
Cho 450 **17 n. 67**; 631–6 **451**; 884, 889 **177**
Eum 275 **17 n. 67**; 658–70 **256**; 858–66, 976–87 **19 n. 61**
Pers 16 **401**; 285 **336**; 535 **401**; 765 **607 n. 23**; 824 **336**; 447–9 **395**; 929–30 **146**
PV 789 **17 n. 67**; 865–9 **227**
Sept 2–3, 62–3 **384**; 857 **321**
Supp **585**; 75 **208**; 365–9, 693–5, 942–4 **19 n. 61**
fr (Radt) 192 **122**; 281a **22 n. 67**; 387a **510 n. 11**
Aetius 5.18.1 **275**
Agathemeros *Geog Inform* 1.1 **5 n. 13**; 4.4 **341**
Agathocles *FGrH* 472 F6 **50 n. 175**
Alcidamas 3.25, 26 **237**
Alcmaeon 24 A13 DK **256**; B1 DK **31 n. 99**, **32 n. 102**, **26**; B4 **544 n. 32**
Alcman fr (Page) 1 **428**; 1.50–1, 172 **515 n. 6**; 5 = POxy 2390 **264**; frr 7, 14 **257**
Alexander Polyhistor *FGrH* 273 F13 **173**
Alexis frr 2, 93 K-A **368**
Anacreon fr 11b West **310**; 426 Page **158**
Anaxagoras 59 A107 DK **256**
Anaximander 12 A15 DK **31 n. 99**
Andocides 1.45 **291**; 1.83 **545 n. 34**; 1.92–3 **291**; 3.3 **633**, **634 n. 14**; 3.5, 7 513 n. 2
Androtion *FGrH* 324 F36 **467**; F44 **301**
Anecdota Bekkeriana 283 **467**
Anon *FGrH* 105 F2 **348**, **417**; F3 **342**
Anthologia Palatina 7.259, 256 **401**; 7.506 **201**; *Or* 32 **208**
Anticleides *FGrH* 140 F 21 **449**, **452**
Antiochus *FGrH* 555 F14 **273**
Antiphon 5 (*Herodes*) **366**
Apollodorus *FGrH* 244 F7b **2 n. 3**
Apollodorus Myth 1.147 **230**; 2.1 **301**; 2.172, 173, 177 **224**; 3.2–3 **208**; 3.3–4 **207**; 3.57 **224**
Apollonius Rhodius 1.298 **100**; 1.1063–5 **292**; 4.267 **208**
Archilochus *Test* 12 Laserre = 4 Tarditi **438**; fr 102 West **209**; fr 263 Laserre = 246 Tarditi **208**
Aristides, Aelian 1.107, 108 Behr **623 n. 68**; 16.237 Behr **497 n. 7**
Aristophanes
Ach 68–93 **5 n. 12**; 181 **599 n. 7**;

510 **42 n. 146**; 523–9 **5 n. 12**; 569 **379**; 696–7 **599 n. 7**; 682 **42 n. 146**; 1101 **87**
Av 188–9 **511**; 246–9 **600 n. 10**; 832 **447**; 1013 **216**; 1124–38 **5 n. 12**; 1174–7 **143**
Eccl 883, 918 **158**
Eq 43–4 **237**; 83–4 **292**; 225 **513 n. 2**; 660, 781 **599 n. 7**; 806 **318**; 1037 **431**; 1088 **122**; 1139 **129**; 1247 **87**; 1334 **599 n. 7**
Lys 202 **272**; 720–1 **370**; 1150–5 **407**; 1242–4 **428**
Nub 21–3 **515 n. 7**; 423 **599 n. 7**; 615–26 **612 n. 39**; 845 **566**; 986 **599 n. 7**; 1191–6 **237**; 1356 **221**
Pax 289–91 **338**; 406–15 **612 n. 39**; 444 **379**; 639 **129**
Plut 1002, 1075 **158**
Ran 101 **258**; 131 **370**; 554 **125**; 1471 **258**; 1515 **259**
Thesm 275 **258**; 560 **177**; 741 **259**; 775 **22 n. 67**
Vesp 170–1 **237**; 287 **129**; 300–1 **443**; 711 **599 n. 7**; 802 **169**; 1075–90 **599 n. 7**, **625 n. 72**; 1085 **625 n. 72**; 1259, 1427, 1438 **124**
fr 236 K-A **124**

Aristotle
Ath Pol 1 (Epit 2) **406**; 3.2 **40 n. 132**; 3.3 **231**; 3.5 **379**; 4.4. **363**, **365**; 5.2 **40 n. 135**; 7.1 **363**; 7.3 **362**; 7.4 **192**, **517 n. 15**, **521**; 8.3 **406**, **467**; 8.4 **363**, **365**; 9.1 **362**; 10.1–2 **594–5**; 12.4 **306**; 13.4 **606 n. 21**; 14–19 **166**, **178**; 15.2 **181**, **206**, **508 n. 8**; 16.10 **364**; 19 **407**; 19.3 **410–12**; 19.5 **447**; 21.5 **467**, **468**; 22.2 **358**, **379**, **380**; 22.3–4 **432**; 22.3 **457 n. 2**; 22.5 **379**, **605**; 22.6 **339**, **408**, **440**; 22.7 **338**, **434**, **551 n. 14**; 24.7 **513 n. 2**; 25.2 **362**, **365**; 25.3 **365**; 26.4 **429**; 27.3 **168**, **636 n. 16**; 29.3, 34.3, 35.2 **545 n. 34**; 43.3 **441**; 54.1 **244**; 54.7 **321**; 56.6 **242**, **566**; 57.1 **231**; 58 **379**; 58.1 **231**, **613 n. 46**; 59.6 **537 n. 13**; 61.3 **380**
De Mundo 393b4 **122**
EE 1216a16 **421**
EN 1134b21–2 **301**; 1138a4–14 **292**
Gen Anim 763b30–6 **256**; 772b10–11 **275**
Hist Anim 569b9–12 **600 n. 10**; 584b7–14 **275**
Oec 1345b14–46a5 **539**; 1347a5 **244**
Part An 695b10 **200**
Phys 203b6 **31 n. 99**
Poet 1415b1 **13**
Pol 1256b1–7 **72 n. 234**; 1270a26–9 **243**; 1270b12–13, 1271a3–5, 18 **222**; 1276b10–12 **135**; 1285a6–7 **242**; 1285a7–10 **242**; 1294b32–3 **371**; 1303a6–8 **576**; 1305b33 **396**; 1306b2–3 **292**; 1306b29–31 **273**; 1306b36–40 **129**; 1307a2–5 **282**; 1310b26–8 **422**, **590**; 1315b12–21 **417**; 1315b27–9 **324**; 1316a25–39 **133**; 1316a30–1 **418**; 1321b18–27 **244**; 1326b23 **396**
Rhet 1361a12–14 **135**; 1398b14 **265**; 1409a29 **6 n. 19**; 1411a6–11 **604**; 1411a16 **547 n. 3**; 1416a28–37 **258**
Virt Vit 1251a15 **150**
fr (Rose) 417, 419 **537 n. 13**; 480 **592 n. 9**, **593 n. 10**; 543 **275**; 576 **535 n. 7**; 583 **428**; 592 **283**; 611.10 **250**

Arrian *Anab* 2.21.6 **201**; 6.28.2, 7.6.3 **151**; *Ind* 29, 30 **201**; 41–2, 42.5 **122**
Arsenius 18.62d **429**
Artemidorus *Oneir* 1.31, 1.79, 2.67 **373**
Athenaeus 1.14d **427**; 1.19e **403**; 1.20e **427**; 1.21f–22a **428**; 2.36b **309**; 2.39c, 4.128c **426**; 4.134a–c **427**; 4.138d **554 n. 7**; 4.140c–141d **553 n. 4**; 4.141c **553 n. 2**; 4.141f **618 n. 56**; 4.173f **252**; 4.184f **427**; 6.245a **426**; 6.273b **421;** 9.394e **199**; 10.426b–427c **309**; 10.427a–b, 427c **310**; 12.515d **12 n. 38**; 12.519b **124**; 12.523c **421**; 12.524a **497 n. 7**; 12.534f–536d **158**; 12.535e **151**; 12.541b–c **421**; 13.556b–c **267**; 13.602c–d **292**; 14.621e–f **428**; 14.627a **116**; 14.628d **428**; 14.629a, 14.630e–613b, 14.630e **427**; 14.631c **428**; 14.631d **427**; 14.636a **98**; 15.695a–b, e **412**
Aul Gell *NA* 15.23 **2 n. 3**
Bacchylides *Epin* 1.125 **259**
Cadmus of Miletus *FGrH* 489 F1 **8 n. 28**

Callimachus *In Del* **343**
Callisthenes *FGrH* 124 F14a **120**; F30 **126**; F49 **548 n. 8**
Cassius Dio 37.52.2 **373**; 39.42.2–3 **474 nn 20**, **24**; 49.3.2 **475 n. 24**
Charax *FGrH* 103 F18 **454**; F58 **135**
Charon of Lampsacus *FGrH* 262 F1 **12 n. 38**; F3 = 687b F1 **199**; 7a **12 n. 38**; F7a **174**; F10 **15 n. 48**; **466 n. 1**
Cleidemos *FGrH* 323 F1 **42 n. 147**; F8 **467**, **468**; F16 **447**
Clemens Alex *Protrep* 3.44.3 **368**; *Strom* 4.19.120.3 **575 n. 11**
Conon *FGrH* 26 F1.19 **499 n. 12**; F1.38 **315**; F1.39 **38 n. 123**; F1.44 **316**, **580 n. 23**
Cratinus fr 506 K-A **357**
Critias 88 B2 DK **125**
Ctesias *FGrH* 688 F13.21–22 **338**, **398**, **486 n. 25**; F13.25 **398**; F14.33 **481 n. 8**
Demetrius of Argos *FGrH* 304 **576 n. 13**
Democritus 68 A33 DK **5 n. 15**
Demon *FGrH* 327 **599 n. 9**, **622 n. 67**; F19 **248**
Demosthenes 7.9–13 **537 n. 13**; 7.37 **160**; 9.15 **160**; 10.31 **137;** 13.32 **293**; 14.70 **599 n. 8**; 17.3 **178**; 18.92 **545 n. 34**; 18.262 **547 n. 6**; 18.313 **252**; 19.280 **412**; 19.303 **604**; 20.69–70 **412**; 20.135 **441**; 20.158 **233**; 21.14 **407**; 21.34–5 **237**; 21.60 **318**; 21.42–6 **366**; 21.144 **410**; 21.168 **470**; 21.170 **412**; 21.215 **368**; 23.165 **318**; 23.205 **633**, **634 n. 14**; 24.29 **237**; 24.146 **291**; 25.99 **237**; 28.15 **314**; 39.3–4 **255**; 40.10–11 **255**; 43.51 **263**; 46.26 **366**; 47.68–70 **255**; 48.9 **135**; 48.25 **318**; 49.67 **441**; 52 **314**; 58.43 **318**; 59.94 **339**, **598 n. 6**, **618 n. 58**
Derkylos of Argos *FGrH* 305 **576 n. 13**
Dicaearchus F 72W **553 n. 2**
Diodorus Siculus 1.37.3–4 **8 n. 28**; 4.1.3 **348**; 4.54–5 **230**; 4.78–79.3 **135**; 5.9.4–5 **478**; 7.16 **165**; 7.17 **224**, **590**; 8.7 **536 n. 10**; 8.19.1 **420**, **421**; 8.23.2 **299**; 8.24 **417**; 9.3 **497 n. 7**; 10.4 **292**; 10.19.6 **453**; 10.25.2–3 **75**, **61 n. 204**, **93**; 10.25.4 **80**, **191**, **193**, **271, 446**, **533**; 10.27 **338**, **606**; 10.30.1 **632 n. 8**; 11.3.3 **281**; 11.3.7 **481 n. 8**; 11.5.4–5, 15.9 **95**; 11.22 **399**; 11.48.1–2 **283**; 11.48.2 **129**, **132**; 11.50 **216**; 11.63.1–2 **145**; 11.63.1 **284**; 11.65 **587;** 11.65.2 **303**; 11.75.2, 77.1 **481 n. 8**; 11.88.6 **288**; 11.90 **125**; 12.3.2 **481 n. 8**; 12.8.2 **131**; 12.9–10 **124**; 12.10 **124**; 12.10.1 **118**; 12.12.2 **292**; 12.12.4 **145**; 12.35.4 **283**; 12.38–40 **631 n. 6**; 13.7.5 **505 n. 8**; 13.39.3–4 **476 n. 26**; 13.41.2–3 **200**; 13.46.6 **481 n. 8**; 13.69.2 **234**; 13.74.2 **160**; 13.75.1 **284**; 13.78.1 **477 n. 28**; 13.97.6 **380**; 13.99.3 **477 n. 28**; 13.106.1 **380**; 14.13.2–3 **269**; 14.72.3 **505 n. 8**; 15.55.4 **250**; 15.77.1 **288**; 15.93 **249**; 16.70.4–5, 72.5 **545 n. 34**; 16.76.5 **348**; 17 *Proem* **118**, **120**; 17.14.2 **138**; 17.48.1 **288**; 17.108 **420**; 17.110.4–5 **401**; 17.110.4 **404**; 18.8 **420**; 23.9.5 **135**; 28.7 **393**
Diogenes trag *TGrF* 45 F1 **98**
Diogenes Laertius 1.22 **41 n. 137**; 1.29 **497 n. 7**; 1.68 **265**; 1.72 **266**; 1.94 **560 n. 4**; 1.110 **406**; 1.117–22 **292**; 3.33 **401**; 9.1, 6 **50 n. 173**; 10.1 **168**
Diogenianus Gramm 6.30 **616**
Dionysius of Halicarnassus
AR 1.28 **326**; 1.72 **14 n. 45**; 4.25 **43 n. 152**
Thuc 5 **13n. 39**, **14 n. 45**; 5.5 **2 n. 3**
Duris *FGrH* 76 F64 **6 n. 19**
Empedocles 31 A 75 DK **275**
Ephemerides *FGrH* 117 **16 n. 51**
Ephoros *FGrH* 70 T8, 10 **348**; F31b **511**; F40 **171**; F56 **308**; F63 **398**, **573 n. 10**, **630**, **632**, **634–9**, **644–5**; F65f **503 n. 4**; F115 **590**, **592 n. 9**; F119, F149 **632 n. 7**; F180 **12 n. 38**; F187 **342**; F199 **200**; F206 **269**; F216 **273**
Epicharmus 23 B25 DK **319**
Etymologicum Magnum svv Εὐβοέκὸν νόμισμα, ὀβελίσκος **592 n. 9**, **593 n. 12**
Euagon *FGrH* 535 **15 n. 47**
Eubulus fr 89 K-A **125**

Euripides
Alc 445–51 **618 n. 56**
El 279, 1160 **177**; 1280–3 **5 n. 12**
Hel **5 n. 12**
Hec 1279 **177**
Her 777–83 **428**; 1159–62 **272**
Hipp **22 n. 67**; 612 **258**; 999 **318**
Ion **39 n. 132**; 492–506, 936–41 **370**; 1074–86 **428**; 1386 **317**; 1581–5 **40 n. 133**
IA **22 n. 67**
IT **5 n. 12**, **22 n. 67**
Med 613 **317**
Or 459–61 **272**; 552–3 **256**
Phoen 1134–40 **298**
Supp 403–5 **19 n. 61**; 615–16 **100**
Tro 84 **502**
Telephus **5 n. 12**
fr (Kannicht) 686 **193**; 819 **207**
Eusebius *Chron* Ol. 78.1, 82.2, 87.2 **579 n. 18**
Eusebius *Praep Ev* 6.9.8 **208**; 10.3 **16 n. 49**
Eustathius *Il* 1.69 **173**; 1.246 **429**; 2.23 **251**; *Od* 1.392, 2.247 **259**; *Dion* 525 **348**
Harpocration sv Ἀργᾶς **298**; Γαλψθός **208**; Καὶ γὰρ τὸ μήδενα **275**
Hecataeus *FGrH* 1 T11b, 12a, b **5 n. 13**; T22 **16 n. 49**; F6b **445**, **446**; F 4 **445**; F13, F14, F15 **446**; F16 **446**; F119 **446**; F127 **446**; F133 **446**; F148–9 **198**; F164 **172**; F166 **530 n. 16**; F243 **41 n. 137**; F324a **16 n. 49**
Hellanica Oxyrrhyncha, see under Papyri, POxy 842
Hellanicus *FGrH* 4 T1 **6 n. 21**; T3 **2 n. 3**; F4 **445**; F22 **167**; F36 **576 n. 13**; F59 **229**; F74–84 **14 n. 45**; F125 = 323a F23 **43** and **21**, **38 n. 123**, **127**; F 127 **171**; F163 **164**; F165 = 323a F8 **168**; F183 **342**; F197b **164**; 323a F24 **167**
Hercleides Lembus fr 38 Dilts, *FHG* II 217 **50 n. 175**; fr 373.10 Dilts **250**
Heraclides Ponticus fr 50 W **497 n. 7**
Heraclitus 22 A1 DK **49 n. 173**; 22 B129 DK **5 n. 15**
Hermippus (comic) fr 16 K-A **429**
Hermippus (of Smyrna) F12 W **266**; F87 W **267**
Herodian *Orth* **254**
Herodotus
Book 1 Proem **9–10**; 5–28 **44**; 5.3–4 **9**, **9 n. 30**; 5.4 **316**; 6–7 **45**; 6 **25 n. 78**, **39 n. 129**, **45**, **45 n. 159**, **46 n. 161**; 7.4 **347**, **348**; 8–14 **45**; 12.2 **8 n. 26**; 13.1 **165**; 14 **33**, **46**, **415**; 15–22 **45**; 15, 16–17 **45 n. 157**; 17–19 **95**; 18.3 **41 n. 138**; 19 **157**, **415**; 19.2 **165**; 25 **402**, **415**; 26 **39 n. 129**, **45**; 26.2 **46 n. 160**; 27 **45**, **157**; 30–33 **9 n. 30**, **18, 33 n. 107**; 30 **415**; 35.3 **105**; 45 **292**; 45.1 **146**; 45.2 **127**; 46 **34 n. 41**; 46.2 **95**; 47.1 **165**; 53–64 **18**; 55.2 **373**; 56–7 **285**, **447**; 56–8 **445**; 56 **20 n. 63**; 57 **449**; 57.2 **90**; 57.3 **151**; 59–61 **411**; 59 **174**; 59.2 **259**; 59.3 **265**, **606 n. 21**; 60.3 **26 n. 85**; 60.4–5 **395**; 61 **375**; 62.1 **602**; 64.1 **180**, **285**; 64.1–2 **468 n. 5**, **508 n. 8**; 64.3 **410**; 65–8 **20**; 65.1 **227**, **264**; 65.2 **227**; 66–8 **217**; 66 **561**, **578 n. 17**; 66.1 **507 n. 1**; 67.2 **227**; 67.5 **234**; 68.6 **217**; 69 **46 n. 161**, **215**, **316**; 69.4 **247**; 79 **33**; 80 **149**; 82–3 **215**; 84 **33**, **431**; 87–90 **185**; 91 **33**; 92 **46 n. 160**, **496 n. 4**; 92.2 **119**, **121**; 94.2 **15 n. 47**; 95–130 **229**; 98.3 **90**; 103–5 **527**; 103.1 **105**; 104.2 **309**; 105 **451**; 106.2 **115**; 107 **15 n. 47**, **372**; 108 **372**; 108–29 **149**; 110.1 **201**, **349**; 114–15 **451**; 114.2 **5 n. 12**; 125.3 **229**; 128.3 **152**; 130.1 **96**, **140**, **337**; 131–40 **26 n. 85**, **185**; 132.1 **237**; 133 **5 n. 12**; 137 **67 n. 222**; 137.1 **153**; 138.2 **199**; 139 **151**, **349**; 140.1 **248**; 141 **47**; 141.1 **39 n. 129**; 141.4 **44 n. 154**; 142 **42**; 142.1 **158**; 142.2 **41 n. 139**; 142.4 **38 n. 126**, **151**; 143–8 **37 n. 122**; 143 **46**; 143.2 **90**, **157**; 143.3 **43**; 144 **38 n. 128**, **43 n. 152**; 145 **289**; 146.2–3 **41 n. 137**; 147.2 **38 n. 127**, **61 n. 203**, **93**; 148.1 **43**; 149–51 **39 n. 129**; 149 **33–43**; 150.1 **134**; 150.2 **135**; 151–152.1 **39 n. 129**; 151 **40 n. 136**, **155**; 152–3 **44 n. 154**; 152 **215**, **316**; 152.3 **215**; 156 **337**; 157.3 **39**

n. 129, **95**; 158.1 **118**; 160 **84**, **144**; 160.4 **148**; 161–9 **46**; 162–77 **149**; 162 **113**, **337**; 163 **41 n. 139**; 163.2 **112**; 164 **130**; 164.3 **473 n. 15**; 165–7 **67 n. 220**; 165 **130**, **505**; 165.1 **507 n. 2**; 165.3 **135**; 166 **473 n. 15**, **478**; 167 **176**, **295**; 167.2 **165**; 167.4 **507 n. 2**; 168 **130**, **165**, **166**, **204**, **507 n. 1**; 169 **158**, **389**; 170 **44**; 170.1 **44 n. 154**, **135**; 171 **39 n. 129**; 171.1 **47 n. 164**; 172.1 **38 n. 122**; 173 **57 n. 193**; 173.1 **38 n. 122**; 174 **45 n. 159**; 174.4 **115**; 175 **34 n. 109**, **123**; 176.2 **135**; 178–91 **229**; 178 **192**; 179 **5 n. 12**; 179.2 **403**; 179.4 **402**; 184 **115**; 185.2 **399**; 186.1 **114**; 192.3 **594 n. 13**; 195.2 **291**; 198 **248**; 207.2 **9**; 209–10 **372**; 209.2 **105**

Book 2 1 **492**; 1.1 **105**; 6.3 **192**; 10.1 **277**; 14.2 **23**; 35 **5 n. 12**; 36.4 **151**; 38.2 **115**; 43–5 **229**; 44.4 **206**; 51 **445**; 53.2 **8 n. 26**; 69.2 **5 n. 12**; 80 **236**, **248**; 85 **248**; 86–7 **152**; 96 **402**; 107.1 **166**, **302**; 112–20 **5 n. 12**; 115.4 **169**; 116–17 **8 n. 26**; 124–5 **402**; 134.3 **8 n. 28**, **13 n. 39**; 142.2 **347**; 143 **15 n. 49**; 143.1 **13 n. 39**, **167**; 143.4 **167**; 145.4 **23**, **348**; 152 **71 n. 233**; 156.6 **8 n. 26**; 158.5 **94**; 159.3 **121**; 161.3 **32**; 164–8, 167 **252**; 171.2 **437**

Book 3 1 **39 n. 129**; 2, 12 **492**; 13–14 **47 n. 164**, **480**; 14–15 **47 n. 167**; 14.10 **127**; 15.2–3 **185**; 28.2 **115**; 33–8 **25**; 38 **26 n. 85**; 38.4 **8 n. 26**; 39 **215**, **535**; 39.3 **429**; 39.4 **478**; 44–7 **215**; 44 **466**; 44.2 **429**; 45 **478**; 45.3 **180**; 46–7 **316**; 47.1 **466**; 48 **156**, **328**; 54–6 **316**, **573 n. 8**; 54.2 **180**; 56 **147**; 57.2 **206**; 57.4 **433**; 58.4 **435**; 59 **36 n. 119**, **478**, **581 n. 23**; 59.1 **313**; 61–79 **47 n. 168**; 62 **337**; 64.3–4 **294**; 64.4 **373**; 65.3 **267**; 65.7 **451**; 67.2 **267**; 67.3 **251**, **541**; 68 **492**; 70.2 **434**; 73 **337**; 80–3 **21**, **27**, **29**, **47 n. 168**, **196**; 80.1, 2 **196**; 80.6, 83.1 **544**; 88 **105**, **492**; 89–94 **48**; 89 **47**, **538 n. 20**; 90–3 **485**; 92.1 **156**; 93.2 **83**, **98**; 93.3 **390**; 109.2 **35 n. 115**; 119 **5 n. 12**; 120 **162**; 120.3 **46 n. 162**; 124 **372**; 125.3 **118**, **152**; 126–7 **162**; 126–8 **69 n. 228**; 129–34 **48**; 129.2 **439**; 130 **138**; 134–8 **486 n. 22**; 134.5 **156**; 136.1, 137.4 **112**; 138 **138**; 138.2 **125**; 139–49 **138**; 139–47 **46 n. 162**; 141 **492**; 142.3 **291**, **544 n. 33**; 143 **180**; 145.3 **180**; 146.1 **256;** 147 **157**, **452**; 148 **215**, **222**; 149 **155**; 150 **34 n. 109**; 152 **113**; 159 **117**; 160.2 **105**

Book 4 1 **527**; 5.1–2 **105**; 11.1, 12.3 **309**; 18.1 **527 n. 9**; 26.2 **544 n. 31**; 27 **151**; 32 **8 n. 26**; 33–5 **343**; 43 **491**; 44 **486 n. 22**; 44.1 **8 n. 28**; 45.3 **105**; 53.6 **527 n. 9**; 66, 70 **310**; 71–2 **248**; 74–5 **309**; 77 **309**; 79.1 **32**; 80 **164**, **527 n. 10**; 87.1 **154**, **479**; 88 **15**, **138**; 89–97 **187**; 89 **39 n. 129**, **49**; 89.1 **47 n. 164**, **480**; 90.2 **160**; 92 **530 n. 16**; 93 **160**, **161**, **165**, **528**; 97–8 **49**; 97.4 **307**; 98.2 **325**; 101 **489**; 103.2 **152**; 119.1 **5 n. 12**; 119–20 **527**; 124 **187**, **530 n. 16**; 125 **527**; 126–32 **210**; 126 **96**; 133, 136 **49**, **528**; 137–8 **24**, **49**, **525**; 137 **542 n. 27**; 137.2 **544**; 138 **46 n. 42**, **57**, **542 n. 27**; 138.2 **96**; 139–49 **50**; 142 **158**; 143–4 **530**; 143.1 **493 n. 2**; 145 **449**; 146.3 **257**; 148 **170**; 148.4 **2**; 149 **257**; 150–2 **24 n. 76**; 153 **170**; 154 **258**; 164.2 **302**; 195.2–3 **403**; 201 **258**; 204 **83**, **98**, **121**

Book 5 1–27 **526 n. 8**, **528 n. 13**, **530**; 1–2 **187**, **198**; 2 **389**; 3.1 **164**; 9.5 **151**; 10–21 **187**; 11 **46 n. 162**, **50**, **57**, **138**; 12–17 **83**; 17.2 **205**; 18–21 **189**; 18.1 **166**, **189**; 19.2 **287**; 20.4 **190**; 21 **189**; 22.1 **332**; 22.2 **94**; 23.2 **48 n. 170**, **163**; 24 **52**; 25–35 **497**; 25–7 **493**; 26–7 **453**; 26 **187**; 26.1 **184**, **449**; 27 **50**, **54**; 28–9 **316**; 28 **158**; 28.1 **82**, **528 n. 8**; 29.1 **95**; 30–2 **53**; 30.1 **51 n. 179, 130**; 30.5 **480**;

30.6, 31.2 **54 n. 184**; 31.2, 4 **96**; 32 **55 n. 186**, **162**, **493**; 33–4 **53**; 33 **41 n. 137**; 33.1 **55**; 33.2 **53**; 34 **113**, **147**, **342**; 34.3 **55 n. 188**; 35 **53**; 35.1 **51 n. 176**; 35.2–3 **64**, **81**; 35.4 **68 n. 225**; 36 **53**, **533**; 36.1 **51 n. 179**, **56 n. 191**; 36.1, 4 **81**; 36.2–3 **57 n. 191**; 36.2 **13 n. 39**; 36.3 **116**, **121**; 37–8 **57**, **96**; 37 **56 n. 189**, **57**; 37.1 **41 n. 137**, **50 n. 175**; 37.2 **29**, **544 n. 33**; 38 **39 n. 129**; 38.1 **96**; 38.2 **59**; 39–48 **20**; 39–42 **219**; 39–40 **246**; 39.1 **424**; 39.2 **259**; 40–1 **265**; 40.2 **259**; 42–6 **507 n. 1**; 42.1 **290**, **424**, **566 n. 11**, **567**; 44–5 **24 n. 74**; 47.1 **332**; 47.2 **176**; 49–51 **53**, **59**; 49.1 **59 n. 197**; 49.3 **94**; 52–4 **489**; 52 **64**, **169**, **399**; 53 **192**; 54–5 **124**; 54 **5 n. 12**, **489**; 54.2 **458**; 55–89 **18**; 55–6 **406**; 55 **86**, **412**; 56 **431**; 57.1 **167**; 58–9 **15**; 62–5 **405**, **4071**; 62–3 **412**, **413**; 62 **86**; 62.2–63.1 **413**; 62.2 **359**, **410**; 62.3 **414**, **417**, **433**; 63–5 **216**; 63.1 **413**; 63.3–4 **358**; 64–5 **86**, **214**; 64.2 **447**; 65.3 **38 n. 123**, **412**; 66 **39 n. 132**; 66.2 **322**, **430**; 67–8 **6 n. 21**, **20**, **30 n. 96**, **420**; 69 **158**; 70–2 **216**; 70.2–71 **406**; 71 **23 n. 70**, **467**; 71.1 **272**, **332**; 72–3 **327**; 72.1 **286**, **411**; 72.4 **363**; 73 **127**, **154**; 73.1 **411**; 74–7 **547**; 74–5 **213**, **261**; 74.2 **378**; 75.1 **261**; 75.3 **233**; 77 **378**; 77.2 **129**, **327**, **377**, **508 n. 8**; 77.3 **96**, **352**; 77.4 **301**; 78 **30**; 78.1 **544**; 79–80 **547 n. 5**; 79.2 **363**; 80–1 **320**; 80 **322**; 81 **329**, **547**; 81.2 **536 n. 10**, **547 n. 3**; 81.3 **547**; 82.1 **451**; 82–9 **21 n. 66**, **547**; 82–8, 83.1 **329**; 85–6 **346**; 87 **167**; 89–90 **320**, **329**, **547**; 89.1 **547 n. 3**; 89.2 **547**, **548 n. 7**; 90–3 **216**; 90 **413**, **548**; 90.2 **241**; 91 **60 n. 199**; 92a1 **544**; 92b.3 **431**; 92d–e **225**; 92z–h **316**; 94.1 **430**; 94.2 **336**; 94.3 **26**; 96 **60 n. 199**, **336**, **357**; 97 **29**, **59 n. 195**, **98**; 97.1 **60 n. 199**; 97.2 **29 n. 92**, **433**; 97.3 **60**, **82**, **94**; 98–9 **56**; 98 **39 n. 129**, **56** and **n. 189**, **60**, **484**; 98.1 **63 n. 208**; 98.2 **56 n. 189**; 99–103 **53**; 99–100 **61**; 99.1 **15** and **n. 48**, **44**, **466 n. 1**; 100 **61**, **114**, **491**; 102 **15 n. 48**, **61**, **458**; 102.1 **61**, **157**, **459**, **485**; 102.2 **15**; 102.3 **8 n. 26**, **61**; 103–4 **458**; 103.2 **153**; 104 **54**, **573 n. 8**; 104.1 **61**; 105 **27**, **336**; 106–7 **27**, **65**, **67 n. 222**; 106.6 **81**; 107–8.1 **67**; 108–15 **54**, **458**; 108.1 **458**, **460 n. 6**; 108.2, **44 n. 155**, **61**, **90**; 109.3 **44 n. 155**, **90**, **104**; 110 **389**; 111.1 **396**; 112 **61**, **90**, **478**; 113 **389**, **573 n. 8**; 113.2 **8 n. 26**; 114 **176**, **373**; 115.2 **113**; 116–23 **54**, **62**, **340**, **458**, **485**; 116 **61**, **79**, **89**, **458**, **459**, **483 n. 10**, **489**; 117 **459**; 118–22 **140**; 120 **44**, **62 n. 205**, **389**; 121 **57 n. 193**, **123**, **140**; 123 **39 n. 129**, **82**, **89**, **91**, **461**, **491**; 124–6 **54**, **56** and **n. 189**, **79**, **458**; 124–5 **56 n. 189**; 124.1 **62**, **104**, **276**; 124.2 **66 n. 218**; 125 **13 n. 39**, **62**, **57 n. 191**, **66 n. 218**, **533**; 126 **79**, **165**; 126.2 **460**

Book 7 2 **492**; 3.3 **225**; 5 **203**, **491**; 5.2 **114**; 6 **337**, **497 n. 5**; 6.2 **281**; 7 **492**; 8b.3 **97, 339**; 9–10 **203**; 10b.1 **339**; 12, 14, 15.3 **372**; 21.2 **211**; 22 **220, 493**; 22.2 **199**; 25.2 **159**; 26, 32–3 **121**; 27–9 **483**; 32 **186**, **210**, **343**; 33 **440**; 35 **27 n. 86**; 37.1 **465 n. 12**; 39 **27 n. 86**; 40 **492**; 43 **157**; 50.2 **103**; 52.3 **291**; 58.2 **171**; 61–95 **389**; 61 **229**, **492**; 61.2–3 **229**; 62 **491**, **492**, **607 n. 23**; 64 **492**; 64.2 **390**; 66 **491**; 66.1 **435**; 67 **491**, **494**; 68 **492**; 69, 72 **492**; 73 **201**, **492**; 74 **340**; 75 **491**; 78 **492**; 79 **491**; 80 **83**; 82 **203**, **491**, **492**, **494**; 83.1 **435**, **483 n. 11**; 84–6 **390**; 88.1 **338**; 89–97 **479**; 89.1 **481 n. 8**; 92 **57 n. 193**; 95 **350**; 96 **477 n. 30**; 97 **211**, **492**; 98 **57 n. 193**, **542 n. 27**; 99 **2**, **542 n. 27**; 99.1 **2 n. 6**; 102 **28 n. 88**; 103.1 **241**; 105–6 **187**; 105 **542 n. 27**; 106 **188**, **347**; 108 **190**, **205**; 112 **205**; 115 **142**;

117 **176**; 118 **206**; 119.4 **135**; 120 **204**; 121 **494**; 123 **15 n. 48**; 129 **6 n. 21**, **32 n. 102**; 129.1 **503**; 129.4 **346**; 130.3 **281**; 131–3 **210**; 131–2 **186**, **343**; 132 **281**; 133–7 **3 n. 7**, **21**, **35 n. 116**, **212**, **550 n. 12**; 133 **212**, **337**; 133.1 **442**; 133.2 **212**; 134–6 **212**; 134.1 **252**; 134.2 **257**, **363**; 135–6 **434**; 137 **164**, **185**; 137.2 **308**; 137.3 **3 n. 7**, **212**; 138–9 **30**; 139 **210**; 140 **115**; 140.1 **270**; 141.3 **609 n. 31**; 144 **551 n. 14**; 144.2 **551**; 146–7 **95**, **185**; 147 **87**; 148–52 **582**; 148 **115**, **306**, **499 n. 12**, **571**, **577**, **525 n. 6**; 148.4–49.1 **582**; 149.2 **579 n. 19**; 150 **95**; 150.2 **229**; 151–2 **347**; 152.2 **127**; 154–5 **128**; 155.2 **129**; 156.2 **129**; 159 **215**, **217**; 161 **215**; 161.3 **371**; 163 **115**, **132**, **210**; 164 **129**, **132**, **542 n. 27**; 165 **112**, **132**, **285**; 166 **399**; 170.1 **505 n. 8**; 171.1 **114**; 178 **115**; 180 **223**; 181.2 **185**; 184.2 **471**, **479 n. 2**; 185.2 **202**; 188–9 **200**; 194.1–2 **153**; 194.1 **152**, **480 n. 4**; ; 196 **167**; 197 **292**; 200 **115**; 204 **224**, **263**; 206.1 **616 n. 53**; 207 **219**; 213–14 **281**; 213.3 **115**; 219.1 **388**; 220.4 **229**; 222 **118**, **285**; 224 **491**; 228.4 **8 n. 26**; 229.1 **249**; 233.2 **3**, **3 n. 7**; 234.2 **404**; 235–7 **3**, **4**; 235.2 **265**; 235.3 **247**; 236–7 **4 n. 9**; 238 **27 n. 86**, **250**; 238.1 **152**; 239 **59 n. 197**, **64**; 239.4 **280**

Book 8 1 **94**, **417**; 1.2 **356**; 2–3 **99**; 2 **215**; 3.1 **28 n. 88**; 4–5 **222**, **413**; 9 **475 n. 25**; 10.1 **477 n. 30**; 11 **472 n. 14**; 11.1 **106**; 11.3 **198**, **454**; 13–14 **502**; 13 **32 n. 104**; 17 **466**, **520 n. 28**; 18 **276**, **317**; 20 **497 n. 5**; 22.1 **60 n. 198**; 26 **28 n. 88**, **491**, **568 n. 7**; 29 **36 n. 119**; 32–3 **97**; 33 **344**; 37–9 **32 n. 104**; 37–8 **395**; 38 **384**, **396**; 40 **219**; 41 **34 n. 109**, **603 n. 16**; 42–9 **94**; 43 **417**; 44 **445**, **520 n. 28**; 44.1 **520 n. 28**; 44.2 **40**; 46 **551 n. 14**; 46.1 **329**; 46.2 **356**; 46.3–4 **350**; 46.4 **343**; 49 **219**; 51–5 **603 n. 16**; 51.1 **17 n. 56**; 52.1 **364**; 52.2 **337**; 53–6 **97**; 53.1 **360;** 57–64 **98**; 60a **382**; 64 **547 n. 5**; 65 **32 n. 104**, **214**, **395**; 65.6 **277**; 66 **350**; 71 **219**; 72 **616 n. 53**; 73.2 **247**; 77 **497 n. 5**; 77.1–2 **32 n. 102**; 77.1 **319**; 78–83 **98**; 83–4 **547 n. 5**; 84.2 **395**; 85.3 **138**, **139**, **151**, **542 n. 27**; 87–8 **2**; 87.1 **24 n. 75**, **106**; 89.1 **472 n. 14**; 89.2 **201**; 90 **27 n. 86**, **185**; 90.2 **198**, **350**; 92 **321**; 92.2 **221**; 94 **24 n. 73**, **107**; 94.3 **285**; 96 **497 n. 5**; 97.1 **112**; 98.2 **151**; 104–6 **84**; 104 **123**; 105–6 **156**; 106.1 **148**; 109.3 **97**; 112 **29**, **350**, **433**, **633**; 113.1 **465 n. 12**; 116–18 **573 n. 8**; 116 **142**; 117 **121**; 118 **27 n. 86**; 120 **204**; 121 **350**; 124.3 **234**; 129.2 **201**; 130.2 **481 n. 8**; 131 **224**, **263**; 131.2 **263**, **265**; 131.3 **440**; 132 **542 n. 27**; 132.2 **286**; 136 **189**; 136.1 **137**; 137 **590 n. 4**; 137.3 **34 n. 109**; 138 **290**; 140–4 **95**; 143–4 **27**, **28**, **30**

Book 9 2 **222**; 3, 5 **603 n. 16**; 7 **617**; 10 **232**, **404**; 12.1 **368**; 13.2 **97**; 15.3 **378**; 15.4 **278**; 17.2 **396**; 22 **633 n. 13**; 25.3 **378**; 26–7 **386**, **572 n. 7**; 26.5 **105**; 26.7 **283**; 27 **104**; 28 **404**, **520 n. 28**, **560 n. 5**; 28.2 **249**; 28.4 **587**; 28.5 **353**, **356**; 28.6 **609**; 29.1 **249**; 33 **332**; 35.2 **563 n. 6**, **564 n. 8**; 36 **388**; 37 **276**, **283**; 37.2 **291**; 39–52 **620 n. 62**; 39.2 **236**; 41 **222**, **388**; 43 **497 n. 5**; 45 **388**; 57.2 **327**; 58.1–2 **281**; 60 **100**; 61–2 **388** 62.2 **203**; 64.1 **105**; 65.2 **97**; 73–4 **333**; 73.3 3 **n. 7**; **4** and **n. 9**, **238**; 75 **205**, **332**, **333**; 76.2 **105**; 79 **152**; 82 **252**; 82.3 **554 n. 7**; 88 **278**; 90 **542 n. 27**; 90.1 **281**; 90.3 **285**; 91 **223**; 93–4 **143**, **451**; 93 **282**; 93.2 **441**; 93.3 **451**; 95 **267**; 97 **37 n. 122**, **38 n. 124**, **110**, **327**; 98.2–3 **281**; 99.3 **117**; 101.1 **327**; 101.3 **203**; 104 **117**; 106 **29**, **281**; 106.3 **40 n. 135**, **60 n. 198**; 108 **121**; 109 **483 n. 14**; 109.3 **137**; 110 **36 n. 119**;

111–13 **27 n. 86**; 114 **29**; 114.2 **440**; 116–22 **492**; 116.1 **485**; 119 **528**; 119.1 **164**; 120.3 **301**, **303**; 120.4 **440**
Hesiod
Ehoiae (M-W) frr 9, 10a **39 n. 132**; fr 160 **445**; fr 195 **273**
Op 219, 280–5, 320–6 **319**; 770 **237**
Theogn 231 **319**; 383–403, 775–806, 784–6, 786, 793–804 **289**
Hesychius sv ἀερία **208**; βρυδαλίχα **427**; δεικηλισταί **428**; δημοτελῆ ἱερά **238**; ἐντὸς ἑβδόμης **615 n. 49**; ἔπιπλα **135**; Ἑρμώνιος χάρις **453**; Ὀδωνίς **209**; Οὐ φροντὶς Ἱπποκλείδῃ **429**; ὑποζάκορος **436**; φούαξιρ, φοῦαι **254**
Hesychius Illustris *FGrH* 390 F1.3 **499 n. 12**
Hippocrates
Affect Int 48 **566 n. 11**
Airs Waters Places **6 n. 16**; 5 **252**; 12 **26 n. 84**, **158**; 16 **26 n. 84**, **158**
Arte 1 **6 n. 16**
De Fract **641 n. 29**
De Sem 6–8 **256**
Diaet 3.79 **309**
Diaet Sal 7 **425**
Haemorrh **403**
Morb 1.15 **425**; 3.10 **403**
Morb Pop I 2, 3, 5, 24–5 **103**; II 3.18 **566 n. 11**; III 3.17(7) **510**; VII 1.25 **566 n. 11**
Morb Sacr 1, 17, 18 **566 n. 11**
Mul Affect 1.34 **309**; 1.78, 2.130, 195, 200, 206 **403**
Nat Mul 30 **403**
Nat Puer 30 **259**
Oct Part 10 **259**, **275**; 12 **275**
Presbeutikos (*Ep* 27) **137**, **212**, **335**
Prisc Med 20 **6 n. 16**
Sept Part 2.2, 4.2, 5 **275**; 7 **259**; 8, 9.7 **275**
Ulc 22 **403**
Hipponax fr 28.2 W **211**, **480 n. 5**
Hippys of Rhegion *FGrH* 554 T1 **576 n. 13**
Homer
Il 1.60 **145**; 2.234 **29 n. 91**; 2.575 **39 n. 132**; 2.681 **445**; 2.700 **496 n. 4**; 2.755 **289**; 2.829 **174**; 3.60, 3.612 **177**; 4.182 **496 n. 4**; 5.63 **29 n. 91**; 5.484 **191**; 6.152 **25 n. 81**; 6.192 **224**; 6.201 **195**; 7.321 **236**; 7.467–71 **451**; 8.304 **205**; 8.369 **289**; 9.208 **310**; 10.173 **99**; 11.146 **391**; 11.393 **496 n. 4**; 11.604 **n. 91**; 11.777 **168**; 14.385 **496 n. 4**; 15.718–20 **391**; 16.816 **496 n. 4**; 17.520 **177**; 18.494 **427**; 18.496 **168**; 18.514–15 **503 n. 3**; 19.115–17 **260**; 20.404–5 **43**; 23.171 **361**
Od 2.14 **259**; 2.68 **272**; 3.170 **503 n. 3**; 3.442–9 **177**; 4.65 **236**; 5.185 **289**; 5.234 **177**; 6.229–35 **257**; 8.528 **391**; 10.104 **293**; 11.254 **43**; 11.363–6 **14 n. 44**; 12.96 **200**; 13.60 **145**; 13.429–38 **257**; 14.34 **168**; 14.125–9 **71 n. 233**; 158 **426**; 257–65 **71 n. 233**; 16.12 **168**; 16.172–6, 454–7 **257**; 17.155 **426**; 17.425–34 **71 n. 233**; 17.541 **373**; 18.239 **274**; 19.98–9 **273**; 19.116–19 **274**; 19.396 **258**; 20.156 **237**; 22.334–9 **272**; 23.49 **274**; 23.145 **427**; 23.156–62 **257**; 24.1–14 **289**; 24.230 **282**
Hymni Homerici 3 (*Apollo*) 172 **503 n. 3**
Hyperides *Eux* 6 **545 n. 34**
Iamblichus *Vit Pyth* 28.152 **274**
Iliad Parva Arg 1, 2 Bernabé **438**
Ion of Chios fr 27 West **277**
Isaeus *Apoll* 16 **272**; *Ciron* 35 **135**; *Dic* 43 **515 n. 7**; *Euphil* 9 **255**; *Hag* 41 **515 n. 7**
Isocrates *Antidos* 232 **407**, **410**; 306 **599 n. 8**; *Archidam* 99 **564 n. 8**; *Areopag* 59 **288**; *Bigis* 20 **545 n. 34**; 25 **407**, **410**, **416**; 46 **234**; *Bus* 18 **275**; *Euth* **314**; 2 **135**; *Evag* 56–7 **412**; *Hel Enc* 63 **416**; *Pace* 9 **175**; 38 **599 n. 8**; *Panath* 87 **610 n. 34**; 195 **599 n. 8**; *Paneg* 91 **599 n. 8**; *Trap* **314**
Libanius *Decl* 11.23, 24–6, 25, 32 **631 n. 3**
Longinus *Subl* 24 **126**
Lucian *Amores* 30 **575 n. 11**; *Apol* 15 **429**; *Astr* 25 **615 n. 50**; *Bis Acc* 9.12, *Deor Dial* 22.3, *Philopseud* 3 **370**; *Pro Laps* 3 **629**; *Salt* 22, 25 **427**; 78 **428**; Ps-Lucian *Philopat* 29 **429**
Lycophron *Alex* 680 **289**

Lycurgus *Leocr* 20 **272**; 104 **599 n. 8**; 117 **340**; fr 1 **235**

Lysanias of Mallos *FGrH* 426 F1 **60 n. 200**, **92**, **478**

Lysias 2.20–1 **599 n. 8**; 2.21 **611 n. 36**; 2.26 **368**, **610 n. 34**; 6.54 **436**; 8.10 **515 n. 7**; 14.26 **160**; 14.28 **259**; 21.1–5 **443**; 21.5 **549**; 29.6–7 **495 n. 1**; 32.1 **590 n. 5**; 32.4 **280**; 32.28 **443**

fr 9.1–3 **237**

Machon fr 11.153–4 Gow **259**

Marcellinus *Vit Thuc* 3 **167**; 17 **361**

Menander

Dis Exap fr 5 K-A **436**

Dyscolus 115 **244**

Epitrepontes, *Hecyra* **260**

Leukadia frr 1, 5 K-A **436**

Samia 628–9 **98**

fr (K-A) 266 **368**; 307 **259**

Metrodorus of Lampsacus fr 4 Körte **168**

Mimnermus fr 9 Page **37 n. 122**

Mnesiepes fr 16–57 **438**

Neanthes *FGrH* 84 F16 **292**

Nicolas of Damascus *FGrH* 90 F35 **589**; F44 **10 n. 32**; F47 **445**; F58.3 **324**, **325**; F61 **418**; 61.2 **419**; 61.5 **419**

Oenomaus of Gadara fr 14 **208**

Parmenides 28 A54, B18 DK **256**

Parthenius *Narr Amat* 10.4, 31.2 **292**

Pausanias

Book 1 3.2–3, 8.5 **412**; 13.7 **571 n. 2**; 14.4 **597 n. 2**; 15.3–4 **598**; 16.3 **118**, **120**; 18.3 **360**; 28.2 **597 n. 2**; 28.4 **368**, **615 n. 50**; 29.4 **332**; 31.1 **327**; 32.3 **395**, **597 n. 2**, **609**; 32.4–5 **374**; 32.5–6 **601**; 32.5 **598**; 32.6 **339**; 32.7 **370**; 35.2 **168**; 36.1 **395**; 36.3 **293**, **510**; 38.8 **375**; 42.6 **327**; 44.13 **232**

Book 2 5.6 **39 n. 132**; 6.4 **420**; 9.1 **270**; 10.5 **120**; 16.1 **301**; 18.2 **315**; 18.9 **412**; 19.2 **589**; 20.7–8 **575**; 20.10 **495 n. 319**; 22.6 **301**; 24.7 **295**, **591**; 25.7 **587**; 29–30 **327**; 29.5 **329**; 30.3–4 **232**; 32.8 **327**; 36.4 **589 n. 517**; 36.6–7 **295**

Book 3 1.5 **224**; 1.6 **224**; 1.7 **227**; 3.1–3 **227**; 3.3 **227**, **250**; 4.1 **291**, **298**, **291**, **306**, **331**, **571**; 4.2 **293**; 4.6 **269**; 3.14.9 **257**; 5.2 **268**; 5.6 **283**; 6.2 **268**; 7.1–8 **263**; 7.5 **591 n. 8**; 7.7. **256, 257**, **260**; 7.8 **214**; 7.9 **281**; 8.1 **279–80**; 11.2 **270**; 11.8 **563 n. 6**; 11.9 **42 n. 146**, **232**, **271**; 11.11 **232**; 12.7 **212**; 12.11, 13.6, 8 **232**; 14.3 **580 n. 23**; 14.5 **232**; 16.6 **274**; 16.9 **254**; 17.4, 6, 9 **232**; 19.7–9 **257**

Book 4 3.3 **224**; 4–5 **224**; 4.2–3 **250**; 4.5–8 **536 n. 10**; 5.2 **332**; 7.6 **573 n. 8**; 7.7 **227**; 8.1 **389**; 144–5 **247**, **249**; 14.5 **248**; 17.1 **573 n. 17**; 17.10–21 **578 n. 8**; 18.4–7 **212**; 20.6 **142**; 23.4–10 **133**; 23.4–6 **66 n. 218**; 23.6 **507 n. 4**; 23.8 **478**; 25.2 **611 n. 36**; 25.5 **609 n. 26**; 26.3 **373**; 30.3 **224**; 33.6 **505 n. 8**; 35.2 **589 n. 1**

Book 5 1.11 **224**; 3.5–6 **254**; 7.6–8 **590 n. 5**; 8.7 **513**; 25.7 **510**; 25.12 **207**; 27.1–2 **563 n. 7**

Book 6 1.6 **279–80**; 2.2 **359**; 4.11 **359**; 6.4, 11.2 **253**; 13.1 **359**; 16.5 **368**; 19.1–2 **418**; 19.6 **164**; 22.2 **423**, **589**, **590**

Book 7 1.1, 1.2 **39 n. 132**; 1.8 **217**; 2.1 **38 n.** , **124**, **39 n 132**; 2.2 **40 n. 133**, **449**; 2.3, 2.5 **37 n. 122**, **41 n. 139**; 3.1–2 **508 n. 5**; 4.5 **134**; 5.3 **505 n. 10**; 15.4 **609**

Book 8 17.6 **288–90**, **565 n. 9**; 19.4–6 **290**; 22.3 **295**; 27.1 **308**; 46.3 **120**; 48.4–5 **578 n. 17**; 54.6 **368**

Book 9 2.3 **510 n. 11**; 10.2 **120**; 16.5 **327**; 40.8 **590**

Book 10 5.2 **510 n. 11**; 5.13 **407**; 7.7 **418**; 11.5 **597 n. 2**; 16.3 **350**; 17 **66 n. 219**; 20.2 **609 n. 26**; 28.6 **397**; 33.12 **327**; 35.5 **510 n. 11**

Phalaris *Epist* 92 **173**

Pherecydes *FGrH* 3 F2 **167**; F42 **207**; F59 **167**; F105 **508 n. 5**; F154 **37 n. 122**

Philochorus *FGrH* 328 F13 **39 n. 132**; F26 **168**; F48 **321**; F75 **606 n. 22**; F99 **447**, **452**; F100, 101 **445, 449**; F115 **407**, **410**

Philostratus *Vit Apoll* 1.21, 23–4 **400**

Phlegon *FGrH* 257 F1 **224**
Photius *Bibl* 186.138a **38 n. 123**, **315**; 186.139b **316**; *Lex* sv Βραυρωνία **450**Phrynichus *TGrF* 3 F4a–b **126**
Pindar
Ol 5.7–8 **359**; 5.15 **515 n. 364**; 9.99 **601 n. 544**; 10.2–3 **22 n. 67**; 10.85–7 **319**; 13.10 **601 n. 544**
Pyth 1.32 **359**; 1.90 **515 n. 364**; 4.71–8 **508 n. 5**; 4.251–4 **451**; 5.106 **515 n. 364**; 7.9 **407**; 7.10–12 **417**; 8.79 **601**, **601 n. 544**
Nem 5.48–9 **552 n. 16**; 10.1–15 **227**; 41 **513 n. 3**
Isth 1.42 **515 n. 364**; 3.12–13 **359**; 3/4.48 (4.29) **515 n. 364**
Dith fr 75 Maehler (63 Bowra) **257**
Plato
Alc I 121a **167**; 122d **513 n. 3**; 123e **280**
Apol 37c **150**
Crit 43d **628**
Gorg 516d–e **630**; 516d **442**
Leg 633b **271**; 642d **406**, **503 n. 2**; 654a **427**; 683d **224**; 689d **201**; 692d **562**; 698c **339**, **401**, **610**; 698d–e **562**; 698d **356**, **605**, **613 n. 44**; 698e **398**, **562**; 816b **427**; 944c **150**
Menex 239a **544 n. 33**; 240a–b **401**; 240a **610**; 240b **356**; 240c **605**, **613 n. 44**
Phd 58b **321**; 109c **503 n.**; 117a **272**
Phaedr 230b **169**; 237a **272**
Pol 294e–295a **545 n. 34**
Prot 315a **368**; 335e **368**; 342c **137**; 343a **265**
Rep 328a **370**; 359c–360b **10 n. 32**; 363d **319**; 536b **426**; 561e **544 n. 33**
Symp 175d **169**
Tim 50d, 91d **256**
Ep 9, 10 **401**
Plato Com *PCG* 7 F189 **200**
Plutarch
Agesilaus 1.1 **280**; 1.2 **227**; 4.1 **280**; 4.3 **259**; 5.1 **557**; 7.6–7 **242**; 20.1 **279**; 23–4 **111**; 29 **271**; 40 **250**; 40.3 **249**
Agis 11.2 **275**; 11.4–5 **546 n. 1**; 19.6, 21.2 **236**
Alexander 9.12, 56.1 **261**
Antonius 27.4–5 **151**
Alcibiades 22.4 **233**; 33.3 **234**
Aristides 2.1 **338**; 5 **358**; 5.1 **618 n. 58**; 5.4 **386**, **627**, **627 n. 75**; 5.5 **626–8**; 9.2 **492**; 19.7 **612 nn 39**, **41**; 20.4–5 **371**; 26.5 **632 n. 8**
Caesar 32.4 **373**
Camillus 19.3 **612 n. 41**
Cato Major 5.4 **361**
Cimon 4.4 **360**, **632 n. 8**; 4.7 **410**; 8.1–2 **550**; 14.3 **365**; 16.4–5 **145**
Cleomenes 1.1 **243**; 14.1, 30.1 **545 n. 34**
Comp Lyc Num 2.4 **252**
Demetrius 8.7 **545 n. 34**
Lycurgus 1–2 **263**; 6.1 **232**; 7.5 **246**; 8.3 **227**; 8.4 **192**; 12.2–3 **239**; 12.2 **553 n. 2**; 12.6 **555**; 15.3–5 **267**; 15.3 **582 n. 26**; 15.4 **243**; 15.7 **245**; 16–17 **260**; 16 **226**; 20.6 **236**; 22.4 **232**; 26.1 **241**; 27.1–2 **247**; 27.2 **250**; 27.6 **275**; 28.4 **554 n. 8**
Lysander 12.4 **439**; 19.4, 20.3–6 **305**; 22.2 **245**; 22.3–6 **260**; 25.3 **269**; 29.6–7 **495 n. 1**
Nicias 3.3 **145**; 28.2 **512 n. 38**
Otho 17.1 **439**
Pelopidas 5 **111**; 21.3 **292**; 34 **266**
Pericles 8.7 **547 n. 3**; 10.5 **345**; 23.4 **118**, **352**; 30.2 **293**
Philopoemen 18.4–21.2 **292**
Pyrrhus 1.2 **224**; 34 **571 n. 2**
Solon 1.3 **648**; 9.3 **468**; 10 **168**; 10.1 **376**; 12 **406**; 12.1 **328**; 12.8 **248**; 15.3–4 **595**; 15.7 **408**; 23.3–4 **517 n. 16**
Themistocles 3.5 **597 n. 2**; 4.1, 3 **551 n. 14**; 5.5 **127**; 6 **212**; 10.5 **145**; 13.2 **492**; 15.1 **395**; 20 **281**, **585**; 20.1–2 **281**
Theseus 6.9 **597 n. 2**; 27.3 **613 n. 45**; 35.5 **598**
Quo Adul 35f **265**
Sept Sap 153f **477**
Apophth Reg 172 f **52 n. 180**
Apophth Lac 212b **279**; 218b **554 n. 8**; 223a–224b **558**; 223a–b **294**, **558 n. 2**; 223b **575 n. 11**; 227a **240**; 237d **252**; 238d **247**
Mul Virt 244d–f **505 n. 10**; 245c **499 n. 12**; 245c–f **575**; 247a–f

449, **452, 445**; 255a–e **174**
QR 277b–c, *QG* 292b **283**; 292e–f **548 n. 8**; 293c **510**; 295f–296b **535 n. 16**; 296b **449, 452**, **454**; 298c **316**
Paral Min 305b **599 n. 9**, **609 n. 27**, **611 n. 36**, **618 n. 58**; 305c **359**, **392**, **395**
Alex Magn 340c **499 n. 12**
Glor Ath 347c–d **395**; 347c **629**; 347d **391**; 349f **612 n. 41**; 350e **610 n. 34**
E ap Delph 396c **499 n. 12**
Tranq Anim 470f **517 n. 16**
De Ser Num 556d **315**; 557b **120**
QC 628d–e **386**; 628e **604**; 676a **174**; 747a–e **427**
An Seni 790f–791a **338**
De Vit Aer 828a **237**
Praec Ger 814b **126**
Vit Dec Or 839c **441**
Mal Her 859c–d **215**, **316**; 859d **281**; 860d **413**; 861a–d **60 n. 200**; 861c–d **15 n. 48**, **466 n. 1**; 861e **615**; 861f **612 n. 41**; 862a **368**; 862c **392**; 862e **394**; 864f **278**; 867b **429**; 869a–b **342**
fr 84 Sandbach **477**
[Ps-]Plut *Fluv* 9.1 **508 n. 6**; 16.1 **165**
Polemon 1.10 **392**
Pollux 1.108 **388**, **468**; 1.130, 3.83 **580 n. 22**; 3.156 **260**; 8.108 **467**; 9.83 **592 n. 9**; 10.10 **135**; 10.179 **592 n. 9**
Polyaenus *Strat* 1.14 **300**; 3.9.30 **244**; 5.1 **111**; 6.45 **52 n. 181**; 8.33 **575 n. 11**
Polybius 3.95 **475 n. 25**; 4.3–6 **324**; 4.4.3 **192**; 4.36.5 **505 n. 8**; 4.38 **87**; 5.10.8 **157**; 5.103.4 **503**; 6.39.13–14 **516**; 6.11 **272**; 6.45.3 **192**; 8.21.4 **152**; 9.26a.1 **192**; 11.11.5 **244**; 12.66.8 **246**; 12.68.8 **324**; 16.4.8–14 **477 n. 28**; 16.4.14–15 **475 n. 24**; 18.4.7–5.3 **324;** 31.22.4 **136**
Protagoras 80 B4 DK **31 n. 99**
Ps-Herodotus: see Stobaeus
Ptolemy *Geog* 3.11.9 **503**
Sappho fr 16.1 L-P **45 n. 159**
Scholia on
Ael Arist (Dind) iii 79 **449, 451**; 126 **359**, **391**, **392**, **396**, **611 n. 36**; 531–2 **646**; 551 **509 n. 9**; 566 **598 n. 5**; 572 **646**; 677–8 **647**; 691 **647**
Aesch *Eum* 12–13 **511 n. 14**; *PV* **116**; *Sept* 857 **321**
Ap Rh 1.308 **508 n. 5**; 1.932–3 **174**; 1.1355–7c **224**
Ar *Ach* 84 **615 n. 50**; 146 **38 n. 127**; 243a **375**; 510, 682 **42 n. 146**; *Av* 283 **409**; 873 **168**; 1541 **467**; *Eq* 262 **171**; 445 **406**; 600 **613 n. 45**; 627 **513 n. 2**; 781 **599 n. 9**, **609 n. 27**; *Lys* 273 **293**, **363**; 1032 **600 n. 10**, **609 n. 29**; *Nub* 540 **427**; 986 **611 n. 36**; 1356 **221**; *Plut* 1126 **237**; *Ran* 131 **370**
Arist *EN* 1134b21–2 **301**; *Pol* 1289b33–40, 1321a10–13 **514 n. 5**
Dem 21.14 **407**; 21.164 **380**; 22.13 **597 n. 2**
Dion Perieg 428 **5 n. 13**
Eur *Med* 613 **317**; *Ph* 5 **208**
Hes *Op* 650–2 **477**
Hom *Il* 10.429 **445**
Pind *Pyth* 5.10b **254–5**; 7 inscr **416**; 7.9 **407**; 12.39 **145**; *Nem* 9 inscr **417**
Plat *Leg* 630e **242**
Soph *OT* 733 **510 n. 11**
Theocr 16.36 **424**
Thuc 1.49.3, 2.89.8 **473 n. 16**; 5.54 **237**; 5.82.2 **271**; 7.36.4 **473 n. 16**
Scolia *PMG* 893–6, 907 **412**; 893, 896 **544**
Scylax *FGrH* 709 **15 n. 47**;
Ps-Scylax (*GGM* 1.15–96) **8 n. 28**; 67.15–16 **162**; 67.26 **172**; 67.27 **171**; 67.28 **172**; 67.29–30, 31–2 **159**
[Ps-]Scymnus 220–1 **452**; 701–2, 711, 711–2 **171**; 705, 706, 707–8 **172**; 738–42 **161**
Simonides fr 2 Page **221**; fr 519a Campbell, S319–86 Page **264**; *Epig* V Page **597 n. 2**; XXI Page **597 n. 3**; XXV Page **146**
Socrates of Argos *FGrH* 310 F6 **575**, **576**
Solon frr (West) 4a–c **40 n. 135**, **319**, **384**, **508 n. 8**; 13.7–10, 13 **319**; 36.25 **306**

Sophocles
Ajax 245 **272**; 485–524 **262**; 539 **272**; 695 **395**
Ant 125 **298**; 904–20 **5 n. 12**; 1231–43 **292**
El 99 **177**
OC 337–45 **5 n. 12**
OT 221 **317**
Trach 47, 157, 683 **22 n. 67**
fr (Radt) 270 **445**; 339 **318**; 520 **193**
Sosibios, *FGrH* 595 **571 n.1**
Sosylos *FGrH* 176 F1 **475 n. 24**
Steph Byz sv Ἀνθάνα **558**; Δάρδανος **208**; Γαληψός **208**; Γυμνήσιοι **580 n. 22**; Δαύνιον **159**; Θάσος **207–8**; Καλλίπολις **173**; Κραννών **424**; Νινόη **445**; Νώνακρις **289**; Πάρος **438**, **630**, **644**; Τίτορμος **421**; Χαλδαῖοι **229;** Χίος **580 n. 22**
Stobaeus *Anth* 3.1.172 **266**; 3.27.14, 3.28.21 (Ps-Hdt) **315**
Strabo 1.1.11 **5 n. 13**; 1.2.27 **122**; 1.3.16 **42 n. 143**; 4.1.4 **507 n. 346**; 5.2.4 **429**, **449**; 5.3.7 **244**; 5.4.13 **368;** 6.1.6 **132–3**, **507 n. 346**; 6.1.12, 13 **124**; 6.1.14 **421**; 6.2.3 **130**; 6.2.6 **135**, **137**; 6.2.9 **295**; 6.3.2 **135**; 7.5.8 **403**; 7.6.1 **160**, **164**, **530 n. 402**; 7.7.8, 9 **201**; 7 fr 51 **171**, **172**; 7 fr 53 **172**; 7 fr 55 **173**; 7a 1.14 **424**; 8.3.2 **503 n. 335**; 8.3.33 **590**, **592 n. 525**; 8.6.8 **295**; 8.6.10 **303**; 8.6.11 **308**; 8.6.14 **329**; 8.7.2 **43 n. 148**; 8.8.4 **290**, **295**; 9.2.4 **632 n. 7**; 9.2.7 **398**; 9.10.1 **505 n. 8**; 9.2.11, 9.3.11–12 **511**; 9.37.3 **37 n. 122**; 10.1.2 **502**; 10.1.10 **354**, **356**, **401**; 10.4.17 **632 n. 7**; 10.4.18 **234**; 10.5.2 **343**; 10.5.13 **341**, **342**; 11.11.4, **120**; 12.3.20 **201**; 13.1.3 **40 n. 136**; 13.1. 8 **173**; 13.1.15 **174**; 13.1.18 **173**; 13.1.42 **45 n. 159**; 13.1.45 **505 n. 8**; 13.1.51 **148**; 13.1.52 **505 n. 8**; 13.1.59 **140**; 13.1.67 **148**; 13.4.12 **38 n. 126**; 14.1.3 **37 n. 122**, **49 n. 173**; 14.1.4–6 **37 n. 122**; 14.1.4 **37 n. 122**; 14.1.5 **61 n. 203**, **118**, **119**, **120**; 14.1.7 **126**; 14.1.38 **38 n. 126**; 14.1.40 **122**; 14.2.1 **38 n. 126**; 14.2.23 **38 n. 126**, **510**; 15.3.5 **122**; 16.1.9, 15 **403**; 16.1.25 **401**; 16.2.21 **503 n. 335**; 17.1.43 **120**
Suda sv Ἀλίπλαγκτος **395**; Ἀργάς **298**; Ἀπατουρία **37 n. 123**; Ἀρχαιρεσία **251**; Διεξιφίσω **339**, **600 n. 9**, **609 n. 27**; Διέκπλοι **473 n. 16**; Δίκην **173**; Ἑλλάνικος **6 n. 21**; Ἐντὸς ἑβδόμης **615 n. 49**; Ἐπίκληρος (I) **242**; Ἑρμώνιος χάρις **453**; Εὐγενέστερος Κόδρου **38 n. 123**; Ἡρόδοτος **2 n. 6**; Θεωρίς **321**; Ἱππίας (I) **336**, **339**, **368**, **600 n. 9**; (II) 2**18**, **336**, **368**, **369**, **370**, **374**, **396**, **600 n. 9**, **609 nn. 27**, **32**; **610 n. 34**, **611 n. 36**; Καλλίμαχος **391**; Οὐ φροντὶς Ἱπποκλείδῃ **428**; Νινόη **445**; Πανσελήνῳ **339**; Πανύασις **2 n. 6**; Περιπλεὶν **473 n. 16**; Πολὸζηλοξ **396**; Πύθια καὶ Δήλια **344**; Στάδιον **370**; Ταίναρον **42 n. 146**; Ταῦτά σοι **343**; Τελέσιλλα **495 n. 2**, **575 n. 11**; Ὑμεῖς ὦ Μεγαρεῖς **324**, **478**; Φιλιππίδης **370**; Φρύνιχος **126**; Χίλων **266**; Χωρὶς ἱππεῖς **599 n. 9**, **609**, **621–3**
Telesilla *PMG* 719–726 **579 n. 18**
Theocritus 18.48 **257**
Theognis 495 **426**; 557 **99**; 1103–4 **158**
Theophrastus
Char 4.9 **309;** 6.9 **87**; 30.11 **592 n. 9**, **593 n. 10**
HP 3.9.5 **174**; 4.7.2 **200**; 5.7.1–3 **174**; 9.13.1 **600 n. 10**
Sign (fr 6 W) 24 **232**
fr 160 W (= 213b F-S) **289**
Theopompos *FGrH* 115 F69 **561**; F80 **510**; F291 **152**; F393 **224**, **590**
Thucydides
Book 1 1–6 **94**; 2 **348**; 2.5–6 **60 n. 198**; 4–12 **71**; 4.16 **553 n. 6**; 5–6 **324**; 5.3–6.2 **169**; 6.3 **60 n. 198**; 7 **322**; 10.2 **223**; 12.3 **228**; 12.4 **60 n. 198**; 13.2 **324**, **325**; 13.3 **466**; 13.4 **478**; 13.6 **478**; 14.1 **205**; 14.3 **94**, **323**, **467**; 18.1 **227**; 18.2 **94**; 20.3 **5 n. 12**, **246**; 23.2 **94**; 23.3 **346**; 23.6 **36 n. 117**; 24 **94**; 24.1 **25 n. 81**; 26.5 **547 n. 6**; 28 **94**; 29.1 **547 n. 6**; 29.5 **313**; 31.1 **476 n. 26**; 41.2 **324**, **552 n. 16**;

47 **94**; 49 **475 n. 24**; 50 **94**; 56–7 **285**; 61.1 **380**; 64–5 **147**; 77.1 **537 n. 13**; 89.3 **602 n. 15**; 90–2 **585**; 93.2 **602 n. 15**; 95 **281**; 95.1 **40 n. 135**; 97.2 **5 n. 12**; 98.4 **313**, **634**; 100 **203**; 100.2 **205**; 100.3 **333**; 101.2 **346**; 102 **573 n. 8**; 103–6 **324**; 105 **326**; 107.3 **143**; 108.4 **326**; 115–17 **535 n. 8**; 116.1 **380**; 126–7 **406**; 126.2 **406**, **408**; 126.12 **558**; 128.1 **346**, **563 n. 6**; 129.1 **162**, **493**; 130 **161**; 131.2 **236**; 132–3 **305**; 132–4 **253**; 134.4 **212**; 136.3 **272**; 137–9 **138**; 138.1 **151**; 138.4 **292**; 142.5–7 **476 n. 26**; 144.2 **216**, **545 n. 34**; 146 **245**

Book 2 1 **245**; 2–6 **3**; 4 **302**; 4.2 **578 n. 17**; 4.4 **177**; 8.3 **345**; 13.8 **513 n. 2**; 15.1–2 **606 n. 22**; 15.5 **448**; 17.1 **447**; 25.3 **503 n. 4**; 27 **3**, **326**, **327**; 28 **346**; 39.1 **216**; 42.3 **424**; 45.2 **578 n. 17**; 56.2 **211**; 66.2 **270**; 67.1 **3 n. 7**; 71.2 **545 n. 34**; 72.3 **314**; 72.6 **249**; 75.4 **609 n. 31**; 77 **302**, **403**; 77.3 **302**; 83.5 **475 n. 24**; 84.2–3 **474 n. 20**; 84.3 **476 n. 26**; 85.5–6 **505 n. 8**; 86.5 **476 n. 26**; 89.8 **473 n. 20**, **479 n. 29**; 95–8 **165**; 97.1 **112**

Book 3 5.1 **454**; 26.2 **283**; 33.1–2 **321**; 40.4 **424**; 50.2 **351**, **352**; 52–68 **3**, **387**; 56.2 **237**; 59.1 **318**; 62.3 **544 n. 32**; 65.1 **237**; 67.6 **318**; 68.3 **135**; 68.5 **375**, **526 n. 8**; 70.3 **441**; 70.4 **318**; 74 **327**; 74.1 **578 n. 17**; 81 **327**; 82.8 **544 n. 33**; 86 **133**; 86.3 **40 n. 15**; 87, 89 **346**; 89.1 **283**; 90.2 **137**; 98 **302**; 99.1 **142**; 104, 104.1–2 **343**

Book 4 1 **5 n. 12**, **133**; 1.1, 2.1 **149**; 5 **617**; 23 **147**; 26 **133**; 28.4 **454**; 40.4 **424**; 42.1 **211**; 47–8 **327**; 52.1 **346**; 53–7 **3**; 53 **556 n. 10**; 53.2 **270**; 55.2 **234**; 57 **3**, **297**, **327**; 57.1 **297**; 57.5 **547 n. 3**; 67.2, 5 **143**; 76.4 **398**; 78.1 **159**; 78.2–4 **245**; 78.3 **544 n. 33**; 89–101 **3**, **398**; 89.1 **325**; 90.3 **300**; 92.7 **388**; 98.2 **325**; 100 **403**; 102.2–3 **460**, **526 n. 8**; 102.2 **333**; 104.4 **207**; 105.1 **181**; 107.2 **205**; 115 **302**; 118.1 **244–5**, **511**; 118.2, 119.2 **331**; 118.12, 119.1 **612 n. 40**; 122.3 **325**

Book 5 1 **343**; 8.2 **454**; 9.1 **324**; 11 **182**; 12.1 **159**; 16 **269**; 16.2 **239**; 18.9 **135**; 19.1 **612 n. 40**; 31.2 **2 n. 4**; 45.4 **346**; 47.9 **581 n. 24**; 48–50 **616**; 50.4 **359**, **585 n. 30**; 50.5 **346**; 53.1 **331**; 54.2 **234**, **616 n. 51**, **617**; 54.6–7 **376**; 55.5 **234**; 59.5 **581 n. 24**; 63 **268**, **284**; 69–70 **252**; 72.4 **235**; 82 **616 n. 51**; 115.3 **536 n. 10**; 116.1 **234**

Book 6 4.5–6 **129**, **133**, **136**; 4.5 **130**; 4.6 **131**; 5.1 **137**; 6.1 **36 n. 117**; 10.4 **381**; 16.2–3 **167**; 27.1 **169**; 27.3 **288**; 32.2 **101**; 33.2 **36 n. 117**; 38.5 **544 n. 33**; 43–4 **570 n. 9**; 43 **211**; 50.4 **101**; 53 **406**; 53.3 **412**; 54–8 **406**; 55.1 **336**, **648**; 59 **50 n. 54**, **542 n. 27**; 59.3 **180**; 59.4 **407**; 69 **388**; 95.1 **346**; 102 **302**

Book 7 13.6 **505 n. 8**; 24.2 **107**; 30.2 **201**; 31.5, 33.1, 4 **472 n. 14**; 36.3 **473 n. 16**; 36.4 **475 n. 24**; 36.5 **475 n. 22**; 39.2–40.2 **300**; 40.5 **472 n. 14**; 43 **470 n. 9**; 47.2 **103**; 53 **302**; 57.2 **454**; 57.4 **350**; 70.4 **475 n. 24**; 81.1 **300**; 83.2 **301**; 87.6 **145**, **313**

Book 8 5.4–5 **540 n. 24**; 5.4 **541 n. 25**; 6.5 **346**; 14.3 **505 n. 8**; 18 **540 n. 24**; 18.1 **192**; 21 **129**; 23.6 **505 n. 8**; 24–5 **357**; 24.2 **505 n. 10**; 24.3 **504**, **503 n. 5**; 26.3 **95**, **123**; 30 **147**; 35.2 **43 n. 152**; 37 **540 n. 24**; 38, 40 **504 n. 7**; 41.2 **346**; 43.3–4 **540 n. 24**; 43.3 **350**; 58.2 **540 n. 24**; 76.5, 6 **545 n. 34**; 81.3, 87–8 **480**; 92.2, 5 **143**; 95 **356**; 95.2 **476 n. 26**; 99.1 **341**; 101 **488 n. 1**; 103.3 **476 n. 26**; 107.2 **200**; 108.4 **300**

Timaeus *FGrH* 566 F9 **421**; F19b **17 n. 56**; F26a **244**; F26b **17 n. 56**; F50 **124**; 164.9 **478**

Tyrtaeus fr 1 W **129**; fr 4 W **246**; fr 7 W **249**

Tzetzes *Chil* 8.3 **495 n. 2**

Xanthus *FGrH* 765 F4, 17, 18, **12 n. 38**; F30 **17 n. 56**; F31 **12 n. 38**

Xenophanes 21 B3 (= fr 3 W) **158**; B33–6 **9 n. 30**; B34–5 **31 n. 99**, **32 n. 102**

Xenophon

Agesilaos 2.17 **428**; 5.1 **241**; 8.7 **224**; 9.6 **279**

Anabasis 1.1.2**483 nn. 13, 14**; 1.2 **489 n. 2**; 1.17.8 **515 n. 7**; 2.1.3 **277**; 3.2.9 **373**; 3.2.12 **613**; 3.5.16 **145**; 5.5.4 **192**; 6.1.11–12 **427**; 6.4.2 **488 n. 1**; 7.1.3 **280**; 7.5.8 **160**; 7.8.6 **515 n. 7**; 7.8.8–15 **483 n. 14**; 7.8.8. **355**; 7.8.15 **485 n. 20**; 7.8.17 **277**; 7.8.18, 22 **485 n. 20**

Ath Rep 3.11 **497 n. 7**

De Re Equestri 4 **515**; 4.2 **516 n. 10**; 4.4 **516 nn. 10, 11**

Cyropaedia 2.1.9. **486 n. 24**; 2.1.16–17, 21–2, 25–9 **483 n. 12**; 2.3.17–21, 4.16–18, 23–9 **486 n. 24**; 3.2.12–24, 4.2.34–6 **483 n. 12**; 4.4.5–12 **117**; 5.3.1–4 **397**; 5.3.34–5, 56 **483 n. 12**; 5.4.24–5 **117**; 5.4.43–9 **486 n. 24**; 6.1.15, 27–30 **483 n. 12**; 6.1.39–40 **486 n. 22**; 39, 50–5 **483 n. 12**; 6.2.2–3 **486 n. 22**; 6.2.2, 7–8 **483 n. 12**; 6.2.9 **486 n. 22**; 6.2.25–40 **610 n. 35**; 6.3.2–4 **483 n. 12**; 7.2.5–7, 7.3.1 **397**; 7.5.36 **117**; 8.2.23 **483**; 8.3, 5 **486 n. 24**; 8.6 **483**; 8.6.10 **483 n. 11**; 8.8.16 **115**; 8.8.17 **282**; 8.6.18 **489 n. 5**

Hellenica 1.4.9 **206**; 1.5.17 **160**; 1.6.29–38 **380**; 1.6.30–1 **475 n. 24**; 1.6.31 **474 n. 18**; 1.7.20 **442**; 2.1.8 **282**; 2.1.25 **160**; 2.1.27–30 **380**; 2.1.27 **300**, **392**, **626 n. 74**; 2.1.29 **107**; 2.1.32 **318**; 2.2.13, 19 **287**; 2.2.20 **288**; 3.1.6 **277**, **355**, **485 n. 20**; 3.2.8 **171**; 3.2.10 **159**, **172**; 3.2.11 **169**; 3.3.1 **247**; 3.3.4–11 **305**; 3.3.4 **260**, **268**; 3.3.9 **235**; 3.3.11 **292**; 3.4.1 **62 n. 206**, **89**; 3.4.10, 25 **69 n. 226**; 3.5.24 **245**; 3.5.25 **283**; 4.2.17 **356**, **580 n. 21**; 4.3.15 **356**; 4.5.8 **235**; 4.5.11 **428**; 5.1.32 **135**; 5.1.33 **235**; 5.2.9 **288**; 5.2.29 **111**; 5.3.19 **249**; 5.3.26 **288**; 5.4.55 **135**; 6.2.10–14 **476 n. 26**; 6.2.27 **107**; 6.2.30 **101**; 6.3.4 **239**, **409**; 6.4.7 **292**; 6.4.13–14 **235**; 6.4.15 **250**; 6.4.16 **271**; 6.4.21 **547 n. 6**; 6.5.24 **245**

Lacedaemonion Politeia 1.7 **245**; 1.8 **246**; 2 **226**, **260**; 2.2 **270**, **304**; 2.9 **304**; 4.3 **270**; 4.3–4 **235**; 5.3 **257**; 8.1 **371**; 8.5 **545 n. 34**; 10 **270**; 10.2 **246**; 11.2 **232**; 11.4 **240**; 11.6, 12.6–7 **252**; 13 **230**, **232**; 13.1 **231**, **236**, **240**, **633 n. 13**; 13.2 **234**; 13.3–5 **235**; 13.6 **232**, **234**; 13.7 **252**, **633 n. 13**; 13.8 **232**, **235**; 13.11 **242**; 14.4 **214**; 15 **230**, **246**, **241**; 15.1 **231**; 15.2 **236**; 15.3 **231**, **236**, **553**, **555**; 15.4–5 **240**; 15.4 **240**, **555**; 15.5–6 **236**, **240**; 15.5 **239**; 15.7 **259**; 15.8 **231**; 15.9 **247**

Memorabilia 1.2.49 **566**

Oeconomicus 4.5–11 **483**; 4.5 **483 n. 11**

Vectigalibus 4.47, 52 **143**

Zenobius 5.74 **165**

Latin

Ampelius 13.36 **611 n. 36**; 15.9 **621 n. 64**

Aulus Gellius 3.2.4 **325**

Catullus 4 **174**

Cicero *Ad Att* 4.17.3, 7.7.4 **204**; 9.10.3 **374**; *De Off* 1.33 **294**; *Tusc* 1.111 **266**

Frontinus *Strat* 1.12.11 **373**; 3.9.7 **419**

Horace *Od* 1.14.11 **174**

Hyginus *Fab* 63, 244 **228**

Justin 2.9.9. **609 n. 27**; 2.9.13 **392**; 2.9.15 **387**; 2.9.18 **392**; 2.9.20 **611 n. 36**; 2.9.21 **374**; 7.4.1 **190**; 19.1.9 **549 n. 10**

Justinian 47.22.4 **72 n. 234**

Juvenal 10.50 **204**; 10.249 **260**; 13.199–207 **315**

Livy 31.24.18 **393**; 32.4.3 **503**; 35.38.3 **354**; 35.51.1 **398**; 37.24.2 **475 n. 24**

Nepos *Alc* 7.4 **160**; *Arist* **358**; *Milt* 1.1–3 **509 n. 9**; 1.4–6 **452**; 2.5 **453**, **454**; 4–6 **599 n. 9**; 4.1 **611 n. 36**, **621 n. 64**; 4.2–5 **603**; 4.2–3 **605**; 4.4–5 **604**; 4.4 **358**; 4.5 **605 n. 19**; 5.1 **609 n. 27**; 5.3 **609**, **610 n. 34**; 5.4 **620 n. 60**; **621 n. 64**; 6.3 **598 n. 6**; 7 **630**, **645**; 7.1–4 **632**; 7.5 **642**, **643**, **649**; 8 **367**, **643**
Martial 10.25 **204**
Ovid *Fast* 6.412 **438**; *Met* 5.236–41 **228**
Quintus Curtius 4.12.11 **401**; 7.5.28–35 **120**
Plautus *Cist* 100 **126**
Pliny *NH* 4.11.49 **172**; 4.12.74 **503**; 6.31.134, 32.157–9, 159 **122**; 7.56.198 **592 n. 9**; 9.2.4 **201**; 16.19.46 **174**; 31.39.82 **403**; 32.6.15 **200**; 35.34.57, 59 **592**
Servius *Aen* 3.121, 11.264 **508 n. 6**
Statius *Ach* 1.133–4 **267**
Suetonius *Caes* 1.7.2, 1.32.4 **336**
Vergil *Aen* 2.163, 166 **438**
Vitruvius 8.3.8 **403**

Inscriptions, Ostraka and Papyri—Greek

BGU 7.1653, 11.2042 **314**
Buck (1955) no 16 **560 n. 5**
DI 31.5–7, 32.7–9 **119**
IC II viii.1 **42 n. 146**; IV *passim* **242**
ID 2.406 **42 n. 146**
IEryth 2.207.5–6 **42 n. 146**
IG I^2 763 **100**; 948 **454**; I^2 2/3 **601 n. 13**; 104 **283**; 232 **556 n. 9**; 503/4 **601 623**; 1015bis **601** and **n. 13**; II^2 106 = Tod 135 **239**; 333 **235**; 1006.69 **395**; 1126 **510 n. 13**; 1496 **235**; 1611 A77, 1616 B79 **321**; 2640 **377**; IV 506 **233**; 554 **579**; 614 **579 n. 19**; 842 **329**; V.1 1511 **556 n. 9**; V.2 262, 387, 399 **560 n. 5**; 443.45 **244**; 454 **42 n. 146**; 554, 555–7 **560 n. 5**; VII 1664–1708 **375**; IX I^2 4.1570 **167**; XI 2.203 **111**; XII 3 **556 n. 9**; 5.107 **244**; 450.18 **556 n. 9**; Supp 337 **454**; XIV 352.15 **244**
IMilet I 3.122 **14 n. 45**, **56 n. 189**, **62 n. 209**; **86**; I 3.133 **119**, **120**; I 3.180 **123**
IPr 37.158–70, 37.106–7 **535 n. 7**; 108 vi 48–9 **237**; 202 A15, B11–12; 362.15 **556 n. 9**; 500.22–4 **535 n. 7**
Knossos B 164, Xd 146+165, Ws 1707 **39 n. 130**
Lindos Temple Chronicle *FGrH* 532 F1 C2 **335**; C29 **7 n. 19**; D, D47–59 **334**
Marmor Parium *FGrH* 239 A30 **589**, **590 n. 4**; A56 **284**
ML 6 **163**, **410**; 8 **46 n. 163**, **146**, **179**; 9 **593**; 12 **344**; 13 **146**, **262**, **282**; 14 **351**; 18 **369**, **383**, **391**, **597 n. 2**; 19 **597 n. 2**; 26 **597 nn 2**, **3**; 27 **283**, **587**; 30 **142**, **233**; 31 **537 n. 13**, **538 n. 19**; 32.3 **542 n. 27**; 33, 35, 48 **107**; 42 **579 n. 19**; 52 **352**; 67 bis **217**, **288**, **330**; 94 **537 n. 13**
Ostraka P3786 **338**, **339**, **408**; P5978 **325**, **338**, **339**, **552**; P9945 **338**; P16873 **339**, **469 n. 6**
POxy 232.6, 31 **585 n. 30**; 842 D 18.3 = *FGrH* 66 F1.13(3) **536 n. 10;** 1365 **417**; 2390 = Alcman fr 5 Page **264**; 2623.1 = Simon 519a Campbell **264**
PRyl 18 = *FGrH* 105 F1 **215**; **265**, **418**
Pylos PY Un 219 **235**
RO 16 **538 n. 17**; 45 **595**; 88 **380**
SEG XI 329 **296**; XI 314 **579 n. 19**; XI 1043 **560 n. 5**; XIII 239 **239**; XVI 22, 139 **100–1**; XIX 38 **101**; XIX 573 **206**; 698 **42 n. 146**; XXI 117a, b **101**; XXII 147 **511**; XXII 274 **42 n. 146**; XXIV 299 **560 n. 5**
SGDI 5656 **167**
Syll^3 284.16 **237**; 303 **368**; 636 **244**, **510 n. 13**; 930 **606 n. 22**; 1199 **314**
Tod 34 **324**, **536**, **537 n. 15**, **538** and **n. 18**; 63 **537 n. 13**; 103 **356**; 113 **538 n. 17**; 135 **239**; 140 **595**; 204 **380**
ZPE 123 (1998) 1–23, 124 (1999) 1–14 (Isager, Lloyd-Jones) **6 n. 19**

Inscriptions—Persian

Behistun *DB* I 61–71 **67 n. 221**, **117**; 72–81, 81–3 **65 n. 215**; 79–80 **116**; 82–3 **67 n. 221**; 88–91 **162**; II 1–5 **65 n. 215**; 29–37 **63 n. 210**; 70–8 **67 n. 221**; 73–8, 88–91 **65 n. 215**, **152**; III 49–52, 91–2 **65 n. 215**; IV 3–5 **152**
DNa 15–30, 39–47 **67 n. 221**
XPh 23–5 **540 n. 24**
Persepolis PT 8 **55 n. 67**; Q1809 **335**, **338**, **464 n. 11**

Bible

Gen 6.14 **403**; 10.1.2 **39 n. 130**
Exod 2.1 **403**
Judges 11.30–9 **508 n. 6**
Ezra 5.3–17 **48 n. 170**
Neh 5.14 **63 n. 210**

INDEX THREE

GENERAL INDEX

Entries for a place, e.g. Achaea, Teos, include the inhabitants even if not stated. Most factual references in pp. 1–37, and incidental references generally, are omitted, as are footnotes which go with the page cited.

Abdera 165, 189, 196, 204–5, 479, 507 n. 1, 510, 638
Abydos 54, 121, 142
Acanthos 199
Acarnania 169
Achaea 37, 39, 43, 43 n. 150, 124, 215, 217, 225, 559
Achaemenids 47 n. 165, 55, 344, 483 n. 10, 492–4
Acragas 111, 134
Acusilaos 8, 13 n. 39, 230, 652
Adeimantus 107, 222
Adrastos of Argos or Sicyon 225, 419
Aeaces 50, 88, 96, 98, 104–5, 128, 130–1, 138–40, 463, 542
Aeantides 180
Aegeae, Macedonia 290
Aegina 20, 110, 209, 211, 218–9, 220–3, 232, 262, 278–9, 285–6, 297–8, 310–13, 435, 443, 467, 478, 559, 567, 571–2, 584–5, 617; relations with Athens 7 n. 21, 177, 220, 286, 314, 321–33, 380, 432, 546–52; walls 326
weights and measures 592, 594–6; coins 592–3, 594–6
Aegospotami 160, 300, 318, 380, 626 n. 74
Aenos (= Poltymbria) 154, 164, 198
Aeolis, Aeolians 37, 38 n. 126, 39, 41, 43, 45, 47 n. 167, 49, 91, 118, 146, 350, 458, 461, 472, 480, 481, 538 n. 20, 611 n. 37; in the revolt 39 n. 129, 59; retaken in 498 54, 62, 158; retaken in 493 147, 155; see also Lesbos, Mytilene, Cyme
Aeschines of Eretria 353, 603
Aeschines of Sicyon 215, 331, 418–20
Aeschylus 116, 386, 392, 597, 609
Aetolia 169, 288, 324, 478
Agamemnon 217, 228, 560, 572 n. 7
Agamestor 419, 425, 649
Agariste snr 414, 418, 419–20, 429–30, 650
Agariste jnr 430–1, 440, 650
Agasicles 227, 263–4
Agathon of Zacynthos 167
Agelaos of Thessaly 281
Agesilaos (grandfather of Leotychidas) 264–5
Agesilaos II 235, 241, 249, 260, 263, 266, 268, 280, 557, 558
Agesipolis I 249–50, 284
Agetos 256, 258, 260
Agiads 214, 224–5, 253–4, 257, 263, 278–9, 282, 283–4
Agis II 227, 240, 247, 260, 263, 268, 547 n. 1
Agis IV 227, 243, 276
Agora (Cherronesos) 159, 171, 176
Agylla 165, 176
Aigilia (mainland Euboea) 354–5
Aigilia (island) 373, 607 n. 25, 619–21, 626, 629 n. 79
Ainyra (Thasos) 209
Akestorides 366, 649
Alalia 67 n. 220; battle of 66, 99, 473, 475, 478
Alcibiades 18 n. 57, 151, 160, 167, 233–4, 260, 515 n. 6, 520 n. 26, 634 n. 14
Alcmaeon (father of Megacles) 18 n. 58, 137, 167, 415–16
Alcmaeonids 18 and n. 57, 327, 366, 378, 392–3, 405–8, 410–14, 430, 520 n. 26, 603, 606, 626, 650; curse 130, 328, 338–9, 405–7; role in ending tyranny 269, 406–7, 413
Alcon of Molossia 423–4
Aleian plain 340; see also Cicilia

Aleuadae 281, 568
Alexander I 7 n. 21, 28 n. 88, 185, 187–91, 332, 493
Alexander the Great 16 n. 51, 120–1, 151, 157, 290, 368, 401, 403, 420, 611 n. 35
Alopeconnesos 159, 172, 184, 503
Alyattes 41 n. 137, 45 nn. 156–7, n. 159, 46, 156–7, 415–16
Ameinocles of Corinth 467
Amiantos of Trapezous 423
Ampe 121–2
Amphaxitis 193
amphictiony: see polis, leagues and amphictionies; Arcadia; Calauria
Amphictionic League (Delphi) 43 nn. 149–50, 281; and see First Sacred War
Amphimnestos of Epidamnos 421
Amphipolis 165, 176, 181
Amyntas 7 n. 21, 137, 189–90
Anaxandridas 214–15, 225, 227, 246, 253, 256, 259–60, 264–5, 268, 280, 304, 418
Anaxidamos 263–4
Anaxilas of Rhegion 66 n. 218, 128–9, 132–4, 136, 284, 463, 478
Anchimolos 214, 216, 313, 358, 393, 407
Anthene 296, 558–9 with n. 3
Apollonia 143, 403, 451, 595
Apsinthii 162, 164, 171–2, 179–80, 508, 528
Arcadia, Arcadians 42 n. 146, 214, 216–17, 276, 278–9, 283, 287–91, 296, 306, 332, 423, 445, 548–9, 560–70, 585–6, 596; Zeus Lycaion 560; possible amphictiony 560–1; Sciritae 234
Archedike 180
Archidamos I 264; II 279–80, 283–4; V 262
Ardericca (nr Babylon) 399; (nr Susa) 399, 401
Ardys 45 nn. 156–7
Argilos 198
Argos 20, 60, 95, 114–15, 117, 133, 216–19, 224–5, 227–9, 231, 233–4, 239, 245, 306–8, 328–32, 368, 419–20, 430, 444–5, 498–501, 513, 547, 551, 559, 579–582; after Sepeia 582–88; walls 305, 575, 577–8 with n. 15; Argolid 227, 579–80, 586–7; cult at Asine 329, 331; Calauria 329; epicene oracle, see sv Delphi; Pheidon, Sepeia, see svv; Argos the eponym 301–3, 445
Aristagoras of Miletus 40, 52–62, 64–5, 68–70, 79, 81–2, 86, 96, 114, 117, 119, 141, 165, 175, 188, 215, 222, 276, 299, 333, 433, 446, 453, 457–61, 480, 498–501, 543, 603
Aristagoras of Cyme 50 n. 175, 57, 96
Aristides 19 n. 60, 193, 338–9, 358, 386, 410, 434, 627
Aristomedes of Thessaly 281
Ariston 135, 215, 227, 252–3, 257–61, 263–4, 274, 280, 376, 571 n. 1
Artace 161
Artaphrenes (satrap) 48 n. 170, 53–4, 55, 57 n. 192, 61–2, 65, 67–70, 72–3, 79–81, 84, 96, 117, 123, 141, 150–3, 156, 185, 187, 197, 204, 336, 340, 357, 458, 460, 464–5, 480, 484, 491, 493; his satrapy 484–5, 538; measures after end of revolt 191–3, 533–543
Artaphrenes jnr (general) 339–40, 398, 484 n. 17, 598
Artaxerxes I 346–7, 349, 541; II 537 n. 17; III 152
Artemis; cult at Brauron; cult of Artemis Orthia, Sparta 254, 273
Artemisia 2, 45 n. 159, 335, 542 n. 27
Artemisium (480) 94, 99, 106–7, 321, 356, 417, 454, 466, 473 n. 14, 475 n. 25; "Artemision" (?later) 475 nn. 24–5
Asine 580 n. 23, 586–7; see also Argos
Assyria 113, 207, 229
Asopos (r) 143, 377
Astacos 161
Astrabakos 253–5, 256, 273–4
Astros (≈ mod Paralion Astros) 296–8, 559 n. 3
Astypalaea 145
Atarneus 45, 46 n. 163, 84, 139, 148–50, 169, 176, 277, 484, 485 n. 20, 505 n. 10, 534, 535 n. 6,
Athens, Athenians: authochthons 371, 445; population and food supply 520–1, 637; festivals 38, 111, 320–1, 549; walls 127, 363, 447, 602; generals and polemarch 358–9, 379–81; *naucraroi* 323, 388,

406, 467–9, 551 and n. 15; ostracism, see sv; state triremes 321
expansion beyond Attica 163, 169, 181, 206, 322, 351, 375, 383, 508 with n. 8, 637; and see Delian league; conflict with Aegina 320–33, 546–8; chronology of 550–2; help Ionians 53, 59–61, 126–7; before Marathon 358, 367–8, 602–10, 627; at Marathon 374, 378, 381–92, 395, 618–19, 623–5; at Phaleron 393, 627–8
Athos 185–6, 188–9, 199–201, 203, 334, 342, 482; Xerxes' canal 200, 486
Attaginos of Thebes 278
Axius (r) 187–90, 198, 200–2

Babylon 7, 10 n. 31, 113, 117, 157, 399–400, 403, 480, 539; burial customs 248
Bactria 83, 98, 390
Bias 44, 66 n. 218, 143, 535
Bisaltes 141–2, 148, 160
Bisaltia 142, 188
Bisanthe 160
bitumen, collection and use 400–3
Black Sea 41–2, 54 n. 185, 83–4, 86–7, 125, 160, 309, 338, 527, 536
Boeotia, Boeotians 42, 211, 214, 218–19, 261, 301, 325, 327, 351, 375–7, 397, 401, 510–11, 503, 541 n. 24, 547, 585 n. 30, 599 n. 7, 608, 612; see also Thebes
Branchidae, see Didyma
Brasidas 176, 245
Brauron 449–50, 606, 608
bribery 54 n. 184, 59, 222–3, 269–70, 278, 281–2, 283, 305–6, 365, 413, 567, 575, 640 n. 26, 642–3
Brygi 165, 185–8, 200–2
Bubares 137, 162, 189–90, 493
Byzantium 49 n. 172, 53, 71–3, 86, 93, 112, 130, 138–9, 141–2, 153, 160–1, 187, 281, 460–1, 464–5, 488 n. 1

Cadmus of Cos 129, 132, 137, 335, 542 n. 27
Calaurian Amphictiony or League 329
Calchedon 45, 160–1
Cale Acte 128, 131–2, 134, 463
calendar 325, 612–13
Callias 163, 167, 170, 338, 405, 408–10, 520 n. 26; family 239, 339; Callias II 408, 410, 444; Callias III 409
Callias son of Cratias 339, 407
Callias, Peace of 193, 541, 607
Callimachos 19 n. 60, 369, 378–86, 597 n. 2, 598, 613 n. 45
Callipolis 159, 173
Callixenos 339, 407
Cambyses 6, 25, 47, 90, 279, 294, 348, 373, 479, 491–2
Camicos 135
Candaules and predecessors 10–11, 45
Caranos 589 n. 3, 590
Cardia 159, 162, 171–2, 177, 183, 366
Caria 2, 37, 38 n. 126, 41, 42 n. 144, 52 n. 180, 54, 57 n. 193, 72 n. 233, 75, 118, 445, 453, 538–9 nn. 20, 22; in revolt 52 n. 182, 53, 61, 458–9; recovered 498–7, 54, 62, 93; recovered 494–3, 83, 122–3, 138–40, 154, 462, 464
Carneia (festival) 236, 270, 480 n. 17, 616–18
Carthage, Carthaginians 66–7, 83, 88, 475, 478, 549 n. 10
Carystos 333–4, 341, 349–51, 615; walls 350
cavalry, Greek 41 n. 139, 234–5, 353, 357, 484, 513, 515; Athenian 388, 467–8; see also Athens, *naucraroi*; Lydian 45 n. 159; Persian 149–50, 337, 355, 388–90, 484, 598 n. 4, 609, 611 and n. 36, 617 n. 55, 621–3; see also horses; ships, horse transports
Ceos 349
Cephisidotos 604
Chalcedon 45, 160–1, 187
Chalcidice 188, 200
Chalcis 129, 130, 131–2, 299, 316, 322, 508 n. 8, 510–11, 619
Athenian cleruchies 322, 351–2, 603, 609, 637
Chalcis (Black Sea) 229
Chaleion 536
Cherronesos, see Agora
Chersonese 153, 159, 162; and see Miltiades, bailiwick
walls 159, 171
Chilon 214–15, 265–6, 271, 313, 418

Chios 32, 35, 39 n. 129, 46, 50, 176, 179, 197, 206, 281, 288, 350, 406–7, 464, 473, 488, 502–6, 534, 536, 542
in Ionian revolt 56, 59–61, 65, 67, 69–73, 79, 81–2, 84–6, 88, 92–3, 96, 101–2, 106, 108–10, 112, 138–9, 142–8, 155
chronology 16–17, 23, 335, 526; by generations 346–8; Ionian revolt 457–65; for 493–0, 465; and see Cleomenes in Arcadia, against Argos
Cicilia, Persian base 57, 68, 89–90, 92, 121, 186, 194–5, 197, 209, 211, 333–4, 340–2, 401, 432, 458–9, 460 n. 6, 462, 465, 479–80, 485, 487, 490
Cimon snr 163–4, 167, 169, 174–5, 179, 282, 356, 359–61, 411, 420; jnr 72 n. 234, 168, 180, 365, 378, 384, 408, 414, 431, 434, 444, 532 n. 19, 597 n. 2, 633–5
Cios 161
Clazomenae 82, 90, 93, 171, 458–9, 461, 505 n. 8
Cleandros 308
Cleisthenes of Athens 163, 168, 216, 322, 338, 360, 362, 375, 388, 393, 406, 410–11, 414, 430, 468–9, 544, 551 n. 15, 606 n. 22
Cleisthenes of Sicyon 148, 167, 170, 414, 417–21, 424–30, 591
Cleombrotos 250, 263, 291, 569 n. 15
Cleomenes 213–9, 225, 227, 240, 252–3, 256, 261–3, 265, 267, 269, 275, 276, 278–9, 282–4, 311–12, 375–6, 406–7, 411, 413, 527, 546 n. 1, 547, 617; in Arcadia 278, 286–9, 562–70; dating 548–50; in Aegina 213, 219–23, 255, 278, 284–6, 548; against Argos 59, 294–306, 330–2, 375, 417, 435, 495, 498–500, 572–9; dating 571–2; in Thessaly 287, 567–8; character 267, 558–60; madness 25, 278–9, 290–4, 308–10, 565–70
Cleonai 588, 593
cleruchs, cleruchies 351–4, 454, 603–4, 609, 637
Cnidos 6, 43, 45 n. 159, 115, 125
Cobon 269–70, 282
Coes 39 n. 129, 49–50, 52, 57, 96, 138, 543
coinage 135, 317, 429, 435, 514; Aegina 329, 423, 592–3, 594; Arcadia 561, 596; Argos 571 n. 2, 596; Athens 594–5, 598; Chersonese 176; Corinth 596; Elis 596; Ionia 59 n. 196, 60; Sicyon 596; Sparta 216, 596; Thebes 375; Zacynthos 596; Zancle-Messene 128–9, 463; Babylonian talent 48, 538 n. 20; Lydia 216–17, 416; Persia (daric) 48, 345; see also weights and measures
Colophon 41 nn. 138–9, 42 nn. 145–6; 45 n. 157, 50 nn. 174–5, 61 n. 203, 91, 93, 134, 158, 206, 484
conscription, Persian 39 n. 129; 47–8, 49, 51 n. 177, 52, 55, 117, 197, 211, 343, 345, 350, 388, 390; non-Greeks 390, 465, 470, 483, 485, 611 n. 37; see also Persia, army
constitution debate 8, 27, 29, 196, 542, 544
Corcyra 301, 324, 327, 475 n. 24, 476 n. 26, 478, 579 n. 17
Corinth 107, 215, 216–18, 235, 297, 301, 330, 331, 356, 375, 377, 419, 425, 467, 478, 589–90, 476 n. 26, 552 n. 16; law re ships 323–5
Cos 6, 43 n. 152, 45 n. 159, 50, 132, 137, 206, 212, 335
Crestonia 188
Crios 221, 285, 321
Crithote 159, 171, 173
Croesus 44–6, 51–2, 53, 118, 121, 137, 158, 165, 173, 185, 215, 269, 316–17, 373, 414–16
Croton 24 n. 74, 138, 245, 421, 507 n. 1
curse 233–4, 282, 328, 451; and see Alcmaeonids, Cylon
Cybebe, temple at Sardis 53, 97, 157
Cylon 272, 328, 332, 339, 405–6, 410–11, 419
Cyme 81, 91, 92, 96, 153, 172, 189, 458–9, 479–80, 503
Cynegiros 358, 391–2, 395, 598
Cynisca 279–80
Cyprus 37, 44 n. 155, 52 n. 182, 53–4, 56 n. 189, 60 n. 200, 61, 83, 86, 89, 90, 92, 95, 113, 208, 211,

281, 337, 399, 458, 461, 464, 472–3, 481, 487, 488
Cypselus of Corint 175, 419, 425, 590, 649
Cyrus 39 n. 129, 44, 45 n. 156, 46–7, 50, 96, 113, 115–16, 149, 157, 158, 185, 204, 215, 337, 348, 479, 483, 486 nn. 22, 24, 491–2
Cyzicos 45, 50 n. 175, 161–2, 164

Damagetos, Damarmenos 265–6
Damasos of Siris 421
dances 427–8
Danube bridge 49–50, 63, 153, 154, 325, 367, 434, 528 n. 12, 529
Darius 27, 137, 150–3, 157, 180, 184–5, 194, 196, 203, 346–8, 349, 486, 491–3, 543; Scythian expedition 153–4, 161, 165, 182, 184, 190, 202, 309, 325, 527–8, 530; Ionian revolt and Miletus 46–8, 49–51, 52–4, 58, 62, 63–7, 70, 80, 95, 116–17, 122, 461–2, 464, 465 n. 12, Mardonius' expedition 186–7; expedition under Datis 204, 209–12, 333, 336–7, 340–1, 344
Darius II 540, 541 nn. 25–6
Datis 39 n. 129, 89, 95, 186, 200, 212, 230, 333–5, 337–45, 349–51, 354–8, 372–4, 386, 392, 394, 397–9, 464 n. 11, 465, 479–83, 485–7, 598, 605–7, 610–12, 618–23, 625–8, 638, 642
Daunio(n)teichos (Daminoteichos) 159
Delian league 29–30, 60 n. 198, 171, 193, 383, 437, 454, 538 n. 19; 541 n. 26; 599, 633; contributions 117–18, 161, 350, 352, 356, 433, 435, 443, 453, 540
Delion 3, 325, 397–8, 403
Delos 321, 343–5, 397–8, 511, 595; earthquake 345–6; festival for Apollo 43 n. 149, 44; Thesmophoria 111
Delphi 265, 315, 319, 510 n. 13; archives 15, 496, 644; when started 225, 449–51, 449–50, 451; monthly responses 318, 499, 548; procedure 239, 241; foundation oracles 131–2, 165–6, 170, 367, 507–9; consulted by Greeks 215–16, 220, 320, 407, 413, 419, 439–40, 451–2, 548, 575, 639, 644; epicene oracle 114–16, 299–300, 495–501, 571, 576; Sparta 215–16, 226, 239, 268–70, 276, 294–5, 315, 319, 376, 407, 413, 546 n. 1; 617; Serpent column 307, 587; attitude to Persia 34, 115–16, 157, 219, 229, 498–500; consulted by non-Greeks 165, 415–16, 451
festival 145, 510; gifts, dedications 46, 269–70, 407, 413, 567, 585, 597 n. 2, 627; Pythais 511
Demaratos 95, 138, 167, 186, 213–16, 219–20, 220–3, 225, 227, 246, 253–6, 258, 260, 261, 262–5, 269–73, 275–7, 278–80, 284, 404, 485 n. 20, 514 n. 4, 546 n. 1, 548–9, 559, 561, 571 nn. 1–2, 575,
Demarmenos 265–6
deportation, by Persians 70, 83, 98, 121, 187, 189, 342–3, 356, 399–401
Diactorides of Crannon 423
Didyma 39 n. 129, 46, 53, 57 n. 191, 118–21, 344, 497, 510; Branchidae (priests) 118, 120
Dionysius of Phocaea 99–102, 112, 471–7
Dipaia 283, 308, 332, 564, 586
Dolonci 162, 164–5, 169–71, 176, 178–82, 367, 508–12, 529, 531
Dorian Asia Minor 38, 43; see also Cos, Halicarnassus, Lindos, Rhodes
Dorieus 215, 219, 225, 253, 279, 424, 507 n. 1, 567, 571
Drabeocos 165, 333
dreams 34, 334, 372–4, 397, 399, 430–1, 507 n. 4; and see omens, portents
Ducetius 131, 165

earth and water 95, 154, 186, 189–90, 198, 210–12, 213, 218, 220, 278, 286, 334, 335, 337–8, 343, 465, 540; by Athens in c508 127, 210, 336, 603
earthquakes 144–5, 345–6
Edonia 188, 204–5, 209, 333
Egypt 6, 11, 15, 25, 26 n. 85, 152, 185, 207, 211, 228–9, 252, 266, 279, 402–3, 479, 556 n. 10
Eion 165, 181
Elaea 91
Elaious 159, 171–2, 183, 453
Eleutherai 375, 377–8, 508 n. 8
Elis 2, 224, 423, 513, 514 n. 4, 596, 616 n. 52
Elpinice 408. 410, 649

emigration and colonisation 42, 44, 46, 124–5, 133, 159–61, 204, 331, 580 n. 23; see also Samos
Ennea Hodoi 181
Ephesus 15 n. 48, 38, 38 n. 126, 46, 49–50, 53, 61, 82, 88, 90, 91, 93, 96, 109–12, 117, 120, 151, 231, 389, 458–9, 461–2, 466 n. 1, 480, 485, 489, 536; Thesmophoria, see sv
Ephialtes 29 n. 91, 363, 365
ephors 213, 216, 220–2, 231–2, 235–6, 239–41, 244, 246, 250–1, 253, 259–62, 264–71, 275–6, 285, 295, 304–5, 312, 318–19, 371, 546 n. 1, 554, 572
Epilycos, Peace of 541 nn. 25–6, 607
Epizelos (Polyzelos) 358–9, 395–6, 598 n. 6
Erasinos (r and god) 142, 295–7, 298, 304, 559, 573
Eretria 15 n. 48, 53, 60–1, 117, 121, 185–6, 197, 333–4, 337, 353–6, 367, 371, 393, 398–401, 478, 499, 603, 615; walls 353, 355
Erythrae (Ionia) 41 n. 138, 93, 148, 237, 505 nn. 8, 10
Erythrai (Boeotia-Attica) 377, 508 n. 8
Etruria 445, 449, 452
Euboea 334, 352, 353, 354, 356, 401, 502, 503 n. 2, 604
Euphorbos 355, 644 n. 32
Euphorion of Paion 423
Eurybates 332, 550
Eurybiades 99, 222

First Sacred War 53 n. 17, 147, 348, 406, 415, 573 n. 8, 580 n. 23
freebooting, see piracy
funerals and mourning 125, 179, 247–51, 292

games, victors at 167, 170, 253, 266, 277, 332, 359, 361, 405, 409, 414, 416–8, 420–1, 432, 513–4, 515 nn. 6–8; 552 n. 16; 560, 585 n. 30, 593 n. 11; and see Delphi, Olympia
Galepsos 205, 208
Gela 128–9, 514 n. 4; Gela wreck 112
Gelon 129, 137, 217, 335, 371, 514 n. 4
gerousia 213, 216, 221–2, 231, 240, 242, 246, 250, 259, 265, 268, 270–1, 304–5, 371,
Glaucos 135, 257–8, 315–19
Gnostas 239, 585 n. 30
Gobryas 139, 491–2
Gongylos 138, 355
Gorgias 8
Gorgo 29 n. 91, 59 n. 197, 279–80, 291, 569 n. 15
Grynaiea 43, 116
Gyges 10–11, 32, 45–6, 348, 415; tragedy about 127
Gymnopaidia 236, 270–1, 372, 428, 616 n. 51

Haliartus 510, 512
Halicarnassus 2, 6 n. 19, 7, 26, 38, 43 n. 152, 139; see also Dorian Asia Minor
Halieis 308
Halisarna, see Teuthrania
Halys (r) 45, 158, 458 n. 3, 485, 490
Harmodios and Aristogeiton 176, 382–3, 405, 412–13
Harpagos snr 39 n. 129, 113, 337; jnr 73, 149, 151, 153, 484, 535 n. 6
Hecataeus, as author 5 n. 13, 8, 12–13, 15, 36 n. 118, 39, 167, 230; as statesman 53–4, 56, 57 n. 191, 58, 62, 66 n. 218, 116, 191, 271, 533, 554 n. 8
Hegesipyle 163, 180–2, 530
Hegestratos, son of Pisistratos 430, 648
Hellespont (including Propontis) 7, 37, 41, 49 n. 172, 52 n. 180, 53–4, 59 n. 196, 61, 62, 83, 87, 153, 158–162, 172–3, 183, 185–7, 191, 194, 197, 204, 211, 350, 452, 458–9, 488
helots 214, 244, 247, 249, 251–2, 276, 292, 302, 328, 346, 404, 554, 569, 580; revolt, see Sparta
Hephaistia 453–4
Heraclides son of Ibanollis 41 n. 137, 57 n. 193
Heraion Teichos 160
Hermippos 84
Hermon of Hephaistia 453–4
Hermos (r) 37, 39, 81
Herodotus: dates, education, influences, travels 2–8, 12–14; on Samos, see sv

format of *Histories* 9–11; possible patterns in 25–6; cross-references 21, 114–15, 179; "in my time", events after Mycale 2–3, 29–30, 124–5, 193, 278, 281–4, 326–7, 345–8, 387, 397–8; publication 4–5, 74
sources, autopsy 7, 25, 206; "own knowledge" 25; written 14–16; oral: generally 16–18; Athens 18–19; Sparta 20–1; Ionia 20; elsewhere 20; honesty in making enquiries, inability or failure to check 6 with n. 17, 7 n. 22, 15, 22–5; languages, see sv
presentation of material 21–2, 23–5; ship of state image 384; chronology 16, 23, 346–8, 526; speeches 88–9, 97, 99–100, 103, 196, 311, 339, 382; relation to Sophocles, Euripides, Aristophanes 5 with n. 12; his panhellenism 27–8, 348; on Ionians 157–8; attitude to oligarchies and democracy 28–30; to tyrants 30–1; non-Greeks and barbarians 26–7; oriental monarchs 27, 95, 137–8, 152–3, 398
presentation of events: causation, gods, fate, oracles 31–5; see also svv dreams, oracles, portents; cycle of fortune 9, 33–4, 35 n. 114, 73, 84, 316, 327, 387; motive 33 n. 114, 35–6, 55–6, 89, 104, 256, 284–5, 433–4, 447
Hetoemaridas 213, 216, 281, 313
Hieron 129, 133, 514 n. 4
Himera 131, 137, 399
Hipparchos (Hippias' brother) 178, 180, 337, 360, 376, 406, 412, 431, 648
Hipparchos son of Charmos 127, 364, 413, 648
Hippias 18 n. 57, 30, 34, 60 n. 199, 86, 95, 127, 138, 163, 178–9, 180, 216, 218, 244, 277, 323, 336–7, 344, 356–8, 360, 364, 366, 373–4, 375–6, 383, 393, 406–7, 412–13, 430, 466, 487, 509 n. 8, 559, 573 n. 10, 602–3, 606, 611, 618–9, 627, 648
Hippocleides 423, 425–9, 649
Hippoclos of Lampsacus 50, 180, 336
Hippocrates, Hippocratic medicine 6 with n. 16, 103, 144, 167, 259, 279, 309, 403, 566–7 with n. 11, 641
Hippocrates of Gela 128–9, 131–2, 134–8, 463
Hippocrates (father of Pisistratos) 265–6
Hippocrates (brother of Cleisthenes) 430
Hippocratidas 264
Hipponicos 239, 408–10
Histiaeus of Miletus 48, 52–4, 54–6, 63, 79, 138, 165, 181; in Susa 63–7, 79; shaven head story 1, 53, 56, 64–5, at Sardis 67–70, 80–1, 460–1; in Asia Minor early in Ionian revolt 70–1, 81–7, 460–1; at Byzantium 71–2, 87, 138–9, 140–2; final period 72–3, 142–53, 464, 502–6, 536
biographical tradition 20, 27, 62, 63, 79–83, 85, 139, 143, 149, 152, 165
Histiaeus son of Tymnes 41 n. 137
hoplites 300, 304, 306, 351–2, 353, 356, 396, 424, 519 n. 23, 520, 573, 580 n. 21, 599 n. 7, 603, 624–5; obligation to serve without pay 467, 502, 604, 636
horses, horse rearing 41 n. 139, 129, 489 n. 4; naucraric 388, 467–8; for racing 167, 279–80, 359, 361, 409, 414, 416, 513–20; see also cavalry; Olympic games
hostages 218, 220–1, 223, 278, 285–6, 311, 315, 320–1, 329–30, 343, 350, 373, 548–9; and see ransom
Hyacinthia 270, 428, 617
Hybristica 498, 573 n. 9, 575–6,
Hymaees 54, 62, 485, 492
Hysiai (Argos) 142, 216, 295–7, 588, 591
Hysiai (Boeotia-Attica) 375, 377–8, 508 n. 8, 608

Iatragoras 53, 56–7
Illyria 94, 143, 424
Imbros 148, 184, 187, 198, 212, 351, 449, 454, 532, 633
Inachos 207, 228, 301, 652; route to Argos 296
Inyx (Inycos/on) 134–5
Ionia, Ionians: cultural and emotional unity 37–40; connections with

Athens 39–40; Panionion, see sv; trade, prosperity 40–2, 83, 86–7, 117–18; subjects of Lydia and Persia 44–8 (see also tribute); tyrants 49–52; Herodotus on 157–8
Ionian revolt: early stages (book 5) 52–4, 54–62; possible meetings 44 n. 155, 59–62, coinage 59 n. 196, 60; dealings with Histiaeus 81–7; Lade, see sv; fall of Miletus 113–23; Samos 129–31, 138–40; reduction of rest of Ionia and Hellespont 153–62; post-revolt unrest and political settlement 143, 146, 191–3, 196–7, 502, 533–45; see also Histiaeus
Isagoras 216, 223, 261, 282, 293, 363, 375, 430, 547, 559
Isodamos of Sicyon 418–19

Kinyra (Thasos) 209
Koila 142–3, 502–5
Koinyra 209

Labraunda 140, 458–9, 462
Lacedaemonia, Lacedaemonians, see Sparta
Lacedas 422, 425, 589–90, 593
Laconia, see Sparta
Lade, location and description 91–2; battle of 55 n. 186, 57, 58, 59 n. 194, 61–2, 91–112
late election of leader 99–101; discontent, desertions 102–8; battle itself 105–9
Lampito 280
Lampsacus 163, 166, 172–4, 176–8, 180, 542 n. 27
languages, Herodotus' interest in 5 n. 13, 151, 193, 349; Greeks' limited knowledge 151
Laos 124–5
Laphanes of Paion 423
Latmos (bay) 122; (mt) 123
law: adoption 175, 245–6; arbitration between states 191–2, 376–7, 533–9; contract law, bailment, partnership 313–14, 317; disputes between citizens of different poleis 319, 534–8; Greek custom 244–5, 318, 428–9; heiresses 242–4; inheritance and wills 174–6, 262–3; rape 448, 450; marriage and divorce 258–9, 267, 410, 425–6, 429–30; procedure, Athenian 362–6, 441–2; Spartan 267–9, 304–5, 312, 318; woman's evidence 255; punishments and sanctions 233–4, 282–3, 291–2, 365, 442–3; streets 244
Lebedeia 510
Lebedos 93
Leipsydrion 407, 410, 412
Lelantine War 41 n. 138, 60 n. 200, 316, 348, 353, 477; plain 354
Lemnos 50, 148, 172, 183–4, 187, 198, 212, 351, 374, 431, 444, 449–54, 508 n. 8, 523 n. 1, 528–9, 532, 618, 633, 637, 644
Leon 227, 264, 651
Leonidas 152, 250, 263, 279–80, 290–1, 313, 549 n. 10, 569 n. 15, 616
Leonidas II 227, 546 n. 1
Leotychidas I 264
Leotychidas II 250, 253, 262–8, 271, 275, 278–85, 304, 311–13, 315–16, 319–20, 364, 548–50
Leros 54, 122
Lesbos (see also Mytilene) 39, 46, 138–9, 141–2, 146–8, 150, 172, 174, 281, 350, 351–2, 464, 478, 502
in Ionian revolt 56, 57, 59, 60, 71–2, 86–7, 90–3, 98, 107, 155
Leuke Acte 159
Libya 24 n. 76, 83, 170, 208, 211, 249, 507 n. 1, 556 n. 10
Limnae 159, 172
Lindos 38 n. 128, 43 n. 152, 89, 195, 334–5, 338, 462, 482
literacy 12 n. 37, 14, 16, 145–6
Locris (Opuntian) 43 n. 150; (Ozolian) 146, 536 n. 10
Locri Epizephyrii 132–3, 142, 463
Lycaion (mt) 560
Lycaretos 50, 453–4
Lycurgo 231, 236, 266, 274,
Lydia 10, 40, 42, 44–6, 52, 61, 96, 98, 113, 116, 149, 151, 157–8, 165, 173, 204, 210, 316, 336, 340, 348, 415–16, 485 n. 20
Lygdamis of Halicarnassus 2, 542 n. 27
Lygdamis of Naxos 468 n. 5
Lysander (c400) 260, 269, 300, 305, 313, 318; ephor (243) 276, 546
Lysanias of Eretria 423
Lysimachos 410

Macedonia 185–91, 197–8, 202–3, 210, 249, 290, 465, 487, 514 n. 4, 590
Madytos 159, 172
Maeandrius 180, 215, 222, 453, 544 n. 33
Magna Graeca 86, 277, 561
Malene 149–50, 622 n. 66
Males of Aetolia 421–2
Mantinea 296, 586 n. 31; battle 235
Marathon 15, 58, 95, 312, 321, 323, 333–4, 352–3, 356–9, 367–95, 398–9, 457, 465, 597–629; shield signal 392–3, 405, 414, 626–7; travel times to and from 607–8, 627–9; see also svv Athens, Persia
Mardonius 51 n. 176, 75, 185–91, 194–205, 210, 212, 222, 334–5, 340, 465, 479, 480 n. 4, 481–3, 484 n. 17, 485, 487, 491–2, 530, 533, 542–4; in 480–79, 28 n. 88, 95, 97, 104, 152, 603 n. 16, 620 n. 62
marriage, see law
Megabates 53, 55, 57, 186, 342, 493; younger collateral 162, 493
Megabazos 48 n. 170, 55, 63, 79, 162, 165, 184, 187, 189, 202, 204, 484 n. 17, 493–4, 528, 530
Megacles son of Hippocrates
Megacles, archon c630 406; husband of Agariste 406, 411, 415, 423, 429–30; their grandson 407, 430
Megara 6 n. 21, 143, 218, 248, 293, 368, 376, 505 n. 8; colonies 161–1; Salamis 168, 376
Megara (Sicilian) 129
Melancomas of Ephesus 50
Melas of Ephesus 41 n. 137, 46, 49
Melie 42 n. 144
Melos 213, 316, 343, 349,
Meltas 589
mercenaries 55, 59 n. 194, 60, 86, 108, 163, 180, 211, 407, 529, 563 n. 7, 619
merchant ships, see ships
Mermnad dynasty 10, 45 incl n. 156, 348; see also under individual kings
Mesambria 160
Messene, see Zancle
Messenia 133; possible helot revolt, see Sparta
Metiochos 138, 163, 180, 184–5
Micon 598 n. 6
Miletus, Milesians 38 with n. 126, 42, 46, 50, 52, 53–4, 55, 63, 95, 125–6, 151, 157–8, 161, 171–2, 215, 316, 318–19, 535, 537; walls 113
in Ionian revolt 56, 58, 60, 62, 75, 82–3, 86, 87, 88, 96, 140, 335, 340, 453, 457, 460–5, 464 n. 11; epicene oracle, see sv Delphi; at Lade 92–3, 98, 104, 108; siege and aftermath 89–91, 97–8, 113–23, 185, 462–4; recovery 116–18, 191, 192, 197, 533, 539, 542; emigrants to Sicily 131, 139
Miltiades snr 50, 72, 163–76; jnr, in Chersonese 49–50, 72, 87, 153–4, 163, 178–84, 524, 528–9, 530–2; their bailiwick 153–4, 162, 171–2, 176, 187, 453; jnr, Lemnos 452–4, 532, 633; in Athens and at Marathon 185, 356–7, 359, 362, 364, 366–7, 378, 381–6, 604–5, 615, 618; Paros 431–42, 630–44; injury and death 438–9, 441, 640–2
Molossia 37 n. 122, 421, 424
Molpoi 119–20
money, possible modern equivalent 443
mourning, see funerals
Mycale 42, 105–6, 109–10, 122, 143, 535; in 479, 29, 117, 281, 306, 520, 609
Mygdonia, see Chalcidice
Mykonos 397, 635, 638, 642
Mylasa 41 n. 137, 57 n. 193, 510
Myndos 41 n. 137, 53, 57, 479
Myrcinos 48 n. 170, 50, 54, 56, 62, 63, 86, 165, 181, 188, 460, 493
Myrina 453–4
Myron 417–19
Mysia 72–3, 84, 148, 158, 340, 484
Mytilene 39 n. 129, 47 n. 167, 49–50, 50 n. 175, 172, 197, 477 n. 28, 480, 535 n. 9, 542
Myus: polis 93, 148, 480 n. 4, 535, 537; bay 93, 95, 105; after Naxos 52–3, 55, 57, 59, 86, 89, 92, 106, 108, 211, 457, 461, 470, 472 n. 12, 480–1

Naulochos 93, 109
Nauplia 298, 329, 499, 586
Naxos 51 n. 179, 130, 215, 285, 341–4, 468 n. 5, 508, 630, 634; in 499, 53, 56–8, 64–5, 67–8, 70, 80, 96, 113, 147, 457, 472

Neon Teichos 160
netting 155, 356, 606
Nicodromos 191, 311, 320–3, 325–8, 338, 508 n. 8, 536 n. 10, 547–8, 550
Nonacris 288–9, 560; see also Styx
Notion 91, 93

oaths 135, 255, 258, 260, 267, 272, 288–9, 310, 315, 318–19, 537, 558 n. 2, 562, 564–5, 568
Odrysai 164, 528
Oeanthea 536
Oenoe near Marathon 370, 608 n. 26, 624
Oenoe near Plataea 378
Oenussae 505–6
Oibares 162, 493
Oinous 239, 585 n. 30
Oion 287
Oisyme 205
Oloros 163, 171, 180–1, 529, 531, 532 n. 19
Olympia 6 nn. 20–1, 423, 510, 590–1, 593; dedications 171, 454; Olympic games 43 n. 159, 167, 170, 253, 266, 277, 279, 332, 405, 409, 414, 416–7, 420, 422–4, 503, 513, 560, 585, 589–91, 616, 624 n. 70
omens 296, 372; sneezing 373; and see dreams, earthquakes, portents
Onomastos of Elis 423
oracles: Herodotus and 31, 33–4; collections 497 with n. 5; see also Delphi, Didyma
Orchomenos 375, 560–1, 563
Orneae 588
Oroetes 69 n. 228, 162, 177
Oropos 358, 508 n. 8, 619; battle 476 n. 26
Orthagoras 142, 417–18
ostracism 432; Aristides 338; Cimon 634 n. 14; Hipparchos 364; Megacles 407, 430; Themistocles 585–6; Xanthippos 408, 440; candidates for, Callias 407; Callixenos 407
Otanes (conspirator) 157, 196, 492, 542; if same as other Otanes 492–3
Otanes, general in Thrace 50, 187, 484 n. 17
Otanes, general and son-in-law of Darius 54, 62, 89, 485
other accounts of the events in book 6, generally 75–7

Pactye 159–60, 171–2, 183, 366
Pactyes 84, 144
Paeonia, Paeonians 39 n. 129, 56, 59–60, 63 n. 208, 83, 187–8, 189, 484
Pan: meets Philipiddes 369–70; at Marathon 395–6; cults 369–70, 560 n. 5, 597 n. 2
Panaenus 598 n. 6
Pangaion (mt) 206, 508
Panionion 42–4, 46, 59 with n. 194, 90, 99, 538
Panyassis 2
Paros 72, 147, 244, 321, 323, 343, 350, 398, 431–40, 467; variant accounts 630–47; walls 435
Pausanias, regent 35 n. 112, 100, 152, 161, 253, 281–2, 305, 328, 554
Pausanias, king 77, 227, 250, 268, 283–4
Pedasa, Miletus 123, 140
Pedasos near Halicarnassus 123; 140; east of Pedasa 140
Pelasgians 350, 444–54
Pella 191, 202
Pellene 142, 282, 417, 419
Peloponnesian league 215–18, 283, 285, 288, 304, 312, 324, 330, 376, 561–2, 572
penteconters, see ships
Percalos 262, 265–6
Pergamum, see Teuthrania
Periander 156, 324–5, 419, 425, 535 n. 9
Pericles 125, 171, 293, 383, 387, 405–6, 408, 414, 429–31, 440, 450, 476 n. 23, 547 n. 3, 579 n. 17, 631 n. 6
Perimede (Marpessa, Choira) 579 n. 17
Perinthos 159, 161, 187
perioikoi: Sparta 236, 239, 244, 247–9, 251, 287, 330, 404, 561; Argolid 306, 308, 575–6, 580–2, 584, 585 n. 30, 587
Persia, Persians 94–8; in Sardis 68–9, 84–5; burial customs 248; cannot swim or row 201, 465;

religion (Zoroastrianism) 117, 210, 344; others' religion 97, 118–21, 157, 342, 355; crucifixion 152
plans to expand into Aegean and Europe 66–7, 186–90, 197, 334–7, 486; conscription 46–7, 49, 51 n. 177, 52, 117, 192–3, 197, 343, 345, 350, 388, 390–1, 465, 483, 538–41; tax, tribute 45–8, 51–2, 68, 117–18, 123, 154, 190–3, 198, 210, 251, 343, 350, 533, 538–41
expeditions against Scythia, see sv Scythia; against Miletus 89–90, 94–8, 113–23; Didyma 118–21; rest of Ionia 153–62; under Mardonius 189–91, 194–203; under Datis 333–5, 337–45, 349–50; at Carystos 350–1; Eretria 354–6, 398–400; Marathon 357–8, 387–92, 394–5, 397–8, 611–12, 618–26, 628–9; under Xerxes, see sv
armed forces: army 149–50, 154, 461, 610–11; organisation, training 483–7; siegecraft 113–14, 486; cavalry 149–50, 337, 355, 358, 388–90, 484, 611, 621–3; navy 89–90, 94, 105; 139, 147–8; 154, 183–5, 195, 197, 340–1, 461, 479–82, 610–11; and see conscription, supra; diplomacy 95–6, 191, 357, 487, 606; earth and water, see sv; netting 155, 356
Persian king, presentation of 27, 46 n. 163, 95, 96–7, 137–8; prostration 140, 382
Phaedon (Phaeon, Apsephion) (archon) 132, 284
Pheidon 329, 422–3, 589–93; possible collateral(s) 592–3
Pheneos 289–90, 565 n. 9
Pherecydes 8, 13 n. 39, 230
Pheredates 162, 493
Philagros of Eretria 355, 644 n. 32
Philaids 18, 49, 163, 167–70, 356, 366, 378–80, 382–6, 414, 437, 520 n. 26, 633, 635, 649; property 168, 175, 444
Philippides 367–9, 371–2, 404, 605, 612, 614, 629
Phocaea 81, 93, 103, 108, 112, 113, 130, 135, 157, 174, 176, 473, 475, 478, 507, 547 n. 6
Phocis 43 n. 150, 58 n. 194, 215, 510, 536 n. 10, 595
Phoenicia, Phoenicians, colonists and traders 42, 60 n. 200, 66–7, 72 n. 233, 83, 99, 207, 209; part of Persian navy 27 n. 86, 61, 90, 139, 147–8, 149, 154, 161–2, 182–3, 184, 199, 201, 356, 397, 464, 475, 478, 479, 524–6
Phrygia 83, 349, 484
Phrynichus 126–7
piracy, freebooting 71–2, 112, 141, 204, 324, 449, 478, 534, 535 n. 6, 536,
Pisistratids (see also Hippias, Hipparchos) 18, 38 n. 123, 130, 163, 179, 179, 184, 241, 336–7, 357, 360–1, 366, 408–13, 508 n. 8, 509 n. 10, 606 n. 21, 608, 648, 649
Pisistratos (tyrant) 18–19, 30, 86, 163, 166–7, 169–70, 175, 180, 181, 206, 285, 336, 343, 356–7, 359–61, 363, 366–7, 374, 375, 393, 408–12, 419, 430, 448, 450, 507–8
Pisistratos jnr 376
Pithecoussae 67
Plataea, Plataeans 3, 322, 324, 351, 368, 374–8, 380, 387, 508 n. 8, 602, 608; in 479, 203, 236, 281, 283, 307, 333, 356, 386, 388, 390, 404, 520, 554, 560, 586–7, 609, 620 n. 62, 622; in 431, 117, 387, 579 n. 17; in 427, 3, 318, 403
Pleistarchos 253, 263
Pleistoanax 263, 269, 284
Poikile Stoa painting 15, 19 n. 60, 23, 359, 389, 393, 395, 598, 623 n. 68
Polichne 143–4, 146, 505–6
polis: prytaneion as symbol 177, 226, 360–1; internal politics: tension between landowners and others 129–30; stasis, "parties" 286, 327–8, 357, 359–61, 365, 405–7, 408, 434, 644 n. 32; and see Alcmaeonids, Philaids
guarding frontiers 142–3;
cross-border raiding 177, 286, 326, 534–6, 547–8
leagues and amphictionies 43 nn. 149–50, 44 n. 154, 329, 332

Polycrates of Samos 41, 46 n. 162, 105, 152, 180, 343, 344, 372, 429, 452, 466, 472 n. 12, 478, 535
Polycritos son of Crios 221, 321
Polydoros 227, 250, 558
Polygnotus 598 n. 6
portents 34, 144–6, 345–6, 373–4; and see dreams, oracles
Priene 41, 45 n. 157, 93, 95, 109, 143, 148, 169, 237, 535
Prinetades 265
Proconnesos 161
Propontis, see Hellespont
proxenia 175, 238–9, 245, 409, 634 n. 14
Pygela 42 n. 145, 109
Pythagoras of Miletus 54, 56
Pythais 511
Pytharchos of Cyzicos 50
Pythii 239–41, 295, 554–5
Pythogenes 134, 137

ransom 118, 136, 155, 173, 301–2, 305, 571 n. 2, 574–5; and see hostages
Rhaikelos 206, 508
Rhamnous 454, 619
Rhegion 132–3, 299, 507 n. 4, 563 n. 6
Rhodes 38 n. 128, 42 n. 146, 43 n. 152, 45 n. 159, 86, 111, 334–5

sacred roads 165–6, 510–12
sacrifices 84, 157, 176, 214, 234–8, 272, 320, 361, 554–5, 613; before battle 296–7, 388, 624; as expiation 326–7
Sadyattes 34
Salamis: taken by Athens 168, 351, 376, 454, 468, 508 n. 8; battle 94, 98, 106, 107, 185, 201, 221, 321, 343, 350, 356, 382, 395, 417, 466, 472 n. 14, 520, 551 n. 14, 598
Samos, Samians 41, 46, 86, 88, 92–3, 109, 129–32, 134, 138–9, 143, 147, 153, 155, 157, 197, 215, 281, 291, 328, 341–2, 395, 463, 478, 479, 492, 535, 542, 544 n. 53, 573 n. 8, 638; Herodotus' connections with 2, 5, 107, 128, 139, 644
  in Ionian revolt 89, 92, 97, 105, 108; monument to patriots 15, 107; internal politics, emigration to Zancle 88, 128, 130, 462; coinage in Zancle 128–9
Samothrace 148, 188, 198, 212, 350
Sandoce, daughter of Darius 492
Sandoces 152–3, 480 n. 4
Sardinia 81, 133, 186
Sardis 7, 53, 60–1; Histiaeus at, see sv
satrap, satrapy 48 nn. 169–70, 55 n. 188, 61 n. 204, 80, 85, 151–3, 162, 187, 190, 192, 390, 484–5, 538–40, 542–3
Scaptesyle 205–6
Scydros 124
Scylax of Caryanda 8 n. 28, 486 n. 22
Scylax of Myndos 53, 56 n. 190
Scythes 50, 128–9, 131–4, 137, 335, 463
Scythia, Scyths 26 n. 85, 248, 309–10, 527 n. 10; 531 n. 18; Herodotus' knowledge 7, 527; Darius' expedition 49, 58, 96, 153–4, 161, 165, 210, 338, 472, 479–81, 483–4, 486 with n. 23; alleged incursion sout 182, 524–31
Sellasia 287, 296
Selymbria 159, 160–1
Sepeia, battle 142, 214, 272, 278, 294–306, 375, 435, 571–9
Sestos 153–4, 159, 172, 301, 492, 503, 573 n. 8
ships: triremes 55 n. 186, 86, 92–4, 106–9, 142, 147, 178–9, 183–4, 195, 200, 205, 211, 321, 323, 325, 341, 342, 352, 356, 366, 417, 429, 469–71, 479–82, 549, 550, 610; privately owned 178, 183, 467–9; teaching to operate 99, 101–3, 472–4, 476; the diekplous 101, 109, 471–7; sea battles 472–5, 477–8; carrying soldiers 101–2, 108, 469–70, 472 n. 77, 474 n. 19; galleys and penteconters 55 n. 186, 94, 112, 131, 170, 195, 200, 205, 211, 323, 325, 328, 341, 421, 432, 449, 466–71, 473, 481–2, 549, 619; "long ships" 205, 211; horse transports 211, 341, 355, 470, 486, 622; merchant (sail powered) ships 112, 471; speeds 488–9, 628; sizes and carrying capacities 102, 469–71; Phoenician design 86, 106, 112, 183, 469–70, 471 n. 10, 477 n. 30, 628 n. 77; *naucraroi*, at

Athens, see Athens; battle-worthy 323, 432, 551, 638; state ships 321
Sicels 128–9, 131–2, 134, 136
Sicily 81, 128–38, 208, 335, 350, 463, 549 n. 10; politics and history 128–9, 134, 136
Sicilian expedition 380, 433, 470 nn. 8–9
Sicyon 20, 125, 215, 217, 297–8, 330–2, 417, 422, 427, 429, 513–14, 515 n. 9, 596
siege: Aegina 326; Carystos 334, 350–1; Eretria 334, 354–6; Lindos 38 n. 128, 89, 195, 334–5, 462; Miletus 72, 113–14, 140–1, 461–4; Mycenae 308, 586; Naxos 53, 55, 56, 457; Paros 435, 633–6; Plataea 403
siegecraft, Greek 303, 435, 573–4; sea blockades 147, 417; Persian, see Persia
Sigeion 336, 468 n. 5, 508–9, 535 n. 9
Siphnos 206, 213, 343, 433, 435
Sipylos 81
Sitalces 164
Skudra 187, 189–90, 204, 530
slaves, slavery: Greek 87, 93, 108, 135–6, 175, 237, 276, 306–7, 409, 443, 520 n. 28, 579–82, 609; see also helots; Persian 100, 118, 140, 156, 189, 197, 198, 336, 342, 356, 371, 382, 398–9, 483 n. 14
Smindyrides 124, 421, 425
Solon 23 n. 70, 40, 72 n. 234, 129, 145, 192, 218, 319, 351, 362–3, 384, 406, 408, 415, 508 n. 8, 513, 517, 521, 595–6, 648
Sophanes of Decelea 333, 550
Sophocles 4, 5 n. 12
Sounion 325, 338–9, 626, 628; festival 320, 549–50
sources, written 14–15; oral 13 n. 43, 15–21, 435–6; see also introductory notes to each group of chapters
Sparta, Spartans, internal politics 213–16, 219–20, 222, 244–5, 253–6, 270–1, 275–6, 304, 311–13; see also ephors, gerousia, law; kings' honours 230–51; common and royal messes 239–41, 553–5, 555–7; external expansion and Peloponnesian league 216–19, 561, 572 n. 7; Heraclid ancestry of kings 223–30; extent of territory 216, 561, 572; Laconian quart 556
army 215, 221, 232–6, 285, 404
possible helot revolt 76, 133, 372, 562–4, 617
reputation for deviousness 258; bribery, see sv; likened to orientals 228–9, 251–2
Stesagoras 174–9, 362, 441, 632, 649
Stesileos 358, 391–2
Stouthon 410
Strattis 46 n. 162, 96, 144–6, 155, 536, 542
Strymon (r) 187
Styx 15, 288–90, 562, 564–5, 568
suicide 291–3, 565 n. 10, 568–70
Sybaris 24 n. 74, 29 n. 94, 118, 124–6, 292, 421, 507 n. 1; see also Thurii
Sybaris on the Traeis 124
Syloson 50, 51 n. 178, 105, 130, 138–9, 175, 492

Tamynai, inland from Porthmos 354, 380
Tegea 216–17, 235, 242, 283, 296, 308, 332, 386, 560–1, 563–5, 579 n. 17, 586–7
Teichioussa 123
Teichos Aratos 171
Teiristasis 159
Telesilla 496, 498 n. 10, 572, 575–9
Temenos 224, 590; lot of 216, 224, 329, 331, 420, 572 n. 7, 576 n. 14, 586, 590
Tenedos 39 n. 129, 91, 147, 155, 162, 163, 164, 182–4
Tenos 341, 397
Teo 44, 46, 93, 142
Teuthrania 277, 485 n. 20
Thasos 7, 25, 72, 181, 188–9, 198, 203–9, 211–12, 215, 244, 341, 464–5, 480, 482, 502, 636 n. 18; Histiaeus at 138, 146–8; mines 205–6; walls 147, 203–4
Theasidas 253, 311, 313
Thebes 111, 245, 495 n. 1, 514 n. 4, 604 n. 17; hostility with Attica 143, 168, 218, 320, 322, 324, 358, 375–8, 387, 398, 547, 619; in 491, 211, 278, 368; in 480–79, 138, 210, 222; in 431–427, 3, 177, 318
Themistocles 19 n. 62, 29, 60 n. 198,

75, 97, 127, 138, 151, 190, 212, 221, 222, 235, 272, 281, 292, 333, 338, 358, 365, 382, 386–7, 424, 433, 525 n. 6, 549–51, 585, 597 n. 2, 633
Theomestor 138–9, 542 n. 27
Theopompos (Spartan king) 227, 263–4, 266
Thermopylae 95, 152, 250, 281, 357, 388, 486 n. 22, 487, 560 n. 5, 587, 616
Thesmophoria 110–11, 461–3
Thespiae 378
Thessaly 6 n. 21, 43 n. 150, 187–8, 211, 219, 245, 278, 281–2, 284, 287, 357, 423–4, 445, 449, 513, 514 n. 4, 567–8
Thrace 52 n. 180, 142, 161–2, 164–5, 170–1, 180–1, 186–90, 197–8, 201, 203, 205–7, 209–11, 310, 340, 370, 445, 465, 486–7, 493, 509, 527–9; Propontic Thrace 159–60; mines 59 n. 196, 181, 204–6, 508; resist Darius 165, 530–1; and see Skudra, and individual places and tribes
Thrasyboulos 316, 419
Thucidydes 4 n. 10, 5 n. 12, 28 n. 90, 143, 216, 222–3, 345, 361; owned mines 181
Thurii: (re)foundations 124–5; Herodotus' eventual residence 2 n. 3, 3, 5–6, 9 n. 30, 12
Timo 436–40, 635, 639–40, 642
Tiryns 298, 303, 307–8, 584–8; and see Sepeia
Tmolos 81
Trapezous 423
travel times, land 489–90; sea 488–9; to and from Marathon 607–8, 627–9
tribute, Lydian 45; Persian, see sv
Triopion 43
Triphylia 2; league 43 n. 149
triremes, see ships
tyrants: Herodotus' attitude to 30–1; generally 174–5, 466; Ionian and status qua Persia 49–52, 95–6, 98, 464, 539, 542–3; see also under individual names.
Tyrodiza (? = Teiristasis) 159

walled cities: Aegina 326; Argos 305, 575, 577–8 with n. 15; Athens 127, 361, 447, 602; Carystos 350; Chersonese 159, 171–2; Eretria 353, 355; Miletus 113; Paros 435; Propontis 159–60; Thasos 147, 203–4
weights and measures 345, 422, 513 n. 1, 521, 553–5, 592–6; stade 172; parasang 192; Laconian quart 556; Pheidon 592–6; see also coinage
wine, neat 310

Xanthippos 339, 407–8, 430, 440
Xenagoras 334
xenia, xenoi 7, 28, 41 n. 137, 51 n. 178, 52, 54, 60 n. 200, 105, 169, 173, 215, 278, 286, 376, 415, 567, 574, 585 n. 30; in commercial context 125–6, 317; *xeinia* (hospitality) 169, 426
Xerxes 2, 3, 9–11, 18 n. 56, 27–8, 46 n. 163, 97, 104, 138–9, 152, 157, 185–6, 188, 190, 196, 200, 202–3, 204, 206, 210–12, 229, 254, 275, 277, 335, 340, 342–4, 346–50, 357, 389, 404, 471, 479 and n. 3, 482, 486 and n. 22, 487, 492, 540 n. 24, 541, 551, 563 n. 7, 611 n. 35; alleged burning of Didyma 120–1; deporting Boeotians 401; Gongylos 355

Zacynthos 276, 402–3, 596
Zancle, Zancleans 128–38, 463–4, 478, 534, 563 n. 6, 580; renamed Messene 129
Zeuxidamos 264, 279
Zopyros 7, 228, 494

SUPPLEMENTS TO MNEMOSYNE

EDITED BY H. PINKSTER, H.S. VERSNEL,
I.J.F. DE JONG AND P. H. SCHRIJVERS

Recent volumes in the series

165. ALBRECHT, M. VON. *A History of Roman Literature.* From Livius Andronicus to Boethius with Special Regard to Its Influence on World Literature. 2 Vols. Revised by G. Schmeling and by the Author. Vol. 1: Translated with the Assistance of F. and K. Newman, Vol. 2: Translated with the Assitance of R.R. Caston and F.R. Schwartz. 1997. ISBN 90 04 10709 6 (Vol. 1), ISBN 90 04 10711 8 (Vol. 2), ISBN 90 04 10712 6 (Set)
166. DIJK, J.G.M. VAN. Α῏νοι, Λῷγοι, Μῶθοι. Fables in Archaic, Classical, and Hellenistic Greek Literature. With a Study of the Theory and Terminology of the Genre. 1997. ISBN 90 04 10747 9
167. MAEHLER, H. (Hrsg.). *Die Lieder des Bakchylides.* Zweiter Teil: Die Dithyramben und Fragmente. Text, Übersetzung und Kommentar. 1997. ISBN 90 04 10671 5
168. DILTS, M. & G.A. KENNEDY (eds.). *Two Greek Rhetorical Treatises from the Roman Empire.* Introduction, Text, and Translation of the Arts of Rhetoric Attributed to Anonymous Seguerianus and to Apsines of Gadara. 1997. ISBN 90 04 10728 2
169. GÜNTHER, H.-C. *Quaestiones Propertianae.* 1997. ISBN 90 04 10793 2
170. HEINZE, T. (Hrsg.). *P. Ovidius Naso. Der* XII. *Heroidenbrief: Medea an Jason.* Einleitung, Text und Kommentar. Mit einer Beilage: Die Fragmente der Tragödie *Medea.* 1997. ISBN 90 04 10800 9
171. BAKKER, E.J. (ed.). *Grammar as Interpretation.* Greek Literature in its Linguistic Contexts. 1997. ISBN 90 04 10730 4
172. GRAINGER, J.D. *A Seleukid Prosopography and Gazetteer.* 1997. ISBN 90 04 10799 1
173. GERBER, D.E. (ed.). *A Companion to the Greek Lyric Poets.* 1997. ISBN 90 04 09944 1
174. SANDY, G. *The Greek World of Apuleius.* Apuleius and the Second Sophistic. 1997. ISBN 90 04 10821 1
175. ROSSUM-STEENBEEK, M. VAN. *Greek Readers' Digests?* Studies on a Selection of Subliterary Papyri. 1998. ISBN 90 04 10953 6
176. McMAHON, J.M. *Paralysin Cave.* Impotence, Perception, and Text in the *Satyrica* of Petronius. 1998. ISBN 90 04 10825 4
177. ISAAC, B. *The Near East under Roman Rule.* Selected Papers. 1998. ISBN 90 04 10736 3
178. KEEN, A.G. *Dynastic Lycia.* A Political History of the Lycians and Their Relations with Foreign Powers, c. 545-362 B.C. 1998. ISBN 90 04 10956 0
179. GEORGIADOU, A. & D.H.J. LARMOUR. *Lucian's Science Fiction Novel* True Histories. Interpretation and Commentary. 1998. ISBN 90 04 10667 7
180. GÜNTHER, H.-C. *Ein neuer metrischer Traktat und das Studium der pindarischen Metrik in der Philologie der Paläologenzeit.* 1998. ISBN 90 04 11008 9
181. HUNT, T.J. *A Textual History of Cicero's* Academici Libri. 1998. ISBN 90 04 10970 6
182. HAMEL, D. *Athenian Generals.* Military Authority in the Classical Period. 1998. ISBN 90 04 10900 5
183. WHITBY, M. (ed.). *The Propaganda of Power.* The Role of Panegyric in Late Antiquity. 1998. ISBN 90 04 10571 9

184. SCHRIER, O.J. *The* Poetics *of Aristotle and the* Tractatus Coislinianus. A Bibliography from about 900 till 1996. 1998. ISBN 90 04 11132 8
185. SICKING, C.M.J. *Distant Companions.* Selected Papers. 1998. ISBN 90 04 11054 2
186. SCHRIJVERS, P.H. *Lucrèce et les Sciences de la Vie.* 1999. ISBN 90 04 10230 2
187. BILLERBECK M. (Hrsg.). *Seneca.* Hercules Furens. Einleitung, Text, Übersetzung und Kommentar. 1999. ISBN 90 04 11245 6
188. MACKAY, E.A. (ed.). *Signs of Orality.* The Oral Tradition and Its Influence in the Greek and Roman World. 1999. ISBN 90 04 11273 1
189. ALBRECHT, M. VON. *Roman Epic.* An Interpretative Introduction. 1999. ISBN 90 04 11292 8
190. HOUT, M.P.J. VAN DEN. *A Commentary on the Letters of M. Cornelius Fronto.* 1999. ISBN 90 04 10957 9
191. KRAUS, C. SHUTTLEWORTH. (ed.). *The Limits of Historiography.* Genre and Narrative in Ancient Historical Texts. 1999. ISBN 90 04 10670 7
192. LOMAS, K. & T. CORNELL. *Cities and Urbanisation in Ancient Italy.* ISBN 90 04 10808 4 *In preparation*
193. TSETSKHLADZE, G.R. (ed.). *History of Greek Colonization and Settlement Overseas.* 2 vols. ISBN 90 04 09843 7 *In preparation*
194. WOOD, S.E. *Imperial Women.* A Study in Public Images, 40 B.C. - A.D. 68. 1999. ISBN 90 04 11281 2
195. OPHUIJSEN, J.M. VAN & P. STORK. *Linguistics into Interpretation.* Speeches of War in Herodotus VII 5 & 8-18. 1999. ISBN 90 04 11455 6
196. TSETSKHLADZE, G.R. (ed.). *Ancient Greeks West and East.* 1999. ISBN 90 04 11190 5
197. PFEIJFFER, I.L. *Three Aeginetan Odes of Pindar.* A Commentary on *Nemean* V, *Nemean* III, & *Pythian* VIII. 1999. ISBN 90 04 11381 9
198. HORSFALL, N. *Virgil,* Aeneid *7.* A Commentary. 2000. ISBN 90 04 10842 4
199. IRBY-MASSIE, G.L. *Military Religion in Roman Britain.* 1999. ISBN 90 04 10848 3
200. GRAINGER, J.D. *The League of the Aitolians.* 1999. ISBN 90 04 10911 0
201. ADRADOS, F.R. *History of the Graeco-Roman Fable.* I: Introduction and from the Origins to the Hellenistic Age. Translated by L.A. Ray. Revised and Updated by the Author and Gert-Jan van Dijk. 1999. ISBN 90 04 11454 8
202. GRAINGER, J.D. *Aitolian Prosopographical Studies.* 2000. ISBN 90 04 11350 9
203. SOLOMON, J. *Ptolemy* Harmonics. Translation and Commentary. 2000. ISBN 90 04 115919
204. WIJSMAN, H.J.W. *Valerius Flaccus,* Argonautica, *Book VI.* A Commentary. 2000. ISBN 90 04 11718 0
205. MADER, G. *Josephus and the Politics of Historiography.* Apologetic and Impression Management in the *Bellum Judaicum.* 2000. ISBN 90 04 11446 7
206. NAUTA, R.R. *Poetry for Patrons.* Literary Communication in the Age of Domitian. 2000. ISBN 90 04 10885 8
207. ADRADOS, F.R. *History of the Graeco-Roman Fable.* II: The Fable during the Roman Empire and in the Middle Ages. Translated by L.A. Ray. Revised and Updated by the Author and Gert-Jan van Dijk. 2000. ISBN 90 04 11583 8
208. JAMES, A. & K. LEE. *A Commentary on Quintus of Smyrna,* Posthomerica V. 2000. ISBN 90 04 11594 3
209. DERDERIAN, K. *Leaving Words to Remember.* Greek Mourning and the Advent of Literacy. 2001. ISBN 90 04 11750 4
210. SHORROCK, R. *The Challenge of Epic.* Allusive Engagement in the *Dionysiaca* of Nonnus. 2001. ISBN 90 04 11795 4
211. SCHEIDEL, W. (ed.). *Debating Roman Demography.* 2001. ISBN 90 04 11525 0
212. KEULEN, A.J. *L. Annaeus Seneca* Troades. Introduction, Text and Commentary. 2001. ISBN 90 04 12004 1

213. MORTON, J. *The Role of the Physical Environment in Ancient Greek Seafaring.* 2001. ISBN 90 04 11717 2
214. GRAHAM, A.J. *Collected Papers on Greek Colonization.* 2001. ISBN 90 04 11634 6
215. GROSSARDT, P. *Die Erzählung von Meleagros.* Zur literarischen Entwicklung der kalydonischen Kultlegende. 2001. ISBN 90 04 11952 3
216. ZAFIROPOULOS, C.A. *Ethics in Aesop's Fables: The* Augustana *Collection.* 2001. ISBN 90 04 11867 5
217. RENGAKOS, A. & T.D. PAPANGHELIS (eds.). *A Companion to Apollonius Rhodius.* 2001. ISBN 90 04 11752 0
218. WATSON, J. *Speaking Volumes.* Orality and Literacy in the Greek and Roman World. 2001. ISBN 90 04 12049 1
219. MACLEOD, L. *Dolos and Dike in Sophokles'* Elektra. 2001. ISBN 90 04 11898 5
220. MCKINLEY, K.L. *Reading the Ovidian Heroine.* "Metamorphoses" Commentaries 1100-1618. 2001. ISBN 90 04 11796 2
221. REESON, J. *Ovid* Heroides *11, 13 and 14.* A Commentary. 2001. ISBN 90 04 12140 4
222. FRIED, M.N. & S. UNGURU. *Apollonius of Perga's* Conica: Text, Context, Subtext. 2001. ISBN 90 04 11977 9
223. LIVINGSTONE, N. *A Commentary on Isocrates'* Busiris. 2001. ISBN 90 04 12143 9
224. LEVENE, D.S. & D.P. NELIS (eds.). *Clio and the Poets.* Augustan Poetry and the Traditions of Ancient Historiography. 2002. ISBN 90 04 11782 2
225. WOOTEN, C.W. *The Orator in Action and Theory in Greece and Rome.* 2001. ISBN 90 04 12213 3
226. GALÁN VIOQUE, G. *Martial, Book VII. A Commentary.* 2001. ISBN 90 04 12338 5
227. LEFÈVRE, E. *Die Unfähigkeit, sich zu erkennen: Sophokles' Tragödien.* 2001. ISBN 90 04 12322 9
228. SCHEIDEL, W. *Death on the Nile.* Disease and the Demography of Roman Egypt. 2001. ISBN 90 04 12323 7
229. SPANOUDAKIS, K. *Philitas of Cos.* 2002. ISBN 90 04 12428 4
230. WORTHINGTON, I. & J.M. FOLEY (eds.). *Epea and Grammata.* Oral and written Communication in Ancient Greece. 2002. ISBN 90 04 12455 1
231. McKECHNIE, P. (ed.). *Thinking Like a Lawyer.* Essays on Legal History and General History for John Crook on his Eightieth Birthday. 2002. ISBN 90 04 12474 8
232. GIBSON, R.K. & C. SHUTTLEWORTH KRAUS (eds.). *The Classical Commentary.* Histories, Practices, Theory. 2002. ISBN 90 04 12153 6
233. JONGMAN, W. & M. KLEIJWEGT (eds.). *After the Past.* Essays in Ancient History in Honour of H.W. Pleket. 2002. ISBN 90 04 12816 6
234. GORMAN, V.B. & E.W. ROBINSON (eds.). *Oikistes.* Studies in Constitutions, Colonies, and Military Power in the Ancient World. Offered in Honor of A.J. Graham. 2002. ISBN 90 04 12579 5
235. HARDER, A., R. REGTUIT, P. STORK & G. WAKKER (eds.). *Noch einmal zu....* Kleine Schriften von Stefan Radt zu seinem 75. Geburtstag. 2002. ISBN 90 04 12794 1
236. ADRADOS, F.R. *History of the Graeco-Latin Fable.* Volume Three: Inventory and Documentation of the Graeco-Latin Fable. 2002. ISBN 90 04 11891 8
237. SCHADE, G. *Stesichoros.* Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 2359, 3876, 2619, 2803. 2003. ISBN 90 04 12832 8
238. ROSEN, R.M. & I. SLUITER (eds.) *Andreia.* Studies in Manliness and Courage in Classical Antiquity. 2003. ISBN 90 04 11995 7
239. GRAINGER, J.D. *The Roman War of Antiochos the Great.* 2002. ISBN 90 04 12840 9
240. KOVACS, D. *Euripidea Tertia.* 2003. ISBN 90 04 12977 4
241. PANAYOTAKIS, S., M. ZIMMERMAN & W. KEULEN (eds.). *The Ancient Novel and Beyond.* 2003. ISBN 90 04 12999 5
242. ZACHARIA, K. C*onverging Truths.* Euripides' *Ion* and the Athenian Quest for Self-Definition. 2003. ISBN 90 0413000 4

243. ALMEIDA, J.A. *Justice as an Aspect of the Polis Idea in Solon's Political Poems*. 2003. ISBN 90 04 13002 0
244. HORSFALL, N. *Virgil,* Aeneid *11*. A Commentary. 2003. ISBN 90 04 12934 0
245. VON ALBRECHT, M. *Cicero's Style*. A Synopsis. Followed by Selected Analytic Studies. 2003. ISBN 90 04 12961 8
246. LOMAS, K. *Greek Identity in the Western Mediterranean*. Papers in Honour of Brian Shefton. 2004. ISBN 90 04 13300 3
247. SCHENKEVELD, D.M. *A Rhetorical Grammar*. C. Iullus Romanus, Introduction to the Liber de Adverbio. 2004. ISBN 90 04 133662 2
248. MACKIE, C.J. *Oral Performance and its Context*. 2004. ISBN 90 04 13680 0
249. RADICKE, J. *Lucans Poetische Technik*. 2004. ISBN 90 04 13745 9
250. DE BLOIS, L., J. BONS, T. KESSELS & D.M. SCHENKEVELD (eds.). *The Statesman in Plutarch's Works*. Volume I: Plutarch's Statesman and his Aftermath: Political, Philosophical, and Literary Aspects. ISBN 90 04 13795 5. Volume II: The Statesman in Plutarch's Greek and Roman *Lives*. 2005. ISBN 90 04 13808 0
251. GREEN, S.J. *Ovid,* Fasti *1*. A Commentary. 2004. ISBN 90 04 13985 0
252. VON ALBRECHT, M. *Wort und Wandlung*. 2004. ISBN 90 04 13988 5
253. KORTEKAAS, G.A.A. *The Story of Apollonius, King of Tyre*. A Study of Its Greek Origin and an Edition of the Two Oldest Latin Recensions. 2004. ISBN 90 04 13923 0
254. SLUITER, I. & R.M. ROSEN (eds.). *Free Speech in Classical Antiquity*. 2004. ISBN 90 04 13925 7
255. STODDARD, K. *The Narrative Voice in the* Theogony *of Hesiod*. 2004. ISBN 90 04 14002 6
256. FITCH, J.G. *Annaeana Tragica*. Notes on the Text of Seneca's Tragedies. 2004. ISBN 90 04 14003 4
257. DE JONG, I.J.F., R. NÜNLIST & A. BOWIE (eds.). *Narrators, Narratees, and Narratives in Ancient Greek Literature*. Studies in Ancient Greek Narrative, Volume One. 2004. ISBN 90 04 13927 3
258. VAN TRESS, H. *Poetic Memory*. Allusion in the Poetry of Callimachus and the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid. 2004. ISBN 90 04 14157 X
259. RADEMAKER, A. Sophrosyne *and the Rhetoric of Self-Restraint*. Polysemy & Persuasive Use of an Ancient Greek Value Term. 2005. ISBN 90 04 14251 7
260. BUIJS, M. *Clause Combining in Ancient Greek Narrative Discourse*. The Distribution of Subclauses and Participial Clauses in Xenophon's *Hellenica* and *Anabasis*. 2005. ISBN 90 04 14250 9
261. ENENKEL, K.A.E. & I.L. PFEIJFFER (eds.). *The Manipulative Mode*. Political Propaganda in Antiquity: A Collection of Case Studies. 2005. ISBN 90 04 14291 6
262. KLEYWEGT, A.J. *Valerius Flaccus,* Argonautica, *Book I*. A Commentary. 2005. ISBN 90 04 13924 9
263. MURGATROYD, P. *Mythical and Legendary Narrative in Ovid's* Fasti. 2005. ISBN 90 04 14320 3
264. WALLINGA, H.T. *Xerxes' Greek Adventure*. The Naval Perspective. 2005. ISBN 90 04 14140 5
265. KANTZIOS, I. *The Trajectory of Archaic Greek Trimeters*. 2005. ISBN 90 04 14536 2
266. ZELNICK-ABRAMOVITZ, R. *Not Wholly Free*. The Concept of Manumission and the Status of Manumitted Slaves in the Ancient Greek World. 2005. ISBN 90 04 14585 0
267. SLINGS, S.R. (†). Edited by Gerard Boter and Jan van Ophuijsen. *Critical Notes on Plato's* Politeia. 2005. ISBN 90 04 14172 3
268. SCOTT, L. *Historical Commentary on Herodotus Book 6*. 2005. ISBN 90 04 14506 0